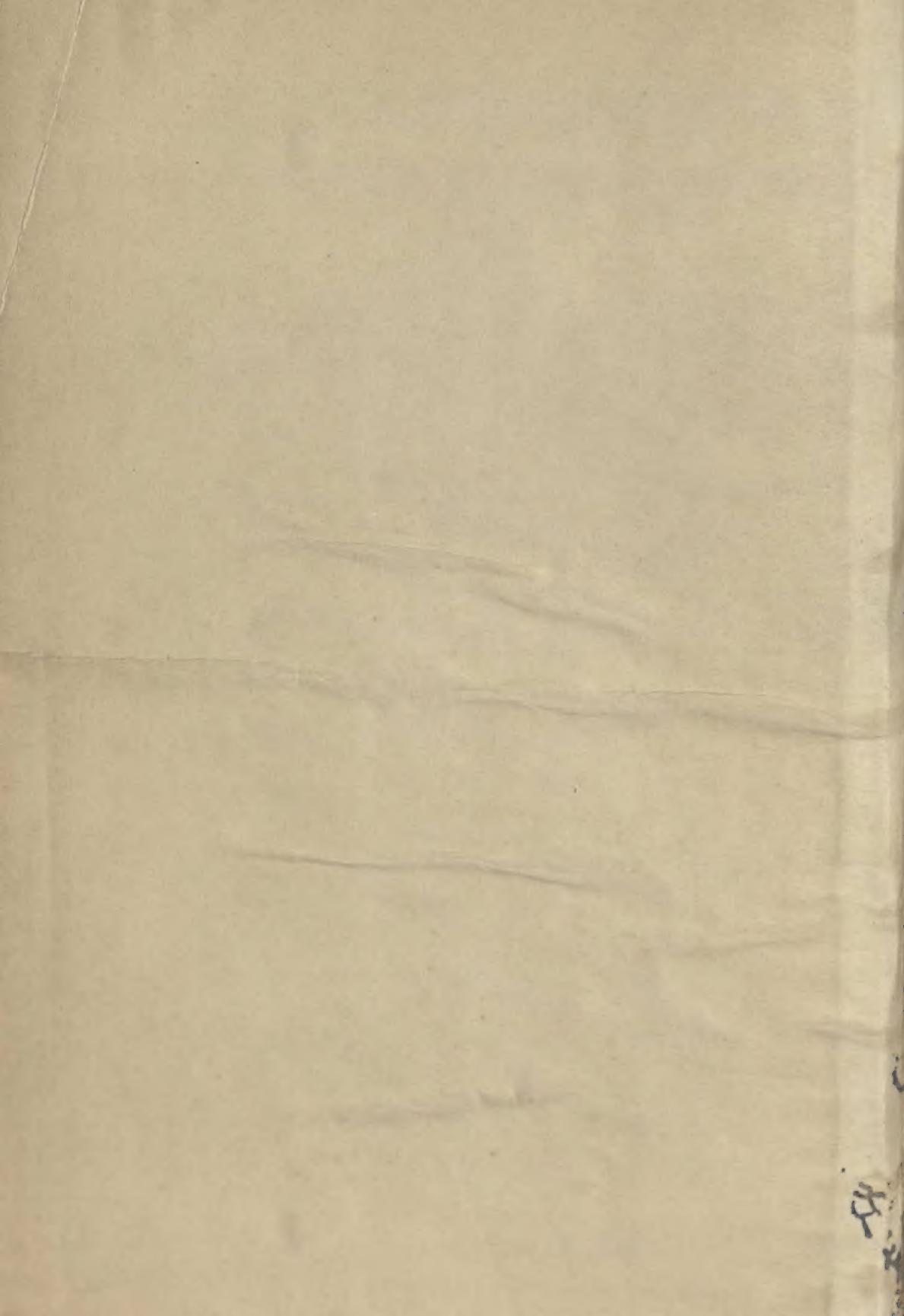
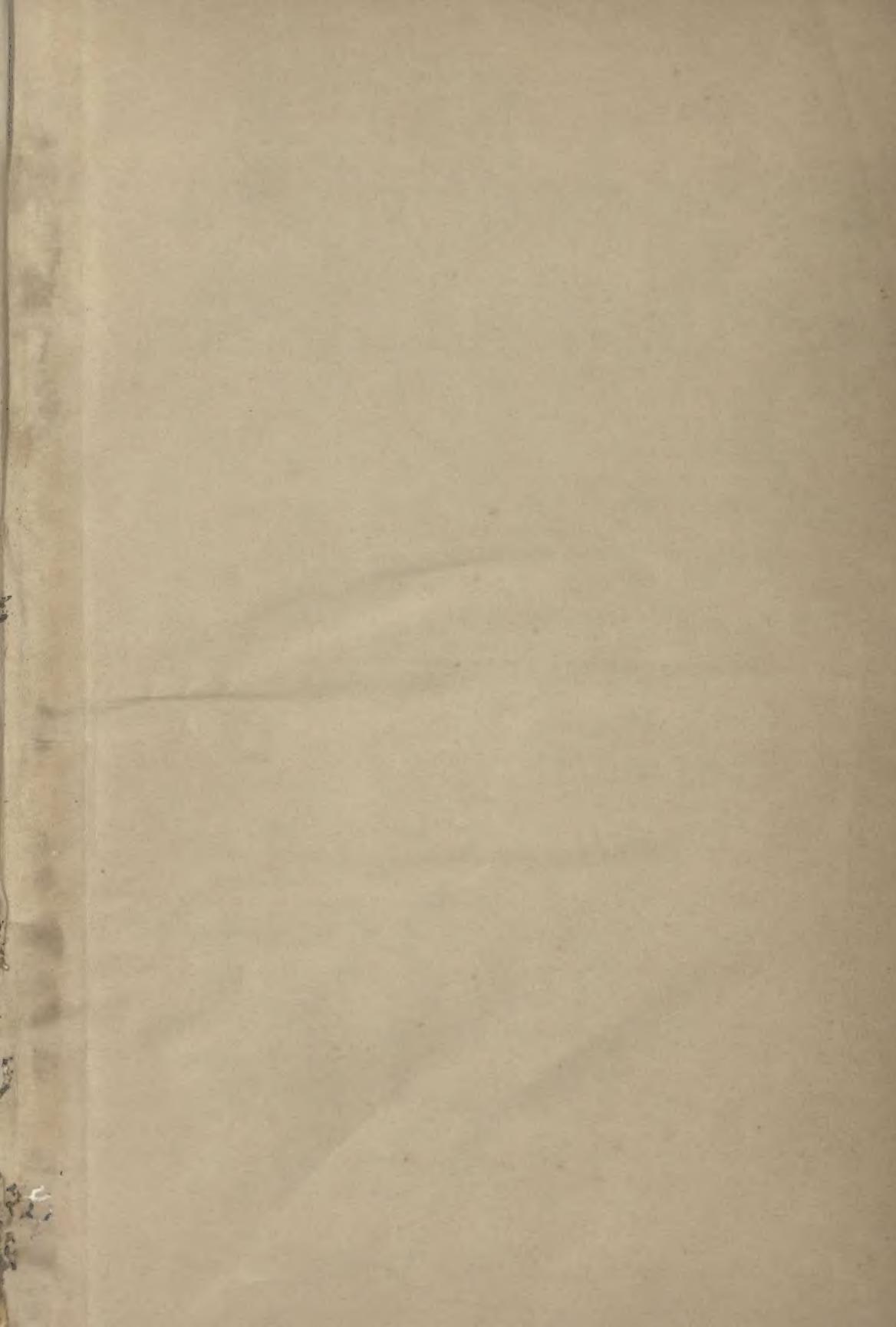


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Current Progress in the Foundations of Education

John A. Laska

University of Texas at Austin

The appearance of a recent article by James J. Shields, Jr., entitled "Social Foundations of Education: The Problem of Relevance" calls attention to the fact that scholars in the foundations of education are still re-examining the state of their field.¹ They have obviously been unwilling to follow Conant's dictum of a few years ago that they should relinquish their role in teacher preparation to representatives of the traditional disciplines, such as psychology and history. Instead, they have attempted candidly to assess the weaknesses of their field and take appropriate steps to overcome these deficiencies.

Within the past two years, probably the most important single development affecting the foundations of education field was the establishment of the American Educational Studies Association in February, 1968. This new learned society has over 500 members, most of whom are professors in the foundations of education. As stated in its constitution, the purpose of this organization is

to promote the academic study of the educative process and the school as a fundamental societal institution. All analytical and interpretive approaches that are appropriate for the academic study of education shall be represented in the membership of the Association. The increased integration of the field of educational studies shall be encouraged by providing closer contacts between generalists and specialists in the academic study of education, and between educational scholars and those from the traditional disciplines who also have an interest in education.

At least four important points of view on the foundations of education are embodied in this brief statement of purpose. First, the statement suggests that education can be studied as an *academic* field. Second, it contains the notion

¹ James J. Shields, Jr., "Social Foundations of Education: The Problem of Relevance," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 70, No. 1, October 1968, pp. 77-87.

This is the first of a series of articles on "foundations of education," or what Professor Laska prefers to call "the academic study of education." He tells here of the founding of the American Educational Studies Association, whose purposes are to promote the study of education as an integrated academic field; and he goes on to elaborate on and clarify certain concepts basic to this approach. He is concerned to distinguish between the "academic" and "professional," to define the independence of the field, and to confront the question of integrating the scholarly knowledge which gives it distinctiveness. This article, like three of those which follow, was occasioned by James J. Shields, Jr., whose essay review, "Social Foundations of Education," appeared in the October 1968 RECORD.

that this field derives its independent validity from the study of a fundamental societal *institution*. Third, the statement expresses a concern for the attainment of greater *integration* of this field. And fourth, it uses the term *educational studies* as a designation for the academic study of education. An elaboration of each of these concepts follows.

Academic and Professional Fields The distinction between the study of education as an academic field and the study of education as a professional field is seldom made, yet it is a distinction that is

of critical importance if the role of the foundations of education in the professional training of teachers and other school personnel is to be properly understood. Briefly, we can say that an academic field is one in which knowledge is sought without explicit regard for its utilization, while a professional field is one in which knowledge is sought to meet the requirements of an identifiable occupation (or occupations). For example, in the typical American university physics, economics and sociology are taught as academic fields, while engineering, business administration and social work are taught as professional fields. This way of differentiating between academic and professional fields of study, however, should not be interpreted to mean that an academic field is impractical or totally divorced from the occupational objectives of the students in the field. Indeed, for many students in the American university, the work they do at the advanced levels of an academic field of study is very much related to their occupational objectives—to become a university teacher or research specialist, for example. The exposure of students to the elementary levels of an academic field is also usually justified by its practical benefits in the preparation of "informed citizens," "well-rounded individuals," and so forth. The basic distinction between an academic and a professional field, therefore, is in the amount of explicit attention that is given to the practical applications and occupational aspects of the field. In the teaching of an academic field, the impartation of a body of scholarly knowledge is the principal concern; it is assumed that anyone possessing this body of knowledge will be able to make whatever practical applications are later required. By contrast, the teaching of a professional field is primarily oriented toward the preparation of an individual for a specific occupational role and stresses the applications of knowledge in the performance of that role; in fact, the occupational focus in a professional training program may be so explicit as to include actual practice in the occupational role.

The organization of the American university generally exhibits a structure which is differentiated according to academic and professional fields. Instruction in the academic fields is usually given by departments in the arts and

sciences division of the university; instruction in each of the professional fields is often provided by a separate college or school that is outside the arts and sciences division. But the structural differentiation of the university into academic and professional segments is by no means complete. In the smaller universities and those institutions of higher education which are primarily liberal arts colleges, some of the professional fields may be constituted as professional departments within the arts and sciences division of the university or college. Moreover, the professional departments, schools and colleges may also offer academic instruction. Since a student enrolled in a professional training program generally requires academic instruction as well as purely professional training, some of the academic instruction that is an essential component of the professional training program may (for reasons of convenience) be provided within the professional department, school or college. Thus, for example, a law student ordinarily receives his instruction in jurisprudence—which is an academic subject—from the faculty of the law school, rather than from the arts and sciences faculty of the university.

The study of education in the typical American university is quite comparable to the study of law. Although the departments, schools and colleges of education are primarily involved in purely professional training, they also provide courses which deal with the academic study of education. These academic courses—for example, "educational psychology" and "social foundations of education"—are known collectively as courses in the foundations of education. The courses in the foundations of education are a component of the total professional training program in education and thus have a professional function, but their subject matter is academic in the same sense that the subject matter of jurisprudence courses is academic.

Educational Foundations as an Independent Institutional Field

If it is granted that courses in the foundations of education are fundamentally academic courses, can we regard the foundations of education as comprising an area of study which possesses independent validity? Much futile discussion has taken place over whether education does or does not constitute a discipline.² Rather than enter into this essentially sterile controversy, the founding members of the American Educational Studies Association have chosen to use the general term "field" to designate their area of study. Thus, if it can be agreed that, for example, demography, genetics and ecology constitute fields of study (though perhaps not disciplines), there should be no difficulty in regarding the academic study of education as a

² See, for example, John Walton and James L. Kuethe, Eds. *The Discipline of Education*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.

field of study, reserving for later years the question of whether it has attained disciplinary status or not.

The argument for the legitimacy of educational foundations as an independent academic field of study rests on an analogy with the field of government (or political science) and the emerging field of religion (or religious studies). The fields of government and religion are both devoted to the study of particular social institutions.³ They constitute academic fields because they are concerned mainly with a search for knowledge about government and religion rather than with the training of personnel for particular governmental or religious occupations. Although sociology is the field that is concerned with the general study of societal institutions, the existence of government and religion as independent fields of study can be justified on the basis of the convenience that such institutional fields afford to their students, who presumably are more interested in obtaining a specialized understanding of the institutions of government or religion than in acquiring information on the operation of social institutions in general. If, therefore, the study of the institutions of government and religion can be the basis for legitimate academic fields, the study of the basic educational institution of society—the national school system—also can be the basis for an independent field.

It should not be inferred, however, from the preceding discussion that education as an institutional field of study would involve only the sociological aspects of the educational system, any more than the fields of government and religion are limited to the sociological aspects of their respective institutions. For example, the psychological, historical and philosophical aspects of the educational system would also need to be included. Nor could education as an institutional field of study fail to give considerable emphasis to the study of the educative process, just as the field of government must encompass the political process.

Achieving Independent Status

But the foundations of education as an independent field of academic study has not yet achieved a status that is comparable to the field of government, or even the field of religion. One of the problems which the academic study of education faces is that of attaining an organizational identity within the university that is distinct from the professional field of education and from other academic fields. The academic study of government and religion is ordinarily

³ It is sometimes maintained that the field of government is fundamentally concerned with the study of political behavior or the political process, rather than with a societal institution. This contention can be easily refuted, however, by examining a representative sample of the textbooks used in the introductory course in government. Such textbooks are assumed to offer an overview of the field, and most of them predominant emphasis on the institution of government and the behavior which takes place within that institution.

provided by separate departments in the arts and sciences division of the university; there is no professional training program for the training of politicians with which the academic study of government can be confused, while the professional training programs of the seminaries and schools of theology are ordinarily clearly distinguished from the academic departments of religious studies. However, the courses in the foundations of education (as we have already indicated) are usually offered within a predominantly professional department, school or college of education. Furthermore, these courses usually are not the responsibility of a single, clearly-labeled administrative subdivision of this department, school or college of education; often a separation is made which administratively divides the social foundations from the psychological foundations of education.

Related to this lack of organizational distinctiveness is the absence of a generally accepted name to apply to the academic study of education other than the term "foundations of education," which does not unequivocally suggest an academic field (we have had to resort in this article to the cumbersome terms "academic study of education" and "professional study of education" to make the desired distinctions). Quite often, in fact, the single term "education" is used to refer to either the professional or the academic fields of education. The same difficulty does not arise in the case of most other academic fields and the professional fields that are closely related to them. For example, even though the academic study of sociology or economics may sometimes be provided by the same department of the university in which the training of prospective social workers or business administrators takes place, the professional fields are usually identified as "social work" and "business administration," respectively, thus keeping them terminologically separate from the fields of sociology and economics.

Need for Greater Integration

Even more serious than these problems of obtaining a satisfactory organizational and terminological identity for the academic study of education is the problem of developing a coherent and systematic body of scholarly knowledge within the field itself. This difficulty arises from the fact that an independent institutional field is still dependent to a considerable extent upon the more general behavioral sciences and the humanities for its methodologies and general concepts. The important question for the institutional field, therefore, is whether the need to draw upon the supportive disciplines will result in a compartmentalization of knowledge around the supportive disciplines or whether the institutional field will be able to organize its body of scholarly knowledge in such a way that the integrity of the institutional field is main-

tained. The field of government has largely managed to avoid a compartmentalization of knowledge around its supportive disciplines. For example, some of the major subdivisions within the field of government are "political parties," "public opinion" and "political theory"; the designations for these subdivisions are distinctively governmental and do not imply the relegation of the study of government to other academic fields, as might be the case if the labels "sociology of government," "psychology of government" and "philosophy of government" were used instead. But in the fields of religion and educational foundations, the major subdivisions of these fields do reflect an orientation toward the supportive disciplines. The major subdivisions in the field of religion, for example, bear such labels as "sociology of religion" and "history of religion"; similarly, in the foundations of education the designations for the major subdivisions of the field include "sociology of education," "history of education" and "philosophy of education."

In recent years the foundations of education field has tended to split apart even further along the lines of the supportive disciplines. It was this tendency, in fact, that provided the specific impetus for the creation of the American Educational Studies Association as one means of bringing together the several specialized foundations of education areas.⁴ Primarily responsible for the enhanced tendency toward fractionation has been the widespread conviction that the foundations of education represents a somewhat unscholarly field and that the only way to obtain increased rigor is to draw more heavily upon the related disciplines. One outcome of this emphasis on other fields of study is that many of the teachers and researchers concerned with the academic study of education have come to regard themselves as being primarily psychologists or historians, for instance, rather than scholars in the foundations of education. Also, the preparation afforded to prospective teachers of educational foundations through many of the existing programs of graduate training has been limited in a similar way, with the prospective teacher gaining proficiency in a single specialized area such as "philosophy of education" or "psychology of education" but never being systematically exposed to the total body of knowledge in the foundations of education field.

The Introductory Course The absence of an integrated body of scholarly knowledge within the foundations of education field is perhaps best illustrated by reference to the problem of the introductory course in the foundations of education. Obviously, one would expect in any

⁴ The term "specialized foundations of education areas" will be used hereafter interchangeably with the expression "subdivisions of the foundations of education field." It refers, of course, to the specialized areas which presently exist, such as "educational psychology" and "social foundations of education."

field of academic study that an introductory course would be offered to beginning students and that this course would constitute an acceptable overview of the body of scholarly knowledge represented by the field. And because of the fundamental coherence that is expected in the field, the topics covered in the introductory course should tend to be similar regardless of where and by whom the course is taught. In the foundations of education, however, the actual condition of the introductory course is far from the ideal. Two separate introductory foundations of education courses are usually provided within the undergraduate professional training program for prospective teachers: one of these is a course in the "psychology of education" and the second is a course covering in some fashion the social, historical and/or philosophical aspects of education. Although we might nevertheless expect that together these two courses would compromise a comprehensive introduction to the academic study of education, this rarely happens. This difficulty is due in part to a failure to regard these courses as completely academic courses—all too often they offer a mixture of the academic and the professional, reflecting an uncertainty as to their basic purpose.⁵ But the basic difficulty lies in the choice of topics in the two courses. Apart from the inevitable overlapping and confusion that results when two (often uncoordinated) foundations of education courses are given, there is simply no general agreement as yet on what should constitute the basic subject matter of an introductory foundations of education course. Unlike the situation in other academic fields, the content of the existing introductory courses in the foundations of education does vary markedly from university to university and from instructor to instructor.

Only through a concerted attempt to achieve greater integration within the foundations of education field can the problem confronting the introductory course be resolved. (It hardly seems necessary to point out that the introductory course is by far the most important one that is offered in the foundations of education, since relatively few prospective teachers are required to pursue the advanced courses in the field.) Although there may be some utility for the purposes of advanced courses and research to retain such labels as "social foundations of education," "history of education," "educational philosophy" and "psychological foundations of education," there is little merit in such terminology when it serves to prevent the development of inherently educational subdivisions for the introductory foundations of education.

⁵ This problem is especially noticeable in the "psychology of education" courses. Sometimes these are conceived of as introductory courses in the academic field of psychology, diluted somewhat to meet the presumably less stringent requirements of prospective teachers; at other times these courses are the means through which suggestions for professional practice are offered, using a psychological perspective, only rarely do these courses concentrate entirely on the academic study of education.

tion course. One of the immediate goals of the American Educational Studies Association, therefore, is to provide a forum through which discussions on the nature of the introductory educational foundations course can take place and through which a consensus may eventually be reached.⁶

Educational Studies Instead of Educational Foundations

At least two objections can be made to the use of "foundations of education" as the designation for the academic study of education. First, the term "foundations" does not readily suggest a field of academic study. And second, the long tradition of delimiting the specialized foundations of education areas on the basis of the supportive disciplines (i.e., the use of such terminology as "social foundations of education" and "philosophical foundations of education") would no doubt be perpetuated if "educational foundations" were used to designate the general field, with the result that the greater integration of the foundations of education would remain difficult to achieve. For the purpose of promoting greater integration, therefore, a different name seemed desirable to the founders of the American Educational Studies Association. Rather than adopt a new coinage for the academic study of education, such as "educology" or "educationology" (or even "educational science" as a term parallel to "political science"), the term "educational studies" has at least for the present seemed more appropriate. The latter term is also parallel to "religious studies," which is widely used to designate the academic study of religion—a field in approximately the same state of development as the academic study of education.

But the several new points of view on the foundations of education field that are exemplified in the establishment of the American Educational Studies Association notwithstanding, there is a close connection between the present approach and the earlier tradition. It would certainly not be possible to consider integrating the body of scholarly knowledge in the academic study of education if much of this knowledge had not already been generated within the general foundations of education field and the various specialized foundations of education areas. More than symbolic of this basic continuity, therefore, is the fact that the first (and current) president of the American Educational Studies Association is Dr. R. Freeman Butts of Teachers College, Columbia University, an educational scholar who has long been associated with the foundations of education field and who remains firmly dedicated to its advancement.

6 The argument that a satisfactory introductory course in the academic study of education represents a virtually impossible undertaking owing to the diverse psychological, social, historical and philosophical elements comprising the field seems untenable. Satisfactory introductory courses are provided in such fields as anthropology and geography, which have more diverse elements than the academic study of education.

Foundations of Education: Relevance Redefined

James J. Shields, Jr.

The City College,

The City University of New York

Fundamental to any formulation of the purposes of courses in the foundations of education is the assumption that these courses will enable students to analyze American educational patterns and practices within the context of the ideals rooted in the democratic tradition. Beyond this, it is assumed that these courses will help students define for themselves the role they can and should play as professional educators in shaping educational policy. To this end, according to Butts, students are to acquire policy-oriented knowledge and a sense of their responsibility for the disciplined use of such knowledge.¹

Discontinuity Between Ideals and Practice

Mainly, the focus in education courses is upon the normally functioning pupil who on the average succeeds in a normally functioning school. This was reversed somewhat in the 30's and again in the early 60's when considerable attention was given to the issue of class and race and educational achievement. Today, this issue is still important, not only because it continues to provide an excellent vehicle for analyzing the disparity between commonly accepted educational ideals and prevailing practices, but because it serves so well in stimulating student interest and participation. And, in terms of the integration of a wide range of disciplines in foundations courses, it is unsurpassed as an issue.

Discussion of the issue of social class and educational achievement is usually introduced with one variant or another of the proposition: The quality of education a child receives depends to a great extent upon his social position and status in society. Statistical data on the educational achievement of blacks and Puerto Ricans provide a good base for advancing the proposition. For instance, of the more than half a million black and

1 R. Freeman Butts in a paper addressed to the faculty, staff and students at Teachers College, Columbia University dated December 13, 1968.

Professor Shields supplements his original essay review by raising questions about the current focus on urban problems and scientific constructs in foundations courses. He now proposes a renewed concern for "policy-oriented knowledge" geared to the "revolution of responsibilities" and directed towards the responsible bringing about of radical qualitative change.

Puerto Rican pupils in the New York City school system, only 700 earned academic diplomas in 1968. Nationally, at grade six, blacks are one and a half years behind whites, at grade nine, they are two and a half years behind, and at grade twelve, they are three and a half years behind.

Statistics tell but a small part of the story. And, unfortunately, the few foundations texts that do treat the problem of educational opportunity for blacks and Puerto Ricans in America do so in a bland and simplistic fashion. Statistics and standard collegiate texts alone have little utility in producing new sensibilities regarding the problem. McClellan believes this is done through the works of literary artists who, rather than the social scientists or educators, have been the major forces in the revolution of rising sensibilities which has been underway in the United States for the last fifty years.²

There are a number of sources that in varying degrees prove valuable in sensitizing students in foundations courses to the problem of inequality in educational opportunity and its consequences for social mobility. A most effective work is the anthology of the writings of nearly two hundred children from the slums compiled by Joseph entitled *The Me Nobody Knows*. Also of value is David's *Growing Up Black*, which contains autobiographical selections portraying black childhood in the United States over a two hundred year span. Kohl's classic *36 Children* and Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*, which are widely used in foundations courses, provide an excellent insight into the in-school dimensions of the problem in Northern metropolitan centers. In addition to these "literary" works are Coles' *Children of Crisis* and Grier's and Cobb's *Black Rage*, both of which offer provocative material on the psychological consequences of white oppression of blacks.

The statistics provide an accounting of the achievement lag found among a major out-group in America and the documentary literature gives an insight into the pain they suffer. An important dimension left to consider is the thinking and behavior of those who define the terms for "out-groupism."

Lewis's writing on the culture of poverty provides a valuable point of departure for examining the topic. He claims that the culture of the poor is not just a matter of deprivation or disorganization; it is not a term signifying the loss of something. Rather it is a culture in the traditional anthropological sense in that it provides human beings with a design for living and as such serves an adaptive function. Middle-class people,

² James McClellan. *Toward An Effective Critique of American Education*. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968.

and this includes most social scientists, tend to concentrate on the negative aspects of the culture of poverty and tend to overlook the positive aspects. The positive aspects, Lewis feels, should not be overlooked. As he points out, living in the present, a major component in the culture of poverty, may develop a capacity for spontaneity and for the enjoyment of the sensual which is often blunted in the middle-class, future-oriented man.³

A most dramatic public celebration of the esteem the middle-class has for its own values and school practices appeared in a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* taken by the New York Urban Coalition on December 2, 1968. The heading read IF IT WORKS FOR SCARSDALE, IT CAN WORK FOR OCEAN HILL. The text of the advertisement indicates that Scarsdale has one of the finest school systems in the United States, and Ocean Hill has one of the worst systems. The answer for Ocean Hill is clear to the Urban Coalition, and that is that Ocean Hill should incorporate into its system the school practices of Scarsdale. However, the answer is not as clear to those who have worked closer to the Ocean Hill school system. They know, too well, that much of what is done in Scarsdale has already been tried in Ocean Hill and has failed.

Obviously, the next step is not to apply more of Scarsdale to Ocean Hill, but to clarify for urban policy makers what Getzels had in mind when he spoke recently of the need for ". . . altering the general conceptions and ultimately what Kuhn calls the *paradigms* of the human being and human behavior which serve as the context for educational practice."⁴

Educational Practices: Implied Model of Man

After analyzing the discrepancies between the basic ideals and prevailing practices in American education, the foundations professor interested in policy-oriented knowledge inevitably must move on to a consideration of what should be done to correct them. Much of what has been recommended in the last ten years to overcome the discrepancies, particularly for school programs involving the disadvantaged, falls into the category of compensatory education.⁵

Following the dictum that the general conceptions of human behavior

³ Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American*, Vol. 215, October 1966, pp. 16-19.

⁴ "Paradigm and Practice: On the Contributions of Research to Education," *Educational Researcher*, No. 5, 1969, p. 10.

⁵ An analysis and critical evaluation of nationwide pre-school through college compensatory education programs can be found in Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey Wilkerson, *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged*. New York: College Entrance Board, 1966.

implied in school practice be scrutinized, we find that existing compensatory education programs assume that very early physical and psychological deprivation is reversible and that institutionalized education is best delayed until age four for the disadvantaged.

Neither assumption has been supported by field research. The Westinghouse Learning Corporation of Ohio tested more than 2,000 youngsters on a nationwide basis and concluded that Head Start youngsters in the early grades of school were not much better off academically than children who did not go through the preschool program. One recent hypothesis, for which there is only limited statistical evidence, is that poor children have been so badly damaged in infancy by their lower class environment that compensatory education cannot make much difference.⁶

Deprivation or not, it appears that the die is cast long before most children begin their formal education, whether they start at age four or age six. Bloom, in *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*, concludes that there is a human growth curve. Half a child's future height, for instance, is reached by the age of two-and-a-half, and by age four his I.Q. becomes so stable that it is a fairly accurate indication of his I.Q.

The debate over whether compensatory education programs work has resulted in a tremendous shift of interest to formal education for children during the first three years of life. Formal schooling for this age group runs counter to fairly well-established American "principles" of child-rearing. One is that every child has to be socialized by one woman and another is that rearing children in groups is bad for their mental health. Successful exceptions from the first "principle" are to be found in the Long House of the Iroquois and in the Kibbutzim of Israel. And Bettelheim's experience with the institutional rearing of children, as reported in the recently published *Children of the Dream*, raises serious questions about the validity of the second "principle."

Another valuable exercise for examining the general conceptions of human beings and behavior implied in educational practice is the analysis of the discrepancies between the way in which our society defines maleness and the way in which boys are expected to behave in school.

Fuchs, in *Teachers Talk: Views from Inside City Schools*, points out that school culture frequently brings with it demands for obedience, passivity, teacher dominance, and order and provides little differentiation in male and female roles. This is the case despite the fact that the larger American

6 Robert Semple, "Head Start Pupils Found No Better Than Others," *The New York Times*, April 27, 1969, pp. 1 and 36, and "White House and Advisors Stand By Report Critical of Head Start Progress," *The New York Times*, April 27, 1969, p. 44.

culture expects adult males to be more aggressive, more dominant, exert greater interdependence, and assume more responsibilities than females. As a result, in the early school environment, it appears that boys are discriminated against and girls are favored.⁷

Sexton's recently published *The Feminized Male* also analyzed the way in which schools discourage boyish traits and reward feminine ones. A survey conducted by Sexton shows that boys who are boys have a troubled time in school and the more boylike they are, the more serious the conflict. Thus, it is more likely, Sexton says, for boys who in many ways resemble girls to rise to the top in school; the academically successful boy succeeds at the risk of his manhood.

In terms of structuring foundations courses, it becomes clear, when exploring the models of man implied in educational practice, that the task cannot be done completely or accurately within the confines of a teacher education program that separates social and psychological foundations into distinct courses. There are few educational questions that do not involve a consideration of human growth and development and the processes of learning within a socio-cultural setting.

At the moment, there is considerable discussion about integrating the several social sciences into courses in the social foundations of education. As this movement gathers momentum and as foundations professors become more policy oriented, it should be no time before serious discussion is given as well to finding appropriate means for integrating the social and the psychological foundations of education.

The Role of Science In his recent paper on foundations courses Butts summarized the goals he set forth for foundations courses as POLICY ORIENTATION WITH EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. In doing so, he found he had an acronym that fits the genre of today: POWER. The acronym is most appropriate because it highlights a central topic in foundations courses: The analysis of power arrangements, particularly as they affect educational policy formulation.⁸ As McClellan states, policy discussion is serious only to the extent that it articulates the actual, real structural features of society. Serious policy discussion requires careful attention to the details of political power necessary to prevent change, general or specific.⁹

7 Estelle Fuchs, *Teachers Talk: Views from Inside City Schools*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1969.

8 R. Freeman Butts, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

9 James McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

Who controls education? Who really exercises power over educational decision making, whether it is the decision to change the mathematics curriculum or to integrate school systems? The military-industrial complex, the American public, educationists? Select any one of them, and a good case can be made for claiming that any of these groups exercises final control. For instance, Ridgeway, in *The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis*, "proves" that the modern university is part of the military-industrial complex, acting primarily as a broker, strategist and manipulator. While Rogers in *110 Livingston Street* "proves" that the professionals within the bureaucracy wield a disproportionate amount of power over educational decision making. Answers to the question of who controls education are elusive at best. Yet control is exercised and power is used daily to alter educational policy. More satisfactory answers can and will be found as more precise questions than those raised in the Ridgeway and Rogers books are formulated.

Before coping with the question of educational control or any other major educational issue, the foundations professor must make a decision about the approach, especially as reflected in the kinds of sources he will use as a basis for class discussion. There has been a vigorous post-war effort to acquaint professional educators with the theoretical constructs and research methodologies of the social and physical sciences. The hope of those encouraging these trends is that education courses will become less descriptive and impressionistic and more scientific. One consequence of this trend is that more and more of those teaching foundations are asking to be identified with one of the traditional social sciences rather than with the field of education as such.

These post-war efforts to make education courses more scientific have deep roots. President Barnard of Columbia College asked his trustees in 1892 for courses in "education as a science." And in 1879, the regents of the University of Michigan established a chair of the science and art of teaching and appointed William H. Payne to the chair. One of the most significant figures in the movement to make the study of education more scientific was Charles Hubbard Judd, whose *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education* published in 1918 made a strong case for the scientific study of education. His work was part of a larger effort at the University of Chicago early in the twentieth century to shift away from the use of history and philosophy of education as introductory courses for teachers in training to a course dealing with the study of contemporary school systems from a scientific point of view.¹⁰

¹⁰ Douglas Seates, "Judd and the Scientific Study of Education," *The School Review*, Vol. 75, Spring 1967, pp. 2-28.

Judd, in his retirement address given before the American Association of School Administrators in February 1938, stated that a well developed science of education existed and that the most important trend in education was the one toward the scientific study of education. Judd in his enthusiasm oversold research. He made claims for science that went far beyond what a fair analysis of the role of research in education can support.¹¹ Even at this juncture in history, there is really no solid way to support the position that education is by nature a fundamental science and that research in education is the same as research in the pure sciences.

Those who try to be completely scientific in matters relating to education commit the worst kinds of crimes against science. All too often, the use of science in dealing with educational problems amounts to little more than the narrowest type of empiricism in which science is reduced to assigning numbers to the unquantifiable. And although empiricism is a watchword for the pacesetters in educational studies, many of their scientific exercises are heavily rationalistic in that "models" of logical impeccability are constructed upon extremely limited empirical foundations.

Educationalists are still at the awkward stage in their development and have not quite recovered from their early romance with science which brought with it a belief that science has all the answers and that in its embrace is full security. The existentialists tell us, and rightly so, that man cannot be treated totally as a scientific animal, and if he is, an important point is missed.

Man's vision extends beyond his scientific reach. Science can solve the problems of reaching the moon, but not the problems of man—his friendships, his loves, and his wars. Finally, the question for educational studies is not whether or not there is a role for science; of course there is. The difficulty rests in finding the proper balance between the scientific and the "non-scientific" in dealing with educational issues.

In that considerable attention is given in foundations courses to the analysis of controversies in which conflicting values are involved, much of the content of these courses is "non-scientific," that is, normative in character. Normative issues include a consideration of the purposes of schooling: A resolution of the degree to which the schools must develop individuals who *conserve* or *change* traditional patterns of behavior. Also, they include controversies involving the kinds of abilities and personality traits that should be rewarded by the schools. Empirical research cannot hope to give satisfactory answers to such issues, but only can illuminate the consequences of normative judgments made. It is at

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 17-18.

this point where the works of, for example, men such as Holt, *How Children Fail*, Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation*, and Rafferty, *What They Are Doing to Your Children*, are useful.

In addition to normative issues, there are means issues, that is, issues concerned with the alternate ways in which education can be used to achieve already specified instructional outcomes, functions, and control mechanisms. It is at this point that empirical research has a most important role. For instance, presumably it can be demonstrated that small group instruction is more effective for teaching values related to brotherhood than large group instruction. Or, conceivably, it can be shown through research that the integration of low-achieving blacks with high-achieving whites is less advantageous for lifting the achievement levels of these blacks than if they were schooled in heavily financed programs with other blacks of roughly the same achievement level. As the debate moves to whether intellectual achievement is less important than racial integration, the issue moves from a means to a normative one. At this point, literary, historical, and philosophical works of necessity, assume considerable importance.¹²

The successful handling of normative issues in foundations courses requires a solid base of literature on educational policy that transcends the propaganda and the moralizing that is characteristic of so much educational literature. Although it is not difficult to catalogue a body of policy proposals for use in foundations courses, it is difficult to identify a body of literature that contains a sustained, relevant criticism of it, a literature that effectively synthesizes theory and fact. A most valuable model in this regard is McClellan's *Toward An Effective Critique of American Education*, which contains analyses of the policy proposals of Conant, Barzun, Brameld, Skinner, and Goodman.

In the introduction to this essay Butts was quoted as saying that students in foundations courses should acquire "policy-oriented knowledge and a sense of their responsibility for the disciplined use of such knowledge." The first part of this essay was devoted to establishing a case for approaching the acquisition of *policy-oriented knowledge* through the analysis of the disparity between educational ideals and prevailing practices. To achieve this, foundations courses, it was argued, must focus upon the analysis of the general conceptions of human beings and human behavior implied in existing educational practices. The second part of this essay will deal with new dimensions in the definition of what constitutes a *responsible use* of policy-oriented knowledge. The definition of *responsible use* is changing and, of course, as it changes the thrust of foundations courses must change.

12 I am indebted to John Laska for the definitions of the two basic types of educational issues discussed in the last two paragraphs.

Responsibility translates into morality. And by and large academics have not given too much time to thinking beyond the more obvious violations of public morality about the moral consequences of what they teach in their classrooms. Most professors, particularly those educated in the 50's, tend to lead what Camus called "the mechanical life." Greene points out that this results in functioning as what Noam Chomsky calls the "new mandarins," lending their abilities to high-level policy-making without regard for moral consequences.¹³ This means that academics have become the willing if not always conscious servants of the national leadership. The grosser forms of this service-arrangement are discussed in considerable detail by Ridgeway in *The Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis*.

Rumblings in the cities and the tragedy of Vietnam have forced even the most apolitical academics to re-examine the nation's social and economic philosophy and the educational program that serves it. The hard realities are exposing the shaky foundations upon which most of the principles Americans build their lives rest. Reluctantly, the academic community finds itself "squarely" in the middle of the revolution of rising consciousness and sensibility.

The works of Friedenberg and Goodman provide stimulating insights into the direction the revolution is taking in education. Both authors are so disenchanted with the system that they advocate a new politics outside the system. They propose a parallel world in opposition to the consumer cultures in which things are more important than people. However, in common with the younger rebels, so competently described by Spender in *The Year of the Young Rebels*, they are attempting to change values and consciousness rather than set forth a program or seize state power. They believe that a revolution of rising sensibilities must take place before the ruling institutions can be effectively improved. The goal, for now at least, is to form revolutionaries not to carry out a violent revolution.

That there is a revolution is clear, but what is not clear to those who find themselves in the revolution but not particularly of it is what the revolution is all about. Keniston's "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale to Know How Bad Things Really Are" provides an excellent analysis of the emerging goals of the revolution.¹⁴ Earlier in the revolution, he says, the emphasis was upon the inequities in the distribution of goods and political freedom. Today, however, the urgency for production, acquisition, materialism and abundance has

13 Maxine Greene, "Strangers and Rebels: The Demands of Dissent," *The Teachers College Record*, Vol. 70, May 1969, p. 758.

14 Kenneth Keniston, "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale to Know How Bad Things Really Are," *The New York Times Magazine*, April, 27, 1969, pp. 27-28, 122, 124, 126, 128-30.

been lost and with it the sense of the importance of such psychological qualities as self-discipline and the delay of gratification.

The new phase of the revolution, says Keniston, represents an effort to reverse the tendency to treat people as "inputs" and "outputs" of the technological system. It is based upon the romantic vision of the expressive being and the passionate life and a revulsion against quantity, particularly economic quantity. The new revolution also carries with it a disdain for bureaucracy and centralization and call for direct participation. It is a revolt against uniformity and standardization. The thrust of the new revolutionaries can be summarized simply with the question, beyond affluence and political freedom what?

Many factors account for the new turn in the revolution of rising sensibilities. Certainly, one factor is that so many of the physical problems of the world have been resolved or at least resolved in principle. To wit, when Marx lived in Manchester a hundred years ago, the life expectancy for the middle class was thirty-eight and for the lower class, it was seventeen. Today, in England and America it is close to seventy. This is undeniably progress, but not an unmixed blessing.

Another factor, and a particularly important one in explaining the thinking of the young revolutionaries, according to Keniston, is the emergence in our own time of another stage of life. This stage which initially was enjoyed by a small minority is the stage of "youth." This stage which occurs between adolescence and adulthood, continuing sometimes into the thirties, provides opportunities for a different kind of intellectual, emotional, and moral development than has ever been afforded to any large group in history. What it does, says Keniston, is free youth from swallowing unexamined the superstitions of childhood and from irrational bondage to authority, and gives them the freedom to express feelings more openly.¹⁵

Mead also has recognized the dramatically different character of today's young. She parallels the young of today with the children of wilderness pioneers—the first natives in a new world. For the first time in human history, she says, there are no elders who know what the young know. The past has become unimportant for the young because they cannot see what it has to do with the present. Of course, this is a shock to older people who learned that familiarity with the past was a mark of learning and sophistication.¹⁶

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

16 Based on comments made by Margaret Mead in a lecture series entitled *Man and Nature* given at the Museum of Natural History, New York to commemorate its seventy-fifth anniversary, Spring 1969.

Conclusion An analysis of the shifting emphasis of the revolution of rising sensibilities is a valuable vehicle for evaluating the current state of educational foundations. Two current trends of major importance in educational foundations are the focus upon the urban poor and blacks and the emphasis upon the theoretical constructs and research methodologies of the social and physical sciences. This latter trend has tended to diminish the earlier stress in foundations courses upon social activism and political reform.¹⁷

These trends are outside the interests of the young revolutionaries described by Keniston and are very likely outside the most pressing requirements for change in our era. The focus upon the urban poor and blacks follows in the tradition of those at Teachers College in the 30's who did so much to establish educational foundations as a mainstay in teacher training. They placed considerable attention upon the role which the school plays in perpetuating the inequitable distribution of wealth and political freedom.

Young revolutionaries believe that while this may be true, it is not the truth of most moment. They feel that what is more important is that white or black, rich or poor, the system makes "niggers" of all of us. Anyone can plainly see, they say, that boys are not allowed to be boys, that blacks are not allowed to be black, and that school failure is defined as the refusal to compromise one's identity. What is not readily as apparent, they say, is that all men are being dehumanized and are being measured for success in terms of machine-like qualities: functional, regular, productive. School has become the place where creative drives are stifled, emotional responses are forbidden, and intellectual curiosity is defined as cooperating with a teacher's lesson plan.

Within the framework of the thinking of the young revolutionaries, educational issues that center, for instance, on finding the means for extending the best educational practices of school systems such as Scarsdale to the urban poor lose their urgency; compensatory education becomes a secondary problem. The primary educational problems become those related to values and finally those that deal with ways to alter the conceptions of human beings and human behavior which serve as the context for educational practice. Of necessity, because the emphasis is upon normative issues rather than means issues, empirical literature loses its position to literary works, philosophy, and history.

The thinking reflected in the revolution of rising sensibility highlights the severe limitations of locking educational foundations too tightly into the current focus upon the urban poor and blacks and the emphasis upon the theoret-

¹⁷ James J. Shields, Jr., "Social Foundations of Education: The Problem of Relevance." *The Teachers College Record*, Vol. 70, October 1968, pp. 77-87.

ical constructs and research methodologies of the social and physical sciences. More importantly, however, it suggests a broader framework for structuring foundations courses. This framework encompasses (1) an analysis of the model of man implied in prevailing educational practices; (2) the testing of this model against the ideals reflected in the democratic tradition; and (3) an analysis of these ideals in terms of their relevance in today's world. Beyond this, of course, there is the search for the means of translating the more relevant ideals into practice as they become apparent. The product of all these efforts defines what is meant by policy-oriented knowledge in educational foundations.

Policy-oriented knowledge is an action-kind of knowledge and as such is not meant for storage in the deep recesses of one's being or in ivory towers; it is meant to be used. Increasingly, foundations professors are responding to the militant role teachers are assuming in shaping educational policy by gearing their courses to the formation of professionals who will assume roles as political activists and social reformers in those social settings outside the classroom where educational policy and practice is influenced.

However, the fund of policy-knowledge is so limited and the base of support outside the profession for radical change is so small that a sound case can be made for defining the responsible use of policy-oriented knowledge in much less dramatic terms. Actually, to take yet another page from the new revolutionaries, *responsible use* could be most appropriately defined for now at least as raising the sensibilities of a wide range of the population to the realities of our American educational system in terms of a more humanized vision of man's place in the universe than the one that has emerged in our highly industrialized, militarized, and centralized world. There has been enough experience with reform and reform-failure to give credibility to the belief of the young revolutionaries that this kind of sensibility on a wide scale is the *sine qua non* for a significant qualitative as well as quantitative change in American education.

Social Foundations and the Disciplines

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As one who has recently started teaching a course in social foundations of education, I have been naturally inclined toward specifying what it is I am doing. In some sense, this desire may be due to the experience of teaching a course for the first time. However, after reading some books and articles relating to the field, I find that many writers have dealt with social foundations in a way that leads them to believe the field cannot be defined.

Critics of courses in the foundations of education are abundant. They range from people outside professional education such as the famous James B. Conant¹, to those within the profession such as Charles Brauner² and, most recently, James J. Shields³. The argument against the foundations of education is strikingly similar in each case. Briefly stated, it goes something like this: Foundations courses are too general and vague and have no place in the preparation of teachers or anywhere in a university setting. Professors of social foundations, then, are generally men with a smattering of courses in several of the social sciences, but little or no depth in any. Their courses tend to reflect their preparation and lack the rigor of those given in the real disciplines. Their courses usually engage more in moralizing than scientific analyzing.

What do the critics see as the solution to the state of affairs they outline? A recent essay review on social foundations by Shields finds the solution to be three pronged. If courses in foundations want to survive:

they must be more relevant, more analytical, and more integrative. Basically, they must give greater attention to our metropolitan society, make

1 James B. Conant. *The Education of American Teachers*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

2 Charles Brauner. *American Educational Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

3 James J. Shields, "Social Foundations: The Problem of Relevance," *The Record*, October, 1968, pp. 77-87.

Professor Urban here takes issue with Messrs. Laska and Shields by raising some pointed questions about what Laska calls the "supportive disciplines." There is, Dr. Urban points out, considerable controversy today within a number of social science disciplines. The sociologists and political scientists, for example, are themselves divided between specialists and generalists. This writer thinks it unlikely that foundations can gain the independence and integration they seek by turning to the social sciences. He would want to see a search for a "more general type of social theory" to help in the identification of key problems in education. There may well be a move towards "generalism" in the social sciences today. The social foundations teacher, suggests Professor Urban, should pay heed.

better use of the analytical tools developed by modern science, and utilize the research findings of the humanities and the social sciences relevant to education.⁴

In the above, relevance means attention to recent research in the problems of metropolitan education. Analysis and integration will come from a consideration of the work relevant to education done by those "in the traditional scholarly disciplines of anthropology, history, philosophy, sociology, and political science."⁵ Thus, the particular faults of existing foundations courses are the neglect of recent research on education and the neglect of the insights provided by the established social sciences.

Demands for Relevance The key to remedying the situation is to reform the preparation of those in the foundations of education.

Because of the poor training graduate students receive in most departments of educational foundations, these departments, if they are to establish a strong scholarly base, must recruit most of their staff from graduate departments devoted to the humanities and the social sciences.⁶

The obvious result of this is fragmentation, but at this stage it is "necessary and inevitable."⁷ The solution for the fragmentation will come at a later stage when efforts will be made for the various specialists to communicate with each other and integrate the research findings related to education into a coherent and systematic body of knowledge.

What this seems to mean is that foundations, as of now, is not a discipline, but it can become one after all the social science people amass findings relating to education. Social foundations will assimilate these findings by approaching "the disciplines in terms of the scholarly needs of education and not *vice versa* as is customary among those in traditional academic areas."⁸

Conant Revisited The Shields argument is really a milder form of the argument developed by Conant. Conant thought it best to abolish courses in social foundations. He also wished to abolish courses in the history, philosophy, and sociology of education, or, perhaps keep these latter courses but have them offered by historians, philosophers, and sociolo-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

gists rather than people trained in education.⁹ The Shields argument differs from the Conant argument in that foundations courses and programs will not be abolished, but will be turned over to those in the "disciplines" and made scholarly. Shields argues that the field is worth keeping if it becomes respectable. Both accept the primacy of the social science disciplines. The Shields process of fragmentation and new combination is to result in

the creation of courses and programs that will produce individuals who are adept enough in the entire range of disciplines represented in the humanities and the social sciences that can integrate the research findings related to education into a coherent and systematic body of knowledge.¹⁰

Shields notes that the reform of foundations along the lines he suggests is taking place at eminent graduate centers such as Teachers College. This represents a coming of age for foundations departments.

Specialists vs. Educationists

The Conant solution I find rather simple and straightforward, though unacceptable for reasons I will soon enumerate. Shields seems to be playing a logical game. A good specialist, or several good specialists equal good generalists. The Conant argument seems superior. The good specialist is the good specialist; the educationist is not a specialist and therefore, he must go.

In other words, how can a social foundations man exist? Shields lets him exist if he is not actually this, but really a respectable disciplined scholar. He then can exist and the "field" of education emerges from integration and analysis of his insights and findings and those of his colleagues from other "disciplines." Shields has coined a term for education. It will be a *scholarly field* "such as government or religion."¹¹

The reliance on the methods and orientation of the traditional social science disciplines as the destroyer (Conant) or rebuilder (Shields) of social foundations seems to rest on the assumption that the scholars in these disciplines know what it is they are about. But if we take a look at at least one of the social science disciplines, we might be surprised to find that there is a great deal of dispute about just exactly what it is that goes on under the name of that discipline. Let us look briefly at sociology.

Checking a Social Science

In order to understand what is going on in a discipline let us check a recent issue of a representa-

⁹ Conant, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Shields, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

tive journal in the discipline. The *American Sociological Review* is listed on its title page as the "Official Journal of the American Sociological Association." There are nine research articles in the journal issue of October 1968. Let me just list the titles: "Power, Influence and Social Circles: A New Methodology for Studying Opinion Makers," "Multivariate Analysis of National Political Development," "Social Participation and Social Status," "A Stochastic Model of Social Mobility," "Occupational Mobility in Six Cities," "Do American Women Marry Up?", "Conformity and Defiance in the 'Situation of Company,'" "Socialization in Correctional Communities: A Replication," "The Distribution of Social and Cultural Properties in Informal Communication Networks among Biological Scientists."

A reading of these titles and a glance through the body of the articles is enough to convince one that there is little doubt that these people are specialists. Also, the devotion to methodology that is a major theme in these articles and is evidenced by the copious number of graphs, charts, and tables is enough to convince most that this is indeed research—solid, empirical research.

But if one looks outside of the major journals, he can find that there is a group of sociologists who are giving their colleagues a long, hard, critical look. I am referring to that group who might be termed as belonging to the "New Sociology." The first and most well known of these sociologists is C. Wright Mills. Others of this bent include Irving L. Horowitz, Alvin Gouldner, and Maurice Stein.

The New Sociologists

Looking at the books and articles of these sociologists we find an orientation much different from that in the *American Sociological Review*. They are much more theoretically oriented, though not anti-empirical or anti-research. The criticisms that they level at their peers center on the notion that the current state of sociology encourages abdication by sociologists of the real problems of our society. The emphasis of current sociology is too heavy on methodology and too light on substantive, moral issues. "The journalistic report-in-depth, the documentary study, the statistical survey—these, after all, are leading features of our intellectual age, in which the sheer accumulation of fact from every side often overwhelms us."¹²

Fact finding is criticized by Mills and adherents of the New Sociology because it often limits inquiry to a quite narrow sphere of society, it encourages

¹² C. Wright Mills. *Images of Man*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960, p. 6.

expensive research and grantsmanship, and it leads to a fact fetishism which tends to become the standard for all social inquiry.¹³ As an alternative to this, Mills and his followers advocate a study of society more aligned with historical study and in the tradition of the classic social scientists such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Michels. This study is involved with "larger meanings and bigger problems"¹⁴ than that of the contemporary sociological empiricists.

Now, the point of all this is to illustrate the fact that the sociologists are not at all in complete agreement about what they are doing. As a matter of fact, the brief sketch I have presented here does not begin to reach the depth of feeling and argument that the sociologists reach in their debates. The New Sociologists are not that interested in methodological solutions to particular problems. Would Shields and Conant have the contemporary sociologist or the New Sociologist involved in educational study? Perhaps both, but then which one would bear the title of sociologist? And by what title or discipline would the other be named?

Controversy in Political Science If one looks at political scientists, he finds that they also are not in agreement on their task. The fact that the political theorist and the behavioral political scientist occupy seats in the same department in a university says more about the irrationalities discovered in the history of academic politics than it does about the common bond between these two scholars. In a recent essay, a political scientist took his colleagues to task for concentrating on "formal" rather than "substantive" rationality. He argued that modern political science rigorously analyzes various sets of means in relation to the desired ends but rarely analyzes the way the ends were arrived at or possible alternatives to the given end. The formal analysis of means should be supplemented by the substantive analysis in which "ends should be as rigorously articulated and tested as are, in political science at its current best, the proposed means to those ends, or the predictive hypotheses on which statements about means to ends rest."¹⁵ The reason for supplying this additional step is that political science ought to be more than analysis. It has a normative function to exercise in addition to its analytic one.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Irving L. Horowitz, Ed. *The New Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965, p. x.

15 Christian Bay, "The Cheerful Science of Dismal Politics," in T. Roszak, Ed. *The Dissenting Academy*. New York: Random House, 1968, p. 224.

The overriding purpose of politics ought to be to do away with all avoidable suffering in this world or ours, and that the highest priority for political science should be to study how this can be brought about. . . .¹⁶

The type of dichotomies which exist in sociology and political science may also exist in other social sciences. I am not sure of this. However, it seems to me that the existence of the dichotomies in these two cases is enough evidence to support the contention that Shields and Conant, while being very attuned to the weaknesses and difficulties in the study of the social foundations of education, have been naive in the reliance on the traditional disciplines. Reliance on the disciplines does not get one out of the grip of the need for generalists or theorists. Theorists and generalists are what we found, in part, in the disciplines of sociology and political science. We might not be far from the truth in visualizing a kind of cooperation between the more theoretical wings in each of the social sciences in the future. There are some indications that social science may start to view itself as a single enterprise that studies society. At my own institution, we have an inter-disciplinary social science division that presumes to offer just this type of insight.

Towards Generalism And is this not precisely where this whole discourse was started? Social foundations was seen as being too general and vague. But if we turn to the social science disciplines we find that there is at least a small wing in one of the social science disciplines, namely the "New Sociology," that might encourage us to continue in the direction of general social science. In education departments and colleges, we are turning out a plethora of methodologists and empirical researchers. Conant and Shields seem to want social foundations to follow that trend. It seems, at least to some, to be a blind alley.

But then where can those in social foundations turn for advice on what it is they are about? My own inclination is to search in the directions of a more general type of social theory which might enable one to make intelligent use of the myriad of educational research and which also might enable those in social foundations to identify some key problems and ideas that need to be researched. The researchers in education need direction. They seem to be going nowhere at an extremely rapid pace.

As far as specific places and people to consult to find out more about the tasks of social foundations, I would make two suggestions. One would be to investigate the insights of Mills and other adherents of the New Sociology and of the more generally inclined in all the social sciences. As mentioned be-

16 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

fore, there seems possible a development of social science community among these men that we in social foundations may profit from.

The second suggestion would be to investigate more thoroughly the history of the social foundations movement. An understanding of the concerns that motivated those who started the movement would be extremely helpful in determining the positions of social foundations today.

My own hunch is that these two suggestions are different ways of doing similar things. Social Foundations developed at a time when social scientists seemed more disposed to cooperate with each other and with those in education. To investigate the new sociology and the history of social foundations may show why this cooperation did exist. I do not think it is coincidence that causes Harold Rugg¹⁷ to dedicate the section on the social foundations of American education in his book on foundations of education to Thorstein Veblen, the same Veblen who C. Wright Mills calls "the best social scientist America has produced."¹⁸

17 Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education*. New York: World Book Company, 1947.

18 Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

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THE CONANT CONTROVERSY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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Educational Foundations: Contributions at Undergraduate Level

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We will defend the contention that the foundational studies of education at the undergraduate level are essential to the development of an orientation needed by the teacher for coping with the unprecedented social problems of the present. The foundations of education are understood to be interdisciplinary attempts to study education in multi-sided perspectives. They are built upon the contributions of various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. The foundations area was developed in a number of colleges and universities in the 1950's; and, given increases in course requirements and assignments of personnel, the area is still growing at the graduate and undergraduate levels. The degree of its expansion can be seen in the amount of publication in the field.¹

Even so, foundational studies of education have been subjected to severe criticism and devaluation. It is said that they do not constitute a rigorous body of knowledge but rather "attempt to patch together scraps of history, philosophy, political theory, sociology and pedagogical ideology."² A scepticism

1 In the present analysis, "foundations" will be used to refer only to social and philosophical foundations of education.

2 James B. Conant. *The Education of American Teachers*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1963.

Arguing for undergraduate educational foundations courses, the authors draw attention to the need to comprehend cultural crisis, the need to perceive "education" as a whole, and the need to remake cultural attitudes with respect to teaching aims. They want to see the emergence of educational "statesmen" capable of participating in policy-making. Above all, they hope to see the achievement of an educational integrity which foundational studies may help to secure. Professor Howell is Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Foundations at Rhode Island. Dr. Shimahara, who used to teach with him, now teaches Educational Anthropology at Rutgers.

respecting the field has been propagated by James B. Conant, whose overall view is suggested by the following statement:

In general, however, I would advise the elimination of such eclectic courses (foundations courses), for not only are they usually worthless, but they give education departments a bad name.³

In Conant's opinion, a foundations course is "worthless" because it offers only a "superficial knowledge."

Furthermore, perhaps encouraged by Conant's acrimony with respect to foundations, a significant number of professors in education have helped generate further negative reactions. Many have an overwhelming vocational bias. They seek the reduction or the complete elimination of the foundations of education courses from the undergraduate teacher training program.⁴

Foundations in an Age of Crisis In order to understand the necessity for foundational studies in undergraduate teacher education, we must give brief attention to the present predicament of our contemporary culture. The notion of cultural crisis has long dominated the minds of a number of careful thinkers, sensitive social observers, and astute educators. Our culture is characterized not only by "existential crisis" but also by "axiological crisis," as David Bidney phrases it.⁵ That is, cultural crises have threatened both our social existence and our system of values. The crisis theme has been eloquently articulated at various stages by John Dewey, Karl Jaspers, Karl Mannheim, Pitirim Sorokin, Erich Fromm, Ashley Montagu, Jules Henry, to name a few. The breath-taking transformations in our culture have fostered the growth of crises where cultural norms and mechanisms of social perpetuity are concerned. As Fromm remarks, "Any description of the basic trends of Western history in the last four hundred years would be lacking in an essential element unless it took account of a profound spiritual change."⁶ In his latest work, *Education for Tragedy*, Kenneth Benne aptly states the essence of the crisis theme:

The diagnosis of the contemporary predicament of men which underlies my proposal of a tragic strategy reflects the growing witness, offered by students of human arrangements and derangements, that human society is today in a state of crisis, in transition from one structural system of fun-

³ *Ibid.* p. 127.

⁴ Between three to six semester hours are usually required at most colleges.

⁵ David Bidney. *Theoretical Anthropology*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1960, p. 355.

⁶ Erich Fromm. *May Man Prevail?* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, p. 355.

damental order to some other. An order of relationships between life conditions, institutions, and a system of ideas and ideals, an order linking these factors in some semblance of meaningful and livable integration, has been challenged.⁷

The vitality of foundational studies in the undergraduate training programs of the teaching profession is grounded in an awareness of and sensitivity to the crisis of the present. Public education must cope with it unless education is to be just another agency of contemporary derangement.⁸ Public education, as Benne says, is useful to social continuity and conducive to shared social efforts to overcome pains and frustrations generated by cultural disorders. It must, therefore, seek ways to confront the reality that we are living in an age of crisis.⁹ It is obvious from the spirit of public education that teachers are responsible for the public's welfare, whether they are specialists, kindergarten teachers, counselors or administrators. Our age of cultural crisis demands that all undergraduate teacher trainees come to grips with this public responsibility before they actually assume their teaching duties. They need to develop an orientation which provides: first, a common understanding of the fundamental purpose and theory of public education; second, a sense of common responsibility to confront conflicts and crises through mutual understanding and commitment; third, a realization that the teaching profession ought to be a unified enterprise, not a collection of horizontally and vertically segregated elements.¹⁰ The foundational studies at the undergraduate level aim to effect such reforms in attitude and action instead of creating the rigorous body of knowledge Dr. Conant seems to have in mind.

A Debate The rationale of the foundational studies can be conceived in two ways. Neither is incorrect, unless it is conceived as a sufficient condition of educational value. We shall return to this point.

7 Kenneth Benne. *Education for Tragedy*. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1967, p. 3.

8 For support of this view, see Theodore Brameld. *Education for the Emerging Age*. New York: Harper, 1965. Parts One and Two; also William Stanley. *Education and Social Integration*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. Chapter 6.

9 Kenneth Benne, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

10 For further discussion, see The Division of Historical, Comparative, Philosophical, and Social Foundations of Education, University of Illinois: *The Theoretical Foundations of Education*. Urbana, Ill.: Bureau of Research and Service, The College of Education, University of Illinois, 1951, pp. 1-4. Also see Harry Broudy, "The Role of the Foundational Studies in the Preparation of Teachers," in Stanley Elam, Ed. *Improving Education in the United States*. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1967, pp. 1-33.

First, the social and philosophical foundations are organized efforts to inquire into contingent needs generated in the dynamics of social life. They oblige, through their orientations, the teacher trainee to see himself as a member of the community and a member of the profession. The working out of this rationale is negative and positive. Negatively, the foundational studies can be seen as an attempt to prevent the teacher trainee from stopping with a limited conception of the school or such a parochial conception of teaching "as telling students about his subject." Positively, they help create and recreate his vision of education and of its more active relations with the community as a culturally indigenous product.¹¹

This vision of education appreciates bi-focal perspectives. Education is necessarily subject to changes initiated by the community; and the problems of the community ought to be subjected to the critical study that education provides. If the teacher aspires to a creative role of teaching and learning in harmony with cultural renewal and continuity, he is expected to be resilient and experimental. There may be no annual revolution penetrating the core of human cultural relations, and requiring the teacher to readjust or remake his values. But readiness and sensitivity to emerging contingent needs are required of the teacher, if he is to deal with his changing world.

In the narrow sense, changes are always taking place both in education and its cultural milieu. His "subject" changes in relation to other teachers' subjects, varying systems of social behavior, indeterminate economic needs and interests, dynamic political structures, as well as other reflective patterns of his culture. In brief, in these macrocosmic and microcosmic changes, the teacher trainee confronts contingent academic, social, economic, political, and cultural needs to which the foundational studies are a vital and necessary sensitizer.

The foundational studies are, in addition, logical bases of the teacher trainee's and regular teacher's needs. In teacher training, they create and maintain the means-ends relationships of specific practices as rational value practices; in regular teaching situations, they do the same for the objectives-aims relationships of the total educational enterprise.

Let us take an example. Elementary school teacher trainees are prepared by means of curricula geared to a fixed end, i.e., the existence of self-contained classrooms and grade-by-grade progress in all subjects of the elementary school. "The difficulty that the present kind of elementary teacher preparation program presents," writes Sidney Rollins, "is that it virtually dictates the

¹¹ Theodore Brameld. *Cultural Foundations of Education*. New York: Harper and Row, 1951, pp. 191-274. Also Harold Rugg. *Social Foundations of American Education*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1947, pp. 619-712.

perpetuation of curriculum and methodology that is out-of-date. Present teacher preparation programs militate against change in American public schools."¹²

What is the required reform? If we assume that changes are and will continue to be needed, then teachers and teacher trainees must be offered the foundational studies that they need to have in order to restructure educational aims and to definalize ends. Educational aims and ends become fixed and detrimental to progress when something that previously operated to promote them no longer serves evolving situations. The self-contained classroom and grade-by-grade progress were not the original aims or ends of teacher-training. Originally, we accepted an aim like teaching children to think critically, or to read and write more intelligently. Something wrong occurred. Since it is very difficult to teach or train students to restructure their aims, to revitalize their ends, or to reexamine their goals, the objectives of the educational institution in a rigidly structured framework—the mode of teaching in a self-contained classroom and the form of assessment associated with grade-by-grade progress in all subjects of the elementary school—are taken to be aims, ends, or goals. In short, aims disappear. This happened tragically to American education.

We call the foregoing the vocational view. It is the persistent threat of our colleagues with such a viewpoint to divorce the objectives from the aims of education, and to drop responsibility for defining aims by claiming that the objectives are their own justifications. We oppose the professional view to it.

The Professional View The professional view, which is the core of the foundational studies, forces responsibility upon our colleagues in the teacher-training colleges, universities, and general state colleges. We would have teacher preparation include patterns of discussion, thought, and affective responses to purposes. We would keep the means-ends relationships vital. Otherwise, the vocational view will reassert itself. The social and philosophical foundations of education will be dropped or drastically pared in credit hours. Narrowly defined objectives of classroom teaching would be cast as their own justification, without regard for more fundamental bases of justification upon which the projection of objectives is rendered meaningful. Finally, lack of thinking and sensitivity about aims by teacher trainees at specific stages, e.g., undergraduate and pre-professional, would be absolved.

We shall now consider what is rationally valuable in the professional view. Preparing teachers *professionally* for any kind of education—elementary, secondary, collegiate, university, or special—will be rational whenever a com-

¹² Sidney Rollins, "The Preparation of Teachers: A Modest Proposal." A mimeographed paper, Providence, R. I., March 1968, pp. 6-7.

mitment to re-examine purposes is present and exercised by students. Thereby, the search for reasons is constant. Two criteria will govern it. Professional preparation will be rational to the extent that it is "economical with respect to all values in the situation." Also the practice will be rational to the extent that it is "freed from sanctions unrelated to conditions" of professional work.¹³

Uneconomical practices become detectable whenever change is blocked on the basis of a single value or a group of values, often said to be "absolute." Today, lack of economy is prevalent in the irrational connection of teaching method and the professional structure of teaching. Changes in teaching method are either blocked or distorted, because they are feared, i.e., they would have an unwanted or unprepared-for effect upon the professional structure of teaching. The current structure has the status of an absolute value.

For example, team teaching is an attempt to change the professional structure of teaching. (Most people have erroneously perceived it to be a different method of teaching.) New demands in elementary education might be better met if teachers were organized with para-professional personnel into a team of professional workers, similar to a medical team. Every experienced teacher in it would perform a different function and enact a different educational role. The teachers would not be chosen because they could interchange roles; they would be chosen because each could complement the role of others. Team teaching has not prospered, despite the obvious advantages of economy. It has been blocked, because the majority of teachers and administrators have held the belief that the self-contained classrooms and their accessories are either pragmatic or rational absolutes.

Some schools have instituted team teaching. Many of them have it in name only. By this we mean that the "master teacher" of the team differs experientially from the other members of the team. Each is exercising the same skill or enacting the same role; differentiation is simply along the experienced and/or inexperienced dimension. The professional structure of teaching does not change.

The preparation of teachers should be freed from sanctions unrelated to conditions of professional work, too. An example of unwarranted sanctions is the threat a community may pose to a teacher who uses evolutionary data and forms of explanation in teaching human values. A teacher who suggests, albeit carefully and with plenty of data, that honesty, fairness, justice, etc. are products of cultural evolution and not necessarily the products of an absolute, divine origin of human beings is a teacher liable to ridicule, classroom disruption, and loss of job.

¹³ Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan. *Power and Society*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 150.

Similar sanctions are brought against those who teach biology, anthropology, sociology, comparative religion, philosophy, and political science from an evolutionary point of view. However, the teachers of human values who work in the elementary schools are liable to meet this challenge first. Teacher-training programs must include components to meet this challenge. The rational virtues of professional practice in teaching must be won anew by each teacher trainee. The foundational studies of the undergraduate trainee operate for the good in this effort.

Fostering Statesmanship If Philip Phenix's definition of education that it is the process of engendering essential meanings¹⁴ is to be fully appreciated, better engineering of the educational enterprise must not be the only aim of education. If education is to dedicate itself to public welfare, it must involve itself in examining critically and even helping plan social arrangements and educational systems. In short, education requires creative statesmanship, i.e., creativity in policy making, instead of only "means-making." Public education confronted with the crisis of the contemporary social order demands that every teacher be capable of participating in the development of common educational goals and in the making of strategies for educational and social change, which bridge subject specializations and administrative divisions. Foundational studies aim to foster creative statesmanship of knowledge and value.

In the course of their professional training, teacher trainees, acquire general knowledge in the liberal arts areas, skills, and some knowledge of specialties in the professional fields. What is lacking, however, is an orientation encompassing the totality of education and grasping its overall structures, processes, and functions, and furthermore, a posture of attitudes and action to force recognition of the social problems with which education must cope. The more specialization becomes differentiated, the more important becomes an orientation for the understanding of the over-all and common problems of education. What is urgently needed is an orientation framework which creates a bridge among different specializations and various divisions of education—a framework of attitudes that cognitively compels a sense of responsibility to education as a whole and a sense of meaningful involvement in the process of education.

Teachers may be craftsmen in their specialties; but the need for innovation in public education and the culture requires statesmanship as well. Like a politician who needs to envisage the entire structure of his society, an

14 Philip Phenix, *The Reins of Meaning*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, p. 5.

effective teacher-craftsman must have a comprehensive awareness of the educative process and social realities affecting education. The improvement of education today demands that the teacher be an active participant in policy making. A teacher who lacks the grasp and awareness of the process of educational dynamics in the matrix of culture is a miserable, alienated engineer.

We believe that it is the unique role of foundational studies to meet the needs described above.

From Polarization to Integrity Many ways of

looking at educational polarization are current, but we shall note only two salient modes. One is polarization of education from culture. Though education possesses its basic reasons for existence in, and is inevitably affected by the crises of the contemporary culture, neither education nor the culture has confidently and honorably used each other's resources and power. An apt example is presented in the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders directed by Governor Kerner of Illinois.¹⁵ Education has not been appreciably used as a social vanguard to attack racism even though racism has been one of the most explosive powers of our culture.

Lacking active cooperation, education and the culture are covertly opposed to each other. In the polarization of education from the culture, the needs of the culture are not effectively met by education, nor are novel educational incentives and ideas willingly supported by the culture. Such pressing problems of our culture, for example, morality and ideology are not courageously and effectively treated by education. In reverse, our observation reveals resistance on the part of various cultural institutions to education functioning as an agent of innovation in technology and human affairs. Jules Henry's critical observation of our culture being "against man" reinforces our argument.¹⁶

Second, polarization of educational personnel from one another by the creation of horizontal and vertical segregation of the teaching profession is rampant. Horizontally, specializations are segmented into a number of isolated categories; vertically, the teaching profession is divided into different grade levels and various functional levels. Polarization occurs when each can evade sanctions after ignoring responsibilities for communication with the other. It is generated if no unifying orientation exists which ties together different elements in them. Polarization weakens and ultimately discourages the associative use of knowledge. The outcome is a diminution of shared interests,

¹⁵ See the summary of the Commission's report in the *New York Times*, March 1, 1968.

¹⁶ See Jules Henry, *Culture Against Man*. New York: Random House, 1963.

since those who can share interests on an interpretive or a theoretical use of knowledge are few. The aim of education cannot be conceived so narrowly. Knowledge and value have richer ties!¹⁷

The resolution of the estrangement between education and the culture, thus, will consist mainly in the development of cooperation between the institution of education and other cultural organizations. Meanwhile, the internal polarization of education will be dissolved by means of a unifying orientation, the development of communication of central problems, tasks, and goals of education. This will lead to educational integrity supported with the sense of cooperation, unity, commitment to common goals which educators share with other people. Foundational studies endeavor to create the educational integrity for which there is so much need.

Interdisciplinary Nature of Foundational Studies

The view that foundational studies are eclectic is myopic and unreflective. First, foundational studies have their own content. The professor of social foundations of education could, if he chose, devote an entire semester to the topic of education's role of professionalizing services, e.g., medical, dental, law, teaching, nursing, diplomacy, etc. He would be teaching material from his own discipline too, because education is a social process that affects and organizes other social processes. Nonetheless, the aim of teaching as a social process is different from other social processes, e.g., hospitalization, banking, cocktail party attendance, etc.

Are the foundational studies truly interdisciplinary? Yes. They are built upon the contributions of major disciplines that study man as well as man's diverse attempts to educate himself. The foundations of education are interdisciplinary studies that preserve identity and autonomy in the same way and context as do political science, economics, sociology. These disciplines, including the foundations of education, are capable of being called "policy sciences," "institutional sciences," "policy disciplines," or "institutional disciplines."

They possess two epistemological characteristics in common. First, their data is intersubjective, and similarly amenable to prediction and control by the formation of an institution. For example, the institutionalized data of economics (e.g., monetary, fiscal) are epistemologically equivalent to the insti-

17 Harry Broudy, B. O. Smith, and J. R. Burnett. *Democracy and Excellence in Education*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964. pp. 43-60 and pp. 139-158.

tutionalized data of education (e.g., disciplinary, administrative).^{*} Second, their autonomy is focal. The autonomy of economics, for example, rests upon the fact that other institutional disciplines such as political science and sociology must take into account economic data at some point in their theoretical constructions and practical deliberations. The autonomy of economics, nonetheless, is not absolute, for it must focus, from time to time, upon data external to its institutions. Similarly, the autonomy of education is focal. Whereas institutional forms determine how, for example, the professionalization of law, medicine, teaching, or any other service may be best effected, education must depend upon the data supplied to it by demographers, economists, and other social scientists.

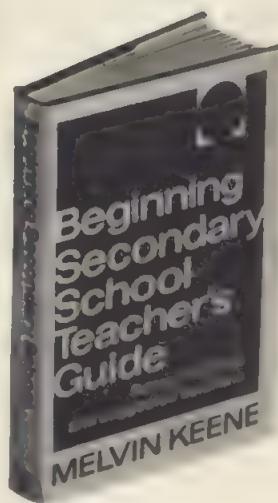
* "Epistemological equivalence" means that each has the cognitive status the other has with respect to the autonomy of its data and expressions of knowledge. It does *not* mean, however, that each is the same knowledge as the other; one is *not* reducible to the other. Each does use different institutions—education uses schools, colleges, libraries, universities, teaching machines; economics uses banks, security markets, etc.—as devices for promoting predictions and control.

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What Are the Foundational Questions?

Philip W. Perdew
University of Denver

Depending upon one's mood at a given time, one may judge the organization of the "foundations" area to be shamefully confused or meritoriously varied. If "confused," it is perceived as a contributor to the intellectual chaos of the present day. If "varied," on the other hand, it is perceived as but another aspect of fluidity, alternatives, and freedom of choice. In the October 1968 RECORD, James J. Shields, Jr. called for reorganization in the educational foundations courses:

. . . while there has been some change in the organization and focus of educational foundations courses, the change has not been nearly as sweeping nor as widespread as it should be. If these courses are to be the true *foundations* of teacher education, they must be more relevant, more analytical, and more integrative. Basically, they must give greater attention to our metropolitan society, make better use of the analytical tools developed by modern science, and utilize the research findings of the humanities and the social sciences relevant to education [italics in the original].

A new system of organization may provide one more alternative among many, or it may just possibly open some new avenues of thought and investigation and lead to a useful integration and synthesis of the field.

Courses under the title of "foundations" are introduced to college students at many different levels, ranging from the sophomore to the doctoral candidate. The course content may include school law, school finance, conditions of learning, school organization, purposes of education, comparative education, general methods, and many other areas as well as the familiar history of education, educational sociology, and philosophy of education.

Textbooks with "foundations" in the title vary in areas covered as well as in organization. One widely used book is a history of education. More typical is the book which has separate sections on philosophy of education, educational sociology, and history of education, either American or general western. Illustrative are such books under the title of *Foundations of Education* by men such as Kneller and Stone. Illustrative also are the paperback series of recent

Professor Perdew responds to James Shields' demand for more relevant, analytical, and integrative foundations courses by proposing an organization by means of foundational questions "relevant to the making of educational decisions." His concerns are to consult a variety of disciplines in such a way that the scope of educational theory may be clarified.

years under the rubric of "foundations" or "keystones." They, too, seem to be devoted to traditional fields with some breakdown of philosophy of education into two or more areas or approaches.

Harold Rugg and John Brubacher, in their time, utilized slightly different modes of organization. Rugg attempted, in *Foundations for American Education*, to present a synthesis of several disciplines which might be considered to provide education with its foundations. He expanded the trinity of philosophy, history, and sociology to include other fields which he considered to be significant: biology and aesthetics. Brubacher's *History of the Problems of Education* (1947) was structured in terms of problems or problem areas. The educational problem areas for him were elementary education, secondary education, curriculum, teacher education, school administration and others. Brubacher's *Modern Philosophies of Education* (1939) and his *Eclectic Philosophy of Education* (1951) both focused attention on problems of education, although they differed from each other and from his earlier history textbook in many respects. Brubacher and Rugg, each in his own way, broke with the general trend in the structuring of the foundational areas.

Some scholars apparently find satisfaction in the division of foundations into history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and perhaps anthropology of education. Course descriptions, to the extent which they can be trusted to give even an approximation of the actual content, suggest that these areas are common.

Separate treatments of these areas limit the field unduly. First, there may be a need to draw on fields such as economics, political science, and international relations. Second, in the treatment of the educational sociology section, it is all too easy to overlook relevant historical data or philosophical considerations. In the third place, if foundations is made up only of pieces of philosophy, sociobiology, etc., it might be taught best by scholars in those disciplines rather than by educationists. Finally, the choice of such a composite structure is a denial that there is any such study as foundations of education.

In summary, the field of foundations of education is ill-defined. It ranges in concern from matters which are rather narrowly limited to conceptions which are fantastically broad in their applications. For those scholars who look for integration and synthesis and who regard theory as the most practical study for educators, an alternative organization should be attractive.

An Alternative Proposal Here is an alternative organization of the foundations of education, built upon the assumption that by asking questions one can start ideas flowing, and fruitful concepts evolving. Education has some foundational questions. The criteria for their selection might well include the following:

1. They are abstract or theoretical.
2. They have broad application to many specific or practical situations.
3. For their solution, they draw upon data in more than one field.
4. They have potential for generating new data.
5. They are problems in *education*, not in philosophy, sociology, psychology, or any other discipline, although they may generate data which will be useful to other disciplines.

What are the foundational questions? The following questions or problem areas are tentatively identified as illustrative of what might be done with a new approach. Each is intended to fulfill some, or, hopefully, all of the above criteria.

1. *How important is education?* In what sense is education important? To what extent and for whom is education important: for everyone in our society or just for some people? How important and in what way is education important for the home, economy, the government? These inter-related questions can be answered in part by examining historical data, not the history of educational institutions particularly, but intellectual and social history generally. Evidence of the impact of education upon social change or stability, both historically and contemporaneously, would be helpful. Economic data would be needed. Anthropology might furnish data on the relevance of education to primitive societies, and both anthropology and international relations could furnish estimates, at least, of the role which education might play in developing and modernizing nations. Philosophy, particularly axiology, has relevant judgments both historically and at the present time on these questions.

Answers to these questions affect school planning. The number of pupils to be anticipated and at what levels depend upon viewpoints relative to answers to these questions, and all decisions based upon enrollments evolve therefrom. Answers to these questions might well influence the public relations of the schools.

2. *How educable is man?* What determines his educability? What is the relative importance of heredity and environment in limiting or freeing man's educability? Is man educable in the same sense and to the same extent in both cognitive and affective aspects of living, in skill development, and in the making of moral choices? Here again, answers to these inter-related questions can not be found in a single discipline. Scholars in the area of the measurement of intelligence have developed data which are relevant to our questions. Physiological psychologists have a contribution to make through data which reveal changes in the chemistry of animals as a result of a stimulating learning environment as well as through other studies. Data on similarities and differences between presumably identical twins who have been raised apart from each

other would seem to be relevant. Cross-cultural studies showing similarities and differences in learnings of groups of persons in similar natural environments should likewise be instructive.

Judgments based upon answers to these questions can have profound effects upon major educational decisions. The age for assignment of children for specialized treatment as well as the kind of treatment which they will receive are both dependent upon the extent to which decision-makers are convinced that learning differences are genetically caused. Decisions as to whether or not all children should study art and music, or whether they are appropriate studies only for those who are naturally endowed with ability in these areas can be aided by illumination through study of these related questions. These examples illustrate decisions in school organization and curriculum. Others could be developed and identified relative to other types of school decisions.

3. *What differences are there between groups of people and among individuals?* Are the differences greater between groups or within groups? What are the sources of these differences? Are the differences easily reduced or not? Is it valuable to preserve difference or even to foster it? These questions on differences are in part complementary to those relating to educability which were discussed above. Similar kinds of data could be used to answer both sets of questions. Here, however, is included a larger emphasis upon value decisions to which philosophy should make a greater contribution than psychology. Differences among individuals have been recognized for all of recorded history. Plato included the allegory of the metals in the *Republic* as an explanation which was to be given to people as the justification for differences which they would find in their society. Perhaps the Calvinists with their doctrine of the elect of God may be relevant to these questions. Early nineteenth century views of the differences between poor children who were working in the mills and more prosperous children seem to have included a deterministic or fatalistic approach. This extremely sketchy analysis identifies only a limited range of the kinds of data which might conceivably relate to the questions. They are illustrative only.

4. *Is growth continuous or sporadic?* Is growth in all aspects of living and learning—cognition, emotion, skill, character, and personality—similar or different in pattern? Are there stages in human development when one or another aspect particularly surges ahead, or is at least more susceptible to cultivation? The importance of answers to these questions to the curriculum is unquestionable. Philosophers, Rousseau for one, have spoken on this question. G. Stanley Hall had a viewpoint, whether as a psychologist or a philosopher. Data upon these questions are necessary for making decisions on classification of children for instruction, curriculum, teaching methods, and other facets of education.

5. *What is the description of the educated man?* If cost is no objection, what is the best possible education? Do all persons have the potential for becoming educated? If cost must be taken into consideration, who shall be, or who can be educated to the ideal level or in the ideal way? To answer these questions, we can turn to history, particularly the history of educational philosophy as did Paul Nash and others in *The Educated Man* (1965). The advocates of liberal education commonly write about an ideal education, although they differ considerably as to whether or not it is feasible for all persons. Anthropologists through cross-cultural studies should be able to provide useful data. Economics and political science may furnish data relative to the economic or political feasibility of universal education to the ideal of the educated man.

Here have been presented five questions, none of which has been fully developed here or elsewhere. There are other questions at the level of theory and general relevance. Some of them are presented below with far less elaboration.

6. *Who should go to school?* What age levels should go to school? How nearly universal should schools be? Under what social conditions should learning be undertaken? Should all social groupings attend school, and should they attend together? What are the effects of integrated as against segregated education? Data and analysis for answers to these questions could involve psychologists, sociologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, and philosophers.

7. *What should be studied?* One traditional organization of fundamental problems of education has been three-fold—the ends, the means, that is the curriculum, and the subjects, the persons to be educated. These are the why, the what, and the who of education. Other questions among those which were stated above relate also to the curriculum.

8. *Who should educate?* Is the verb "educate" a transitive verb, that is, does one person educate another, or is all or some education self-education? To the extent that one educates another person, is there any importance to be attached to the origins, education, and associations of teachers? To what extent are their teachers or their peers the real educators of children?

9. *Who should make educational decisions?* What should be the roles of children, parents, the community, teachers, administrators, school board, or others in making decisions about the schools? What are the social implications of the predominance of one or another of the groups identified above? What are the likely bases for making decisions of each of these groups?

10. *What is the human potential for progress?* What is the role of education in promoting progress? What are the social effects of education?

11. *Does education have its own ends, or are the ends of education subservient to other ends?* Are the schools intended to supply the economy with skilled workers? Is it the purpose of the school to promote the use of reason in our society? Should the schools do whatever the school board chooses for them to do? Should elementary schools prepare children for secondary schools, secondary schools prepare for college, college prepare for professional schools, and the latter prepare for life? What happens to those who do not go to professional school? These questions are, of course, closely related to the ones about the educated man and those concerned with who makes educational decisions.

12. *Is education a discipline?* If so, is it a theoretical or an applied discipline or both? If it is a discipline, is it also a science? Does education have its own content, its own procedures of investigation and analysis which generate new knowledge, understandings, and insights?

Here have been presented twelve questions, each of which has several corollary questions. In a sense the identification and stating of such questions in this context is an affirmative answer to the last of the twelve sets of questions, or at least a step in the direction of an affirmative answer.

Terminology Finally, there is a question of terminology. "Foundations" is about as ambiguous a term as "principles" of education. It appears to be open to abuse as a kind of garbage can for the scrapings from the cafeteria trays of education. Perhaps the invention of a new term can provide an opportunity for the development of a new subject matter with an intellectual and integrative rationale of its own. The Greeks usually had a word for it. When they didn't, the Romans did. One possibility would be to do a little historical research on terms and see whether or not the Greeks or Romans might have had a good word for education which has been lost and merely needed to be resurrected. "Pedagogics" in various translations has some usage in Europe, but in this country it is tainted. Perhaps the best immediate solution would be to use some of our Latin and Greek roots in their modern form and settle for either or both of "educology" and "eduosophy."

Pre-service Education of Teachers With the limitations which time places upon us in an undergraduate teacher education program, what foundational problems should be used? This is a difficult decision which will be made by each individual institution and instructor. All of them combine to build the foundation. Resolving the concerns implicit in any one of them leads a student into one or more of the others. If there is a criterion for selecting among them, it may well be derivative from the roles

played by the beginning teacher. The beginning teacher's responsibilities for the present will lie with the education of the children in the classroom. Curriculum choices will be made within a more or less prescribed framework. The decisions regarding reorganization of the educational system to serve newly recognized social purposes will be made by the career teachers, administration, and probably community representatives.

Certain of the problems are more closely associated with the classroom than are others. Classroom teachers need some fundamental understandings about the educability of man, for example. Closely associated are understandings concerning the source and modifiability of individual differences. Views toward growth, readiness to learn, appropriateness of child behavior and of teacher approaches for different developmental stages—all are important to the teacher's strategy and tactics. The teacher can scarcely operate without making decisions concerning the purpose of education, deciding whether it is more important to stress a child's self-concept or the mastery of a new skill or new knowledge. Finally, a new teacher needs an understanding about who a teacher is, his relationship to social institutions and processes, his participation in his profession, and the importance of the teacher to the child.

It is with some reluctance that I have drawn up a list of priority problems, and in doing so, I have touched on many of the foundational questions. I have omitted the question of who should go to school, but how the teacher views this question will affect his categorization of children into those bound toward college and professions or toward other less intellectual pursuits. This, in turn, can affect his treatment of the children and can lead toward a self-fulfilling prophecy. Preference would be to include the whole gamut of foundational questions and others as yet not identified.

Finally, or almost finally, there is the matter of the relation of foundations to the practice of teaching. This is, of course, not a new enterprise. David Page, writing the preface to his *Theory and Practice of Teaching* in 1847, stated that "Theory may justly mean the science distinguished from the art of teaching . . . in practice these should never be divorced" [italics in the original]. Again, W. H. Payne in bringing out the 1885 edition of the same work stated, "This treatment embodies the highest philosophy; for to know the end is almost to know the way, and to feel a strong impulse to reach the end, is finally to find the way." This statement might imply an intellectual map which places educational theory between the disciplines of sociology, history, philosophy, and psychology as the foundations of education and the practical problems of education. I would alter the map a bit by expanding the number of disciplines, placing the foundations of education between them and theory with the latter more closely tied to the problems of practice. The deductive

approach derives the solution of practical problems from the body of educational theory or the foundational disciplines. The selection of theory and of foundational questions more readily derive from the problems of educational practice. The decision as to what are the foundational questions stem from what questions arise as one contemplates practice and practical decisions. Further, there is theory which is closely related to practices, theory concerning the teaching of reading, for example, which is illumined by the foundational questions.

Summary The area of study which has been called the foundations of education is not well defined. Designers and administrators of teacher education curricula might be forgiven for feeling justified in deleting it under the pressure for meaningful use of student time. Shields called for foundations of education to be made more relevant, analytical, and integrative. Here the emphasis has been on an analytical and integrative approach to the foundational questions which are relevant to the making of educational decisions. A careful study of these questions will involve the student with data and methodology from a variety of disciplines—history, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, economics, political science, and others. In turn, such study may generate data which can be useful to those disciplines. This proposal is intended to strengthen and enrich the role of educational theory by clarifying its scope through defining it in terms of relevance to education.

Black People, Not Student Personnel: The "Disadvantaged" in Teacher Education

Walter Feinberg
University of Illinois

David Tyack
Stanford University

A colleague of ours agreed to teach a seminar in a new program of teacher education. After meeting his class, he observed: "I have lectured often, but this is the first time I will really need to teach."

What did he mean? Simply that the multiversity is better at sorting and programming students than really teaching them. Our society worships credentials, and thus the university becomes the gateway to good jobs. As gatekeepers, professors often assume that students will learn what they are told to learn and that the chief motivation need be only a stiff examination. Through admissions tests and subsequent screening, universities customarily limit their "student personnel" to those who have already acquired the appropriate skills of academic survival. Professors and graduate students know that their own welfare depends more on the research they do than on their ability as instructors. Specialization and departmental competition for students and funds further discourages a rationally coordinated program of instruction. Most students accept the system because they know that without credentials they will be lost in the corporate world of bureaucratic America.

Why, then, did our colleague say that he would need to teach? Some of the students did not automatically demonstrate the usual academic skills and some

Professors Feinberg and Tyack both taught in the program they describe at the University of Illinois. Facing a problem relatively new in teacher education, they helped create an "alternate" program appropriate for minority students, which would help clarify perspective, provide missing skills, and make some experience possible in local schools. The students' response was generally positive, but the questions remain. The writers here make a number of problems visible no teacher educator can afford to miss. Professor Feinberg teaches at the University of Illinois and chairs the steering committee for ATEP. Professor Tyack is presently at Stanford. While at Illinois, he was a member of the ATEP steering committee.

questioned the legitimacy of the university's priorities. They were mostly black, mostly from urban ghettos, proud of their people and not willing to accept the attitude of "bourgeoisie or bust." They were forcing their teachers to examine values and practices too long taken for granted in university communities.

These students were part of the "500 Program" at the University of Illinois, a search for minority students which was spurred by the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April of 1968. Concerned members of the university pointed out that the institution enrolled fewer than one per cent of black students in a state where the Negro population was ten per cent (there were more students from Taiwan and Hong Kong, by comparison). Illinois agreed to relax its admission standards, admitting students for the "500 Program" who ranked in the top half of their high school class, but who would not normally have made the grade point average required. Over the summer members of the Black Students' Association actively recruited freshmen and exceeded the goal of 500 students (almost all of them black).

Challenge at Champaign-Urbana This success in attracting students posed a sharp challenge to the university. It was a large program capable in time of transforming the university from a predominately white, upper-middle class enclave into a genuinely representative institution. Yet the history of black students in Champaign-Urbana did not augur well for the future. Overt discrimination and Ku Klux Klan activity had lingered in the community into the 1950's; signs of more subtle racism were everywhere apparent to its victims. The drop-out rate of Negroes had been substantially higher than the already high attrition of freshmen in general, even though these black students had met normal admission requirements. If the university failed to meet the challenge of keeping large numbers of these "500" students, it would increase the alienation and distrust of the black community in the state.

A number of education professors believed it crucial to retain black students in their college, for it seemed absurd to try to train teachers for service in a multi-racial society in nearly all-white classes. These teachers were determined, however, not to water down the curriculum for these students but to improve it. Thus they hoped that the program they designed—called the Alternate Teacher Education Program—might become an opportunity to test generally applicable strategies of teacher education.

Much of university education seems an upside-down pyramid. Young and inexperienced students need close contact with faculty, small classes, and careful instruction in skills and concepts. Yet they face large and impersonal

classes which sort out the survivors by tests which really rely on talents the student has acquired independently of the instructor. Doctoral students are presumably most capable of independent work and learning from impersonal sources, but they receive the most time and effort from individual faculty members. Undergraduates have little contact with the researchers who form an influential part of the institution.

Remedyng Dysfunction Teacher education adds

yet more dysfunctions. Traditionally, students do not have a chance to try their hand at teaching until they are seniors, in the meantime loudly complaining about the triviality or irrelevance of much of their professional instruction. If medical doctors were trained the same way, presumably they would not work in hospitals until the end of medical school (then perhaps discovering that they couldn't stand the sight of blood). In one brief experience of supervised teaching, students are expected to make the transition from educational client to practitioner; for the dispossessed student, who often sees educational bureaucracies as irrational, racist, or oppressive, this transition is especially difficult.

Accordingly, we tried to remedy these faults in the alternate teacher education program. First we will describe the program in general outline, then give a log of one class. Each of the seven seminars had no more than fifteen students and two instructors . . . a professor and a teaching assistant (all but one of whom were black). The students also took Freshman rhetoric in the same group, often relating their experiences in the program to the work in composition. In some of the classes, visiting professors came in to discuss their research and action projects with the students, thereby giving them first-hand contact with the frontiers of scholarship. The professors and teaching assistants spent considerable time working individually with students on their writing and in interpreting their experience in the schools. The freshmen had the morning hours free for classes and for assignments in the schools.

Two critical goals were to connect the prior experience of the students (many of them fresh from the ghettos) with the university world and to close the gap between theory and practice in education. Although nearly all the students in the program intended to become teachers, many had encountered racism and abysmal conditions in the schools they had attended, and few wanted to be docile functionaries. Hence it was important to let them tell it like it is, to help them to see in perspective the problems which underlie education today, and to examine promising ways to change the quality of schooling. Instructors used a variety of readings. *The Autobiography of Malcolm*

X or *Black Rage* enabled students to understand that "education" takes place in many settings and opened for analysis many of the special difficulties facing black people in this society. *Up the Down Staircase, Our Children Are Dying, Teacher, How Children Fail*, or *Death at an Early Age* helped students to see schooling from the perspective of teachers and pupils. Other works, such as *Village Schools Downtown* or *Schools, Scholars and Society*, examined schools as social systems in the larger community setting. Books such as *The Process of Education* encouraged flexible thinking about the school curriculum.

Some seminars dealt directly with the nature and organization of the university itself as well as providing survival skills. Many of the students were troubled about leaving behind their ghetto-bound families and felt guilty about their presence in a new but different kind of ghetto. Did academic survival mean abandoning their less fortunate brothers and sisters? Could the university really offer them skills useful to their people? These issues of identity and purpose arose naturally in seminar discussion. Often the young, black teaching assistants were best able to stimulate candid and searching conversations on these fundamental questions.

Working in the Schools To bridge ideas discussed in class and the actual world of practice, students observed and worked in local schools. They tutored individuals and small groups, developed curriculum materials, and did informal counseling. Often problems encountered in schools led to analysis in the seminar: reading difficulties would elicit discussion of diagnostic procedures or remediation; visits to pre-schools would prompt arguments about the philosophy of early childhood education; behavior problems would suggest analysis of a sociogram; and preparation of units for small-group discussion would lead to conversations about steps in curriculum construction. Throughout, instructors and students kept in mind the relation between the formal structure and curriculum of the schools and informal learning on the street corner and in the family.

Each class had its own character, for the students and instructors constructed the content from their own concerns and competence. Purposely, there was no uniform or predetermined syllabus. What follows is a log of experience in one of the seven seminars.

A Seminar Log "When YOU people move into our neighborhoods, you let the houses go to pot, you tramp down the grass, you write bad words on the school walls. Even the squirrels leave when you come!" "You mean . . . you mean, even the squirrels are prejudiced?" "Well, I can't speak for the squirrels too."

This was part of a role-playing session on the causes of racism; the speakers, two black freshmen; the class, an introductory seminar for prospective teachers.

By contrast, the meeting of the seminar in September had started out a bit somberly. Fourteen of the fifteen students were black, thirteen were students recruited for the "500 Program." Most of them had spent their lives in the dark ghettos of Chicago and Philadelphia. Although they had already been admitted to the University, they had been forced to take eleven hours of examinations. Many of them had already learned to hate such tests as an instrument of humiliation, another way of hustling off the "disadvantaged." Why did they need to take them? Nobody knew exactly, but all those Ph.D.s had to justify their existence.

Now they wondered what this special course for them meant: was it just another instance of separate and unequal education? The class was not intentionally segregated—the plan was developed too late to recruit large numbers of students from the existing program—but they were skilled at judging intent by performance. I, the teacher, had questions too. I had been foolish enough to worry about those test scores. I had read entirely too many "scientific" studies about the "disadvantaged" and wondered how well they could read and write, talk and project into the academic world.

As we went about the room, introducing ourselves, an important fact emerged. Almost all of the students had attended ghetto schools, yet almost all wanted to return to the ghetto to teach. Later many of them would hear Julius Lester say that teaching their people in the ghettos was one of the best ways to serve. They knew that already, for many had come to the university not to escape into the middle class but to return home again. It was a new generation of black militants.

Student Writing The students wrote about turning points in their lives. Listen to a few of them:

Most of the teachers I have come in contact with, black and white, treated the children, including myself, as though we were a type of punishment inflicted upon them. As a consequence, the teacher and student could not communicate . . . I was always referred to as a very good student. This is due mainly to the fact that I was quiet. A quiet child in the classroom is a good child. A good child usually becomes the teacher's pet. The teacher's pet is the enemy of the rest of the class. No one knew why I was so quiet. Well, one day the girl seated next to me dropped her pencil. We both grabbed for it and bumped heads. The teacher accused both of us of talking, which I denied. We were both told to stand, and the teacher

hit us across the backs of our legs. A note was sent home to my parents, and my father yelled at me. I decided not to express my opinions in the classroom, or I learned not to. All during school it seemed as though the worse thing that could ever happen was for a child to talk in class.

What I felt was educative for me was my father's telling me how far he had gotten in grade school (third grade).

My teacher introduced his classes to black history and some literature. I had never been exposed to it in such detail . . . The course fascinated me, and the way he taught it was beautiful, but sad . . . I felt bad about the fact that a white knew all this and I, nothing. This class not only made me determined to get a higher education and teach others how beautiful they are.

Everyone in my contemporary American history class was discussing ancestral backgrounds. Many of the students in the class were talking about Poland, Japan, Germany and so on. When it came my turn to talk of my background, I refused to say anything. I felt so ashamed to mention African culture because of the savage, warlike, and primitive societies which I was made in the past to feel ashamed of. This was the turning point in my life, and since then I've read and studied on my own about the wonderful heritage that I once felt ashamed of.

I was afraid of my teachers. I thought if I gave a wrong answer, I would get a whipping. One day I raised my hand and upon giving a wrong answer, nothing happened to me. It was then that I decided I was going to make the best marks in the class, and therefore all the kids would like the little black girl who was always so dumb.

It rapidly became clear that this was a highly motivated, articulate group whose collective experience was far more intense and broad than that of a typical group of suburban freshmen. Although some had attended terrible schools, they still wanted to teach; this became the theme of the course, for we would explore the alternatives available to them in truly educating their black brothers and sisters and would try to create from their experience, reading, discussion, and university resources the sort of school they would want to teach in one day.

New Patterns The experimental nature of the program encouraged us to depart from the normal patterns of teacher education in the multiversity:

(1) Early in the semester students began visiting a variety of schools to blend theory and practice and during the last month they served as teacher aides in an experimental elementary school.

(2) Students in this seminar were paired with senior colleagues who were experienced teachers participating in a master's program on teaching the disadvantaged. This gave the Freshmen a chance to get to know seasoned teachers as individuals and gave the senior colleagues a chance to work with novice teachers.

(3) A variety of professors doing research on schools and teaching came to the seminar to give students some notion of the range of inquiry and styles of teaching available in the university.

(4) Students read widely on topics of personal interest, meeting with the instructors individually to discuss the papers they wrote.

(5) We paid special attention to the skills necessary for successful academic work, including discussion, analytic reading, note-taking on lectures, taking exams, and writing extended papers. We wanted to make tests a learning device and not punitive evaluation. If students did not do an adequate job on the papers or exams the first time, they rewrote them until they reached an acceptable level; it was impossible to fail unless the student refused to work. All accepted this challenge; some rewrote papers or exams as many as three or four times.

The syllabus for the course reflected their purposes in becoming teachers. My black teaching assistant and I wanted to help them reflect on their past experience, to turn the facts of their own educational history into puzzles. For example, many knew first hand the resistance at schools to change, but they didn't understand some of the reasons why school bureaucracies behave this way. We wanted to help them understand schools as social systems and to examine the relation of schools to the communities which support and control them. And lastly, we wanted to design together a school in which they would want to teach.

We started with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, a classic study of the meaning of education for black people. We examined the clash between formal schooling and the "hidden curriculum" of life in the black community and discussed ways in which Afro-Americans have tried to control their destiny. This led to a study of black history and the different views of the purpose and nature of Afro-American studies in the schools. From here we analyzed the controversies in urban education today over community control of schools, employing a role-playing session based on an actual case of Chicago high school students demanding a transfer of a white teacher of Afro-American history. Throughout, the students demonstrated a remarkable degree of empathy for different points of view, expressing the views of school administrators and

white and black teachers, parents, and students. They understand the realities of power far better than most people of their age.

We began, then, with their personal experience and an analysis of the social upheaval of which they were a part, but they knew that there was more to teaching than militance, more to scholarship than relevance to ghetto life. Accordingly, we continued the course with an examination of promising new ideas about the organization of elementary and secondary schools and with a look at the impact of new educational media.

Designing New Schools During the latter half of the semester the students worked on papers which, taken together, would constitute their class project, a design of a school in which they would like to teach. These papers, each on a different topic, blended reflections on personal experience, ideas culled from reading, and views expressed by visiting lectures or in class discussion. They dealt with subjects like the need for Afro-American history:

One main thing the children lack is self-respect. They have nothing to look forward to, no one to look up to. If teachers and administrators could see, they'd understand these children have a "whitened" world, and no matter how young, an idea has been planted in his mind that he'll never amount to anything. When he never sees or hears about blacks, his notions have been confirmed that he'll never make it.

Parent-teacher relationships:

Attending a P.T.A. meeting in the black community, the onlooker feels as if he were sitting in the midst of a fashion show . . . one way of getting attention from the teachers that they wouldn't ordinarily receive. The offices are usually had by the best dressed whether they are best qualified or not and also by the so-called social set who consider themselves better than their own black brothers. . . . The participation of the black parents in the P.T.A. would highly increase if the important issues the blacks face today could be discussed and dealt with.

A call for elementary-school counselors:

Millions of dollars are spent on research to determine the cause of school drop-outs and drop-outs from American society. Social scientists today can even predict which children at the first grade level will fail and who won't and why. If science is this advanced and all these predictions can be made so early in a child's life, what should be the problem? There shouldn't be one! Something should be done early in a child's life to pre-

vent failure. . . . It's almost like standing by idly watching a child slowly deteriorate.

Conceptions of pre-school education:

In my opinion and from my reading about pre-school programs and observing them, I believe that they will eventually become a normal part of the school system. . . . As stressed by Mr. Engelmann, aptitude is now an irrelevant concept . . . the reason they have not learned is that they have not been taught. . . . He said that a teacher needs to discover by task analysis precisely what a child really needs to learn. He believes that they should not be labeled, and fundamental skills are the chief things a child needs to gain in school. . . . Dr. Spodek, on the other hand, stresses interaction among children on a social basis. . . .

Other topics included alternative ways of grouping children for instruction, an art curriculum for a primary school, uses of libraries in elementary schools, special education classes, and departmentalized teaching in the lower grades. We reproduced all the papers, discussed them in class, and based most of the final examination questions on the ideas advanced in the students' essays. One useful result of dittoing all the papers was that each student had a comparative standard for judging the quality of his own essay and was not likely to regard a low grade as a result of unrealistically high standards (or racism).

What tentative conclusions come from this semester's encounter? Most important, these are the kinds of teachers our schools need and deserve: empathetic, proud of their race and increasingly confident of themselves, responsive to people (especially children) and to ideas, quick to learn if they are involved, quick to communicate their experience and their enthusiasm, and slow to accept things as they are.

University teachers need to change their ways to reach these new students fresh from the ghetto. For one thing, we need to teach, not simply apply our standard sieves of lectures and exams (this means, in part, that we must teach Freshmen how to navigate in an impersonal university which assumes that students have already acquired survival skills). For another, it means that college teachers must expatriate themselves from their scholarly ghettos and learn what these students have to teach us about a world we never knew; in short a classroom must become a place for cultural diffusion, not simply transmission from old to young. But this education of the professor must not preempt the whole course; to ratify and explore the students' experience is essential but not sufficient (students tire of that sort of relevance).

Justice and Opportunity We designed the alternate teacher education program as a way to introduce freshmen to the concerns of education. We felt that in bringing disadvantaged students to the university we had a special obligation to respond to the opportunity they gave us. Some people feel that higher education does its duty when it opens its doors to the dispossessed—indeed that it does the poor a favor. We believe, on the contrary, that mere admission is simple justice and that to do no more than that is simple irresponsibility. For it is the students who really bear the sacrifice. It is they who are uprooted from their communities; it is they who may fail and, changed by their college experience, have nowhere to belong.

But more important, we believe that in meeting the needs of the "disadvantaged" in teacher education, the university may really find the goad to self-analysis and reform which will make it a more humane and effective social institution. It is the "advantaged" student personnel who have too often taken the dysfunctions of the university for granted; it is the "fault" of "disadvantaged" people that they will not permit us to do so.

It is premature to measure the success of the program at this time, and indeed, some kinds of comparative data are unavailable to us. We do not know, for example, how many of the black students in the past who left the university transferred to other colleges. If, however, retention is some indication of success, after the first semester the students' grade point average was as follows: 4.5 to 5.0 (8 students), 3.5 to 4.0 (38 students), 3.0 to 3.5 (20), 2.5 to 3.0 (6), 2.0 to 2.5 (1), 1.5 to 2.0 (0), and 1.0 to 1.5 (2).^{*} Official student evaluations of seminars were consistently high.^{**}

Looking Ahead In the schools, the teachers reported the vast majority of the students did exceptionally well. A number took major roles in working with youngsters and some were outstanding in working with socially or educationally maladjusted classes. One principal remarked after passing an EMH class in which a university student was working that it was the first time he had seen the youngsters paying absolute attention to the lesson. It was our student who was at the front of the room. On one occasion, a militant black freshman was sensitively counseling a white youngster, prejudiced against Negroes, who was having trouble with blacks in the school. Many of our students also felt the pain of losing a student—one whom they felt

* A = 5 pts. (Excellent), B = 4 pts. (Good), C = 3 pts. (Fair), D = 2 pts. (Poor), E = 1 pt. (Failure). Data collected by Arthur Davis and Will Shoemaker

** Five seminars were evaluated; four were ranked excellent.

could be helped, but who was eventually lost to the courts or the streets or to his own disinterest in school.

The students themselves seemed to be generally pleased with the program. At midsemester one had transferred to another part of the university and about fifty, both SEOP and non-SEOP from other parts of the university, had requested to be admitted to the program. Because of limited resources, they were turned down.

At this writing, we do not know how many will return for the sophomore year. Some estimate as high as 75 of the original 97, some as low as 55. Much depends upon the financial status of the students. Some will leave to get married, a few will fail, others will be forced to return home to support a family, a mother, a sister, or a child. And for those who stay, one large question still looms; what does the university have to offer a student who wishes to teach in the inner city? As we scan their next three years, we see little help for prospective teachers in dialectology, or in children's literature for minority groups, or in urban anthropology or community relations, or in teaching standard English, or in the power structure of the schools; we see little realistic laboratory experience prior to student teaching and no arrangements to place students in supportive inner-city schools. When we are asked, then, what does the university have to offer these students?, we are tempted to answer a great deal; but when we look again we are caught and have to confess, perhaps very little.

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Law and the Social Studies: An Appraisal

Ronald A. Gerlach

State University of New York, Buffalo

At this moment in history, the American consensus is in considerable disarray. People are deeply divided over issues of race, poverty, war, and personal values—all of which are entangled in the web of law and are fundamental to the maintenance of American rights, freedoms, and responsibilities.

Even more serious is the character of public debate on these issues. Debate has been marked by hyper-emotionalism, insensitive attitudes, and intolerant behavior. It has exhibited an almost total lack of communication between those of opposing views. Consequently, America faces the continuation of student demonstrations and protests at many universities and colleges throughout the United States, the expansion of riots and destruction in the Negro ghettos of our major cities, and the persistence of xenophobia, nativism, and racial bigotry. Each of these phenomena evidence the tragic disparity between theoretical values and practical behavior; the ambiguity and ambivalence which surround our basic American freedoms, rights, and responsibilities; and the unwillingness or inability to discuss rationally issues fundamental to the United States Constitution.¹

Education's Role One would like to report that more and better education has served to narrow the gap between public attitudes and the understanding of the individual's constitutional rights and responsibilities, but the record warrants no such optimism. Recent surveys of the values and attitudes of American adolescents leave little doubt that education relating to the basic principles of American life embodied in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights has been seriously deficient; that is, public espousal and attachment to these documents exist only on the most superficial verbal level. They reveal the formidable gap between historic legal

¹ Isidore Starr, "Law And The Social Studies," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, p. 335; DeAnne Sobul, "California's Goal: A Living Bill of Rights," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, p. 351.

Concerned with the "gap between public attitudes and the individual's constitutional rights and responsibilities," Mr. Gerlach proposes that materials on the Bill of Rights, civil liberties, and legal responsibilities be included in social studies curricula. He is able to point to considerable interest in this field and to provide in his article a useful review of curricular materials on the jurisprudential and constitutional themes. Mr. Gerlach, currently an Instructor in Education, was formerly the Administrative Assistant to an Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program called Civil Liberties in Urban America.

principles and what American teenagers actually believe today about the nature of law, liberty, justice, and equality. Martin Hamburger of New York University in an article in the *New York Times* (February 17, 1960) reported that of the 10,000 youth queried in basic principles contained in the Bill of Rights, 34% agreed to the occasional use of "third-degree" police methods, and 43% favored curbs on public speech. Other research by the Civil Liberties Education Foundation entitled *A Report on The Current Status of Bill of Rights—Civil Liberties Teaching in Secondary Schools* (1962) revealed that today's youth are more willing to tolerate unauthorized searches of private dwellings, the suppression of the rights of minorities, aliens, and undesirables, and the discharge from public employment of persons suspected of subversive activities than were adolescents of ten years ago. These and other surveys substantiate the fact that education has fostered confusion and misunderstanding rather than proper discernment and comprehension of the nature and process of law.²

Diagnosis: Law and the Social Studies Part of the blame for the confusion and irrationality which exists in the mind of the public concerning the nature and legal basis of civil liberties, rights, and responsibilities can be attributed to the social studies curriculum. To be sure, study of the Constitution is generally required, and it is customary to allot a certain amount of time to a review of how bills move through Congress and become laws and to a discussion of rights and responsibilities of the individual under the Bill of Rights. Yet, as shown in the findings of the studies cited above, instruction is largely ineffective in promoting understanding of the law.

The reasons for this ineffectiveness are many. Firstly, the topic of law and jurisprudence is limited in the social studies curriculum to rather rigid substantive moulds which supply neither the motivation nor the medium for the transfer of formal principles into vital beliefs. What little attention the subject receives is usually embedded in the study of an American history or civics course, where it is treated as a matter of required factual knowledge.³

A second shortcoming in the teaching of legal principles is the inability or unwillingness to relate the subject to current social, political, and economic problems and controversial issues. Rather the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are presented as historical artifacts, documents of required reading and limited interpretation. Seldom are they approached as contemporary or interpretive material. Consequently, it is pos-

2 Robert M. O'Neil, "An Approach To Teaching The Bill Of Rights," *Teachers College Record*, LXV, December, 1963, pp. 272-275. Sobel, *ibid.*, H. H. Remmers and R. D. Franklin, "Sweet Land Of Liberty," *Psi Delta Kappan*, October, 1962, pp. 22-26.

3 O'Neil, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

sible for the student to acquire a substantial amount of unrelated material without any real understanding of the concepts involved or their applicability to himself and his society.⁴

A third difficulty has been the tendency to present constitutional principles as absolute, self-enforcing truths. This approach tragically neglects the idea of a "government under the rule of law" as a set of principles which must be understood, grappled with, fought for, and constantly reassessed and applied under fire. It encourages a false complacency in students who come to feel that the preservation of the great documents under glass in the nation's Capital is sufficient to assure their preservation in society.⁵

Fourthly, social studies teachers, by and large, are ill-prepared to help the student develop understanding of their constitutional rights and responsibilities. They are plagued by state certification requirements which ignore the question of adequate preparation for teaching the complex subject of legal rights and responsibilities and by university training which does little to develop insights or techniques that are effective in teaching civil liberties.⁶

A final factor which helps explain the shortcomings of the social studies in teaching law and jurisprudence is the continuing uncertainty as to the proper location of the subject within the social studies. Consequently, this dispute concerning the role of jurisprudence in a social studies curriculum has until recently inhibited the development of useful and provocative teaching materials on the subject.⁷

Revolution, Redefinition, and Change

In view of these weaknesses in traditional social studies curriculum and content, it is not surprising that confusion and ambiguity exist in the mind of the individual concerning civil rights and responsibilities. However, recent developments within the social studies are working to eradicate these difficulties. Shaver, Newman and Oliver, leading proponents of a public issues-critical inquiry approach to the social studies, have questioned the assumption that the traditional academic disciplines associated with social studies, known as the social (behaviorial) sciences and history, are the only legitimate source of content. Consequently, they define the social studies, not simply as an offshoot of the social sciences with content to be dictated by the interests and desires of the academician, but that part of the school's general education program which is concerned with the preparation of citizens for participation in a democratic

⁴ Alan Westin and Minna Post Peyer, "Education For Freedom," *Teaching and Learning, Ethical Culture Society, 1964*, p. 3; Sobul, *ibid.*

⁵ O'Neil, *ibid.*

⁶ Sobul, *ibid.*

⁷ O'Neil, *ibid.*

society. Accordingly, they urge that the social studies focus instruction on important societal issues and upon the acquisition of conceptual tools and information needed to comprehend and debate possible solutions.⁸

Hunt and Metcalf reinforce much of Shaver's and Newman's position in that they define the goals of the social studies as helping students examine reflectively issues in closed areas of American culture. Closed areas, according to these social science educators, include any area of belief, behavior, or conflict characterized by relatively large amounts of irrationality, confusion, and inconsistency. Content is to be any data acquired through reflective thought and, as a result, is not limited to the traditional disciplines.⁹

Also, the Civic Education Project, sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies, supports this new approach to social studies education. In response to the question of what constituted good citizenship, the Project made the following assertion. In order to (1) create an informed citizenry, (2) develop an analytic citizenry, and (3) promote a committed and involved citizenry, the development of such intellectual processes as decision-making, valuing, critical inquiry, and problem solving through the medium of public issues should be the paramount objective of the social studies.¹⁰

Revival: New Spurts Of Interest By broadening the scope and flexibility of content within the social studies and by improving teaching techniques and methodology, proponents of the public issues-critical inquiry approach had prepared the way for a renewed interest in teaching law and jurisprudence. Accompanying this flexible approach to social studies education were the far-reaching events and controversy surrounding civil liberties and civil rights. Together, they generated a resurgence of national and educational interest in teaching law and jurisprudence in a manner different from traditional treatments as well as provided the basis for a project center of national prominence, teacher workshops, and the development of curricular materials.

8 James P. Shaver, "Social Studies: The Need For Redefinition," *Social Education*, XXXI, November, 1967, pp. 588-592; Fred M. Newmann, "Questioning The Place Of Social Science Disciplines In Education," *Social Education*, XXXI, November, 1967, pp. 593-596; Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues In The High School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968; Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *The Analysis of Public Controversy: A Study In Citizenship Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

9 Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems In Reflective Thinking And Social Understanding*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

10 Daniel Rozelle, "Citizenship Goals For A New Age," *Social Education*, XXX, October 1966, pp. 415-420.

The Center for Research and Education in American Liberties was created in 1965 as a joint project of Columbia University and Teachers College. The Center's threefold purpose included the organization of a committee of scholars, educators, teachers and civic leaders to analyse the structure and operations of contemporary American liberties; the development of new materials and instructional methods to present legal issues more effectively in the schools; and the creation of favorable community opinion to gain support for innovative programs in civic education. Accordingly, the Center has conducted several summer N.D.E.A. Institutes in hope of developing a model for educating teachers and administrators that could be used for inservice and pre-service training. While the Center has not produced any significant curricular materials, it has found that, to be effective, social studies education must use the critical issues of society in the classroom on a personal as well as intellectual level.¹¹

The New York City Board of Education has also introduced a many-pronged course of action which is aimed at broadening teachers' preparation in the field of law. The goal of Operation Upgrade, supported by a federal grant, is to help teachers to understand and meet problems of minority group youngsters and to teach civil rights and civil responsibilities in their classrooms. Workshops open to all teachers are devoted to lectures by lawyers, professors, and representatives of civil rights organizations. A bulletin entitled *Basic Issues In Citizenship, Equality: A Principle And A Dilemma* has been developed linking learning activities in social studies classes to a conceptual framework about the meaning of "equality."¹²

In the Fall of 1968, an Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program entitled "Civil Liberties in Urban America" was conducted at the State University of New York at Buffalo under the Faculties of Educational Studies and Law and Jurisprudence. Its purpose was to advance teachers' preparation for teaching law, civil liberties, and jurisprudence in the secondary schools. By increasing their knowledge of the principles and practices of jurisprudence, the program hoped to expand their working knowledge of legal materials, their experience in developing teaching materials and curricula, and their abilities to meet the needs of the economically or culturally disadvantaged.

In addition to the attempts to improve teacher preparation and training in the field of law and jurisprudence, new curricular materials have been devel-

11 Alan F. Westin and Raymond E. Smith, "Learning To Teach About Liberty: An Institute Model For The 1970's," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, pp. 355-361; Alan F. Westin and Minna Post Peyer, *Center For Research And Education In American Liberties*. New York: Columbia University Press and Teachers College Press, 1967.

12 Florence Jackson, "Civil Liberties, Civil Rights, and the Constitution," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, pp. 345-346.

oped. The National Council for the Social Studies has played a leading role in the movement to introduce concepts concerning the nature and process of law into the classroom by publishing a relatively inexpensive special supplement entitled "Judgment" which appears regularly in *Social Education*, the National Journal of the N.C.S.S. The "Judgment" series in utilizing the case study approach deals with such timely issues as "Deceptive T.V. Advertising" (Colgate-Palmolive, 1965), "Fair Trial v. Free Press" (Estes, 1965), and "The Poll Tax As A Voting Requirement" (Harper, 1966).

Widely used in the high schools of Portland, Oregon, is a textbook of case studies in the Bill of Rights, called *Liberty and the Law*. It has been developed as a joint project of the Oregon State Bar Association and Portland public schools. The text, a collection of ten case studies, aims to provide a basis for vigorous classroom discussion, develop analytical and critical thinking in the area of the Bill of Rights, foster an understanding of what the Bill of Rights is and its importance, and give a sense of the role and function of the courts. Each case study contains a brief introduction; a description of the case; a series of questions raised by the facts; selections from the court's opinion in the case; a glossary of legal terms, and, finally, a supplemental reading list. The topics for these carefully prepared and field tested units such as "Church, State, and Education," "Civil Liberty and Military Necessity," and "Segregation in Public Schools" are contemporary and provocative. Consequently, they are primarily discussion oriented, and have, according to a report from the Portland public schools, been successfully utilized with slower classes and with freshmen and sophomores.¹³

Also, the Encyclopaedia Britannica Education Corporation has developed a multi-media approach to the subject. Utilizing specially produced films and readers, three case studies are available under the general editorship of Isidore Starr. The issues presented—"Freedom of Expression" (Feiner Case), "The Right To Legal Counsel" (Gideon Case), and segregation (Prince Edward County Case)—are similar to those of the "Judgment" series and Portland Project materials.¹⁴

Probably the most important and comprehensive contributions to the de-

13 Nathan Berkham and Ronald Smith, "Oregon Bill Of Rights Project," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, pp. 347-350, Jonathan U. Newman, *Liberty And The Law: Case Studies In The Bill Of Rights*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968.

14 Isidore Starr, *Our Living Bill Of Rights: Equality Under The Law: The Prince Edward Case*, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1968, Starr *Our Living Bill of Rights: Justice Under Law, Right To Counsel: The Gideon Case*, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1968, Starr *Our Living Bill Of Rights: Liberty Under Law/Freedom of Expression: The Feiner Case*, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1968.

sign of curricular materials on the jurisprudential theme have been made by projects associated with the Constitutional Rights Foundation and California State Board of Education, the Chicago Bar Association and Public School System, and Harvard University. These materials are significant in that they present several contrasting approaches to the subject, are readily available to the schools at a reasonable price, and represent the most intensive effort to secure a primary place for law in the social studies curriculum. Consequently, the remainder of this report will be devoted to a description and evaluation of these newly developed materials.¹⁵

California's Goal: A Living Bill Of Rights

In 1963 the Constitutional Rights Foundation persuaded the California State Board of Education to review the teaching of Bill of Rights principles in California schools. The report of the State Department of Education entitled "The United States Bill of Rights in California Education," revealed that textbooks and other materials, including curriculum guides for teachers, were woefully inadequate. As a consequence of these findings, the State Board of Education established the California Bill of Rights Project, chaired by Dean Richard Maxwell of the University of California, Los Angeles, and member of the Constitutional Rights Foundation. The goals of the project were to improve social studies instruction so that the California youth would:

- recognize the significance of the Bill of Rights
- realize the Bill of Rights is a dynamic document and is a vital aspect of everyday American life

15 Sobul, *ibid*; William Cohen, Murray Schwartz, and DeAnne Sobul. *The Bill Of Rights: A Source Book*. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1968; Robert H. Ratcliffe and John R. Lee, "Law In American Society," *Social Education*, XXXII, April, 1968, pp. 341-344; Robert Burns, et al. *Legal Problems For Citizenship Education*. Chicago: Law In American Society Project, 1967; Robert Burns and Robert H. Ratcliffe. *Legal Problems For Citizenship Education: Teacher's Handbook*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Robert H. Ratcliffe. *The Law and American History: A Casebook For Students In Seventh and Eighth Grade*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Ratcliffe, et al. *The Law and American History: Teacher's Handbook*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Ratcliffe and John R. Lee. *Law In A New Land: Casebook For Intermediate Grades*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Ratcliffe, John R. Lee, and Rita S. Goldman. *Law In A New Land: Teacher's Handbook*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Ratcliffe and John R. Lee. *Legal Issues In American History: Casebook For Students In Eleventh And Twelfth Grade*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Ratcliffe, Robert M. O'Neil, and Peter R. Kolker. *Legal Issues In American History: Teacher's Handbook*. Chicago: Law in American Society Project, 1967; Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver. *Teaching Public Issues In The High School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966; Donald Oliver and Fred Newmann. *Public Issues Series*. Columbus, Ohio: American Education Publications, 1967.

- demonstrate an awareness that all Americans are entitled to freedom, justice, and equality
- participate rationally in the dialogue relating to Bill of Rights issues
- demonstrate an appreciation for the views of others by encouraging dissenters to speak openly
- deal with the problem of the unanswered question in a rational, intelligent, and communicative way.¹⁶

Recognizing the lack of teacher preparation and confidence in dealing with the Bill of Rights, the project's first task was to develop a source book for teachers. The guide was unique in that it was based on the premise that effective teaching requires a functional presentation and not a numerical, non-discriminating catalogue of factual material. Consequently, no attempt was made to compile an exhaustive historical or topical treatment.¹⁷

The Bill of Rights—A Source Book For Teachers was prepared by a staff of law professors and master teachers. It contains many materials that the teacher can draw upon in preparing effective lessons relating to Bill of Rights principles in a variety of social studies courses. Its format includes a compilation of the historical origins and development of the various provisions in the Bill of Rights as well as an analysis of current legal issues and controversies created by the application of the guarantees embodied in this great document.¹⁸

The selected topics chosen for the source book include "Judicial Review," "Equal Protection of the Laws," "Criminal Due Process," "Freedom of Expression," and "Freedom of Religion." Each is organized into one unit. The first, "Judicial Review," provides an interesting introduction to the nature and function of the Supreme Court. However, the strongest and most relevant units are the following three. "Equal Protection of the Laws" explores such ubiquitous and deeply-rooted issues as race, voting rights, education, housing, and employment; "Criminal Due Process" investigates criminal trial and law enforcement rights and procedures; and "Freedom of Expression," grapples with the question of what constitutes seditious speech, obscenity, and a public forum. The final unit is devoted to the topic of "Freedom of Religion" and focuses upon the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment. In addition to these five units, the volume includes an annotated bibliography and table of cases.¹⁹

16 Sobul, *ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 William Cohen, Murray Schwartz, and DeAnne Sobul. *The Bill Of Rights: A Source Book*. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1968.

19 *Ibid.*

In order to help teachers in implementing the approach and content of the source book, two parallel volumes entitled *The Bill Of Rights: A Handbook and Your Rights and Responsibilities As American Citizens: A Civics Case-book* have been developed. The former discusses materials and methods best suited for making instruction in the Bill of Rights a significant learning experience, while the latter is designed to fulfill the need for better and more substantial student materials. Also, teacher workshops have been established at various state colleges and universities to better acquaint secondary school social studies teachers with the substance of and suggested instructional strategies involved in teaching the principles found in the Bill of Rights.²⁰

The Chicago Project: Law In American Society

The Chicago Project was organized in response to a need to have the role of law explained to and dramatized for elementary and secondary school children. Late in 1965, the Committee on School Curriculum was established by the Chicago Bar Association. It consisted of professors of both education and law from nearby universities in addition to seasoned teachers, court personnel, social workers, and attorneys. Its objective was to suggest approaches for the improved teaching of law and jurisprudence.

The following year the Chicago Bar Association, acting on the recommendation of its committee, joined with the Chicago Public Schools to conduct a summer N.D.E.A. Institute for twelfth grade teachers of contemporary American history. The end result was the development of a resource unit for twelfth grade contemporary American history classes as well as the realization that subject matter should be focused upon a finite number of legal problems and issues.²¹

On September 14, 1966 the Chicago Project became formally known as the "Law In American Society Project." While the project was staffed almost entirely by university professors and attorneys, the use of classroom teachers as resource personnel in the preparation of curriculum materials contributed greatly to the program's uniqueness.

The second summer N.D.E.A. Institute was designed to prepare teachers to write materials for their own students. As a result, the seventy-two teachers who were recruited from the Chicago Public Schools as participants in the 1967 summer program proceeded to produce a set of curriculum materials that as yet is unmatched in scope and comprehensiveness. In order to encourage the student to consider both sides of an issue as well as to search for its rational solution, their design relied heavily upon the case-study approach. After having been edited by the staff of the project, curriculum materials for grades

20 DeAnne Sobul, *ibid.*

21 Ratcliffe and Lee, "Law In American Society," *loc cit.*

four through twelve were printed in experimental form for use and evaluation in the Chicago Schools during the 1967-1968 school year. Each set of publications deals with the substantive aspect of law as well as providing a classroom guide for the teacher.²²

For the intermediate grades, a 168 page casebook entitled "Law In A New Land" was developed. It is based upon a series of lectures and workshops conducted by Stephen Schiller, Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, University of Illinois. Its format consists of a factual description of the subtopic under discussion followed by several incisive questions. Part I: The Law In Early America explores the issues of religious liberty, slavery and indenture, and human rights. Part II: The Negro in Pre-Civil War America looks at the plantation slave in the South, the Negro in the North, and the abolition of the institution of slavery. Part III: The Law On The American Frontier focuses on frontier justice, the treatment of the American Indian, and the disposition of land claims. Probably the most innovative approach leading to a discussion of the nature and process of law is found in Part IV: What Would You Do? which is based upon a situation similar to that found in *Lord Of The Flies*. Through this hypothetical study, students are led to discuss such key concepts as leadership, civic responsibility, and criminal punishment.²³

The accompanying Teacher's Handbook provides some background materials for each major topic as well as offers a number of illustrations of inquiry-oriented teaching techniques. These include utilization of role playing, simulation, mock trial, and dramatic plays in the classroom.²⁴

For seventh and eighth grade, a 160 page casebook entitled "The Law and American History" was produced. Identical in design and content is the Project's 176 page text for the 11th and 12th grades called "Legal Issues In American History." Both are based upon a series of lectures delivered by Robert O'Neil, Professor of Constitutional Law, University of California, Berkeley. Both seek to provide an historical framework for youngsters through which an understanding of law can be developed. The first seven units relate some famous historical cases to recent court decisions. For example, freedom of the press is traced from the colonial period and the trial of Peter Zenger to the Butts v. the Saturday Evening Post Case (1967). The last three parts are devoted to the problems of individual rights in modern day settings. The topics include such controversial issues as "equal opportunity," "proper criminal procedure," and "free speech." The format for each case study is similar to that of the materials developed for the intermediate grades and consists of a de-

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Ratcliffe and Lee, *Law In A New Land*, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Lee, Colman, and Ratcliffe, *Teacher's Handbook Law In A New Land*, *op. cit.*

scription of the facts and issues involved, a list of discussion questions, and a synopsis of the court's final decision.²⁵

The Teacher's Handbooks to these volumes contain a procedural note to the teacher, a summary of Professor O'Neil's lectures, and a description of recommended classroom activities. By providing illustrations of various classroom activities, the authors of the Handbooks hope to encourage the classroom teacher to use class discussion, panel discussions, committee reports, mock trials, hypothetical cases, and other stimulating teaching strategies.²⁶

Finally, for the ninth and tenth grades, a 112 page civics book entitled "Legal Problems For Citizenship Education" was designed. The assumption underlying the development of this book was that crimes against society are often the result of inequities in daily life—inequities that are caused by an individual's total lack of knowledge about the protection of the law in areas such as consumer buying, housing, consideration in contracts, and family obligations and responsibilities. This unawareness of legal remedies available to the individual often contribute to his seeking satisfaction either extra-legally or illegally. Consequently, the volume is designed to show the student that while legal counsel is available to any man, often the use of right thinking, common sense, and a sense of fairness in his person-to-person encounters will minimize his need to seek legal recourse.²⁷

The topics selected for the civics book are perhaps the most utilitarian and functional to be found in recent curriculum designs. They include the concepts of property, torts, consumer law, juvenile delinquency, marriage, welfare, and landlord-tenant relations. The format utilized to implement this subject matter consists of the description of each concept, the definition of related legal principles and vocabulary, and the presentation of a series of legal problems and incisive questions concerning the topic under study.²⁸

The Teacher's Handbook which accompanies this volume provides the instructor with the illustration of a variety of suggested classroom activities such as the utilization of debate, field trips, speakers, the socio-drama, panel discussions, etc. In addition, it gives the teacher the solutions to the problems posed in the student manual.²⁹

25 Ratcliffe, *The Law and American History*, op. cit.; Ratcliffe and Lee, *Legal Issues In American History*, op. cit.

26 Ratcliffe, O'Neil, Boras, and Harris, *Teacher's Handbook: The Law and American History*, op. cit.; Ratcliffe, O'Neil, and Kolker, *Teacher's Handbook: Legal Issues In American History*, op. cit.

27 Burns, Quigley, and Ratcliffe, *Legal Problems for Citizenship Education*, op. cit.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Burns and Ratcliffe, *Teacher's Handbook: Legal Problems For Citizenship Education*, op. cit.

These project materials dealing with the role of law in American society are currently used by some 200 teachers and 25,000 students in the Chicago school system. They offer encouragement and are a model to other bar associations and school districts who might wish to pursue a similar program.

The Harvard Project The Harvard Social Studies Project, funded jointly by Harvard University and the U. S. Office of Education since 1961, is unique in several respects. First, it is extremely articulate in stating what the Project believes are the philosophical premises for curriculum in the social studies. Secondly, it proposes a most radical departure from the traditional "history-dominated" curriculum. And, thirdly, through empirical research, the Project evaluates the effectiveness of the curriculum content and teaching materials it advocates.³⁰

The "jurisprudential approach" of the Harvard Project, according to Donald Oliver, Program Director, derives from consideration of the needs of society. Its basic theme is to promote the dignity and worth of each individual.³¹

To achieve this end, the "jurisprudential approach" focuses on value conflict and its resolution by what Oliver and Shaver refer to as "rational consent," that is, the process which involves free and open discussion of the issues, the examination of respective positions and conflicting values, and decision making on the basis of fundamental social values. Since the specific provisions of democratic government and the principles supporting the ideas of constitutionalism, according to Oliver and Shaver, derive their importance from their concern for the protection of human freedom and dignity as well as for the protection of "rational consent" as the process for dealing with conflict, they provide a suitable framework to make sense out of and deal systematically with the problematic data presented in the Project's experimental materials.³²

Consequently, the experimental curriculum designed by the Harvard Project is organized around three ideas: (1) the conceptual framework for dealing with public issues, (2) the background, principles, and structure of American constitutionalism, and (3) substantive problem units to which the concepts contained in (1) and (2) can be applied. The following is a brief outline of an experimental social studies course taught by the Harvard Project people at four junior high schools in Massachusetts and New York:³³

³⁰ Oliver and Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues In The High School*, *op. cit.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-15, 55-60.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-30, 55-87.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-259.

Unit I. Learning To Think Critically

- A. Describing The World Around Us
- B. Testable Statements: Claims
- C. The Proof Success
- D. Value Judgments
- E. Argumentation

Unit II. Introduction To The Structure And Principles Of American Government

- A. Basic Concepts
- B. Principles of American Government: Their Constitutional Basis and Implementation

1. Basic Values

- a. Personal freedom,
- b. Equality and justice,
- c. Peace and order,
- d. General welfare,
- e. Brotherhood.

2. Government Principles

- a. Rule of law,
- b. Rule by consent of governed,
- c. Equal protection under law,
- d. Due process of law,
- e. Checks and balances.

3. Mechanics of the Consent System

Unit III. Application of Analytic and Political Concepts Using Specific Controversial Cases (used to both teach and illustrate concepts and principles of American Government as well as to teach the thought processes described in Unit I)

Unit IV. Problem Units

- A. School Desegregation
- B. Problems of American Labor—An Introduction
- C. The New Deal
- D. Crime and Delinquency

In evaluating its experimental program of study, the Harvard Social Studies Project found that students could be taught to think in abstract conceptual terms. In addition, the findings indicated that the experimental groups exhibited greater interest in and a more thorough understanding of social studies content.³⁴

While the Project hopes to eventually replace the existing social studies course structure with its "jurisprudential approach," it is presently producing inexpensive study units through the A.E.P. (American Education Publications) to supplement conventional curriculum and content. The units, designed by Oliver and Newmann and included in the *Public Issues Series*, utilize either the "historical crisis approach" or "problem-topic approach." The former focuses on historical periods such as the "American Revolution" and "Railroad Era" which are analogous to or may be contrasted with contemporary history, and which may help explain current problems. The latter presents timely contemporary issues such as "Community Change: Law, Politics, and Social Attitudes," "Rights of the Accused," and "Municipal Politics" which are deemed important and persistent. Each unit is designed to stimulate controversy, to develop understanding of American democracy through the process of reflective thinking, and to further the encroachment of the "jurisprudential approach" upon the traditional "history-dominated" social studies curriculum.³⁵

Law And The Social Studies The increasing number of law projects and the wide acceptance of their materials by educators are indicative of the latter's realization that the schools have both the responsibility and opportunity to narrow the gap between traditional American values and what the student actually believes. In addition, they point toward a broader, more flexible definition of content for the social studies.

The teaching of law and jurisprudence has several significant contributions to make in the revitalization of an often boring and irrelevant social studies program. First, the materials produced by the law projects help to clarify the fundamental principles governing American society. They promote understanding of the individual's rights and responsibilities to himself and his society as well as illustrate the growth, the transition, the dynamism of American society, its government and legal system.

Secondly, the law materials stress the development of such mental processes as critical thinking, conceptualization, and scientific inquiry rather than merely emphasize the acquisition of unrelated facts and data. Through the effective

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-286.

³⁵ Oliver and Newmann, *Public Issues Series*, *op. cit.*

utilization of controversy, contemporary issues, and the case study approach, the curricula produced by the California, Chicago, and Harvard Projects enhance performance in critical thinking and interpersonal communication as well as expand the interest and capacity of the student to apply and transfer information to his own life experiences.

Thirdly, the curriculum materials developed by these projects are not firmly committed to any one topic within the jurisprudential framework nor predisposed to any one "correct answer." Consequently, they permit a flexibility which is necessary in meeting the changing needs of society as well as the open-endedness required for creative thought.

While the teaching of law and jurisprudence does have several specific contributions to make to the social studies, current project materials manifest certain glaring weaknesses and limitations which cannot be ignored. First, except for the Chicago Project, there is no provision for either the slow learner nor the socially or culturally disadvantaged. The materials, in essence, are geared to the middle-class child with middle-class interests and abilities. Consequently, there remains the need for experts capable of writing accurately about law for the "disadvantaged" student who requires examples relevant to his own experience and reading level.

Secondly, the curriculum materials that have been produced as a result of the various law projects exhibit no truly logical order or sequencing of materials. Harvard's sequence of—the principles of critical thinking, the principles of American government, the application of analytic and political concepts, and problem units—represents the best example of the progressive development of curriculum materials, while the Chicago attempt to "post-hole" legal theory into an historical, chronological sequence is the most haphazard and awkward.

Thirdly, these new experimental materials make extraordinary demands upon a teacher's academic preparation, his competency in pedagogical theory, and his personal character. They require the teacher to be well-versed in legal theory and practice, to carefully select content and assume the leadership in class discussions, and to immerse himself and his class in controversy despite his vulnerability to outside conservative interests.

Fourthly, the proponents of a law curriculum, with the exception of the Harvard Project, have not explicitly developed a rationale for the inclusion of law in the social studies. Nor have they attempted to justify its pre-eminence over the traditional kingpin of history or over any of the other social science disciplines. This seems extremely crucial if teachers are to be won over to the side of those advocating the teaching of law and jurisprudence as a major activity in the social studies curriculum.

Lastly, the project curriculum guides provide no suggestions as to the avenues or activities by which the students can become actively engaged participants in civic life. They ignore the fact that only by direct involvement can the individual be aware of the realities of the situation and of the difficulties inherent in translating the ideals fundamental to the American creed into practice.

While these limitations are serious drawbacks to the law curriculum, they are not insurmountable. With continued study, research, and innovation, these difficulties can be overcome and a society committed to a truer achievement of liberty, equality, and justice realized.



EDUCATION AND THE BARRICADES

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Believing that the university of the future can be more vigorous, more coherent, more exciting, Professor Frankel offers guidelines for reform—pointing out the dangers.

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Young Radicals in Education

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Just a decade ago a host of critics disparaged American education for failing to man public school classrooms with academically respectable teachers. Hardly in response to the critics, but rather for reasons peculiar to the times, an increasing portion of youthful talent is now willing to be lured into elementary and secondary education. They are motivated not by the security of a safe profession, but instead by a desire to be agents of social change.

Public school teaching has traditionally been the haven of the upwardly mobile, but the influx of a vibrant new breed casts ominous shadows across the current teacher image. Many of the newcomers, particularly in the now popular Master of Arts in Teaching programs, come from comparative affluence, from the "better" colleges where they have been B or better students. The antithesis of the silent generation, they visibly suffer the side effects of intellectual growing pains—they are critical, inquiring, contentious, and not a little intolerant.

These are not children waiting to be told. They have gone into the ghettos to see for themselves. They have taken a long hard look at the flabby underbelly of our Great Society. And when the bell tolls in Memphis or Los Angeles or in the black south side of Chicago, they see no need to ask; they feel deeply that it tolls for them.

Nor are they children honoring the injunction to be seen and not heard. They are the self-appointed conscience of our world. They raise irreverent but not always irrelevant questions about our chauvinism, about the disparity between our lipservice and practice in morality, about our high tolerance for inequity and injustice, about our saber-tooth curricula. They annoy and embarrass. They provoke. And they do indeed make their elders feel that the point has been reached where tolerance ceases to be a virtue.

The appearance of these new radicals on the education scene prompts the sardonic observation that perhaps once too often we have recited the

Young activists, hoping to become agents of change, are now planning to teach in public schools. Professors Lauroesch and Ryan see a new, critical, romantic spirit about to enter education. Anticipating conflict, they propose a new flexibility, a thoughtful "tempering" on the part of the young people and the schools themselves.

pedagogical platitude about "teaching students to think." It has happened. We have created a monster, and he wants to teach.

The Radical Spirit While there are ramifications that would make them seem at best a mixed blessing, the young radicals promise much that public education sorely needs. The schools need their critical spirit. They need their active dissatisfaction with the human condition and the accompanying belief in the possibility for change. And they need their impatience for the advent of that change. Moreover, because the young radicals are a reflection of a swelling segment of the larger society, the schools need them to bear witness to their views.

Certainly all is not perfection. Among the radicals are many addicted to a two-valued orientation. Some of them are merely hemophilic liberals, and more than a few are just psychotics in rebel garb. Perhaps the worst flaw—and this one is widespread—is naiveté. It is their naiveté that forbodes calamity when they enter into the public school establishment.

Consider the underlying attitudes of this generation. They are a generation that rejects authority. Many are contemptuous of the leadership that has led us into a vicious war for which they see no reason. They see government from the White House to Town Hall incapable of dealing with the problems that loom around us. They have tested authority on their campuses and frequently found it wanting. The turned-off generation of the late sixties is suspicious and antagonistic toward all authority, whether emanating from the White House or from the office of the dean of students. They find it easy to dismiss.

New Ideals, New Styles Education's New Radicals are old-time romantics. They blame the institutions for all in human nature that offends them. They frequently have the naive faith that by doing away with the present institution and replacing it with another, as yet unarticulated, they can achieve their goals.

They have a clear set of loyalties. Their allegiance is not to institutions, but rather to right and justice as they see them, undiluted by expediency. This makes them uncomfortable in what they see as the ineffective Establishment. (Establishment is one of their favorite words, frequently used as a label for any group of white persons over thirty who wear neckties and disagree with them.) They are in search of avenues through which they can translate their beliefs into action. Teaching they see as one of those avenues, but many reject the public schools as an unwholesome environment in which to teach and seek new ways to be teachers.

Yet, whether it is due to a dearth of other avenues or a recognition of the crucial role of the public school in determining what this nation will become, intelligent, radical young people are coming to teacher education in increasing numbers. Yesterday's sentimentally idealized teacher images, Messrs. Chips and Novak, have been laughed out of the picture; Jonathan Kozol and Herbert Kohl are the new hero types. Dewey and Thorndike are still read, but Friedenberg and A. S. Neill are the new breed's intellectual drummers.

Of course not all students in education fit this description, nor do the majority, or even a large minority. But there is a growing edge of those who do, and while they are currently the despair of education, they are also its hope. Present despair accrues from the collision of novice teachers who have little understanding and no patience with the institutions in which they are to serve, and institutions that have no understanding and little patience with the antics of their new colleagues.

Encountering the Schools

The radical young teacher's first encounter with public education sets the stage for conflict in a drama which will reveal the tragic flaws in protagonist and antagonist alike. He sees the administrator as his enemy, the perpetrator of an inflexible and depersonalizing system; the administrator sees him as disruptive to the smooth operation of the school program.

The radical is in conflict with experienced teachers. He is quick to condemn them for slavishly pursuing irrelevant curricula and remaining insensitive to the true needs of the young; they accuse him of going off half cocked.

He is in conflict with his students, most of whom he finds unresponsive to his enlightenment and unable to handle the classroom freedom he offers them; they find him ineffective, interpreting his permissiveness as weakness.

Conflict with parents follows. He has invited their children to join him in social revolution; they question this pursuit as a means to school success and getting ahead.

What the young radical fails to understand is that the school is rooted in moderation, moderation that is both its strength and weakness. The school is moderate because it belongs to all the people. The pushing and shoving which has been part of the people's joint ownership of the school keeps it close to the political center. Any move within the school toward the left or the right will not go unnoticed. The citadel of moderation, then, is an alien setting for those who have cut their teeth on confrontation politics.

The young are set apart from their older colleagues as much by differing life styles as by issues. As a member of the Now generation, the young teacher

measures all things by immediate relevance; his elders think in terms of long-range goals. He is outraged at injustice whether at home or in remote corners of the globe; their outrage is blunted by the commonplace nature of injustice, and their concern tends to be parochial. He maintains an easy familiarity with youth's pop culture; they are bewildered and hard put to understand it.

With so many occasions for conflict and confrontation the radical finds it difficult to survive. His own brittle nature is no match against the shell of institutionalized education, a shell thickened by years of accretion. While he may relish conflict and may even at the outset derail the establishment, once he is conspicuous and identified as the enemy, he will be flailed until he cracks. There is abundant evidence of the schools' capacity for disposing of undesirables, both the weak and the strong.

The less extreme are also vulnerable to the debilitating effects of conflict and frustration. Too soon they escape to other endeavors or gravitate to listless accommodation. It does not matter how the young radical is destroyed; the manner does not mitigate the loss.

Lost is a rich source of idea-generating energy, young people who—properly trained—can supply the yeast of ferment, who can help redirect the schools from their present trend toward obsolescence. "Properly trained" is the key phrase.

Accommodating Young Radicals Prior to the question of what constitutes proper training is the question of whether the radical element will be admitted for training at all. That decision is ultimately in the hands of public school leadership, for the schools determine the market. If there is to be a market for radical teachers, it would seem that it must follow from the acceptance of two premises on the part of public school leadership: first, instead of more of the same, schools face an increasing need for intellectual power, imagination, and derring-do to restore relevance to education in a dynamic society; and second, as agonizing as the presence of radicals on the education scene would be, as arduous the task of shaping progress out of dissidence, it would be worth it.

Unless these premises are acceptable, there is really no point in further discussion. There is already an abundance of machinery for turning out "safe" teachers for bland schools, clods who will never make a ripple, even in the brain waves of a child.

Acceptance of the premises, however, still leaves two alternatives, only one of them viable. If radicals are acceptable to the schools, teacher training will surely admit them to their programs, but what happens to them in their professional training and after they enter the schools is another matter. If the

radical is funneled through professional training of the kind that now prevails and sent into an alien institution to fend for himself, the promise of calamity will be fulfilled. Admitting radicals to education without attention to their uniqueness and their needs is probably the greatest disservice that could be rendered to the schools. Untutored, the young radical is worse than a clod. Neither the untutored radical nor the clod does any good; the radical harms as well.

Educating a New Breed The alternative for teacher education and the public schools is, of course, to welcome this new breed of teachers and respond to their unique needs. That is not easy, for where in America is there a school or university that can boast of having found viable means for channeling the intellects and energies of radicals into constructive endeavors within an institutional setting? If it is impossible to do this, then perhaps it will take a little time, time that may be running out.

For rooted institutions the first faltering steps will be painful, but there is no reason to believe that they will be less so at a later, more desperate hour. Crossing the dark ground between the generations has always been difficult, more so now because the generations have virtually stopped talking to one another.

Distrust, which seems to pivot a full 180 degrees at the magic age of thirty, is in the way. There are men of good will on both sides of that birthday, men whose beliefs and aspirations are not as far apart as these times and rhetoric would make it seem. Honest dialogue—the willingness to be taught as well as to teach—can diminish distrust. The burden of initiation rightly lies with the older generation, with leadership in teacher education and the public schools.

But dialogue is good only for openers; it must be backed up by substance. The invitation to involvement must be genuine. This holds for pre-service training and in-service experience alike.

A young person entering teaching needs to know not only the way things ought to be, but how they actually are as well. Moreover, he needs to understand how they got that way and why they don't change as rapidly as they obviously ought to. He can get this understanding only by engaging real problems and actively participating in the attempt to solve these problems.

He needs to work closely with older colleagues, not as a student with his mentor, but as an equal. He needs this experience—and his older colleague does, too—as a means to mutual sympathy and appreciation. The carry-over into the schools of the old army adage that no recruit has any business sounding off until his barracks bag has stopped swinging has done immeasurable harm. It must stop.

Opening to Change Such things cannot happen, of course, unless the institutions themselves become less brittle. Instead of recoiling from every ripple, schoolmen must open themselves to change. They must be prepared to reexamine their ends, means, and motives, as well as to open them to examination by others. They must sharpen their own sensitivity to the needs of a dynamic society, for often the sociological studies of those dynamics are not published until the need has already become a crisis. Indeed, the growing crisis of the dissident student on the American scene is yet to be definitively studied.

Schools and schoolmen are not alone in needing flexibility. The cavalier attitudes of the radical young must temper. They must forsake their blind horror of institutions. They must grope for understanding of the public school, and understanding that transcends a litany of its ills. They need to see the futility of debunking from the sidelines and give themselves to the long hard job of reform from within. They must come to a realization that in an open society compromise is not a dirty word. Finally, they must recognize that the primary task of the teacher is helping the young to learn, a task infinitely more complex than just "doing their thing."

In the early sixties restless students found an outlet for their energy and idealism in the Peace Corps. Today their more yeasty counterparts are turning to public education. They see in the public schools an opportunity to have a hand in reshaping our troubled society and to seek significance in their own lives. It takes little vision to see the need for intellectual power and imagination in the American classroom. To recognize that talent takes only vision that can see beyond the beards.

Fallibilism and the Educative Community

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It may be too late, but I want to enter a plea to all in higher education: "Look at your colleges and universities as educational institutions." I speak, of course, of student criticisms of higher education. I make the plea for the simple reason that most faculty and administrators have reacted to recent student criticism not as educators, but in ways political and military. They have gone along with the theory that student criticism of what is going on in the universities is nothing more than a conflict, a power conflict between the students and them. As a result they view all student criticisms as moves in some war game. From the "revolution" at Berkeley to the "crisis" of Columbia, experts on "conflict and its resolution" have emerged as the chief interpreters of student criticism. I want to urge educators to approach student criticism with educational theories, not political or military ones. It will make a difference.

Using an educational theory to understand student criticism we can see it—no matter how dramatically or uncivilly it is professed—*like all criticism*, as an attempt to advance knowledge. Critics help advance knowledge by pointing out mistakes and errors. Student critics can help advance the knowledge of faculty, administrators, and trustees by making them aware of the inadequacy, inappropriateness, wrongheadedness, or just plain stupidity of the procedures, policies and practices they are using. Once the limitations of existent practices, procedures, and policies are identified, new and better ones can be devised—better because they avoid the limitations of the discarded ones. Of course, since we are not perfect, these new ones will in time be criticized and in turn replaced with better procedures, practices and policies. The perfect institution does not exist—how could it, since all institutions are created by fallible men? Not being perfect, then, all institutions of higher education can be improved—through criticism.

Obviously not all criticism is valid; it may itself be wrong or mistaken. But this does not get us into a quandary about trying to decide *a priori* what criticism is valid and what not. It simply means that one of the possible

Dr. Perkinson, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and History of Education at N.Y.U., considers a truly educative community to be one capable of criticism. Objecting to current tendencies to view conflict and disagreement in political or military terms, he calls for a recognition that all sides are fallible and that a critical approach to crisis can contribute to the advancement of knowledge. The traditional functions of the university, he writes, ought to arise out of a central concern for critical inquiry; but this can never happen if any group involved considers itself to be infallible.

outcomes of criticism is that it will be *the critic* who advances his own knowledge by having *his* mistakes and errors identified. Thus student critics may, through their criticisms, advance their own knowledge. They will become aware of their ignorance, their mistaken beliefs, their inaccurate observations about the policies, practices and procedures of higher education. But they can come to this awareness only through a serious dialogue with those whom they are criticizing. Criticism, in other words, establishes the educative moment. Criticism is the first move in a dialogue. It is not a debate, not an argument, not a confrontation. In a dialogue, nobody wins, nobody enters it with the idea of winning. One enters a dialogue in order to advance knowledge —*one's own knowledge*. And this process through which advancement occurs is the identification and elimination of errors, mistakes and inadequacies.

Criticism and Community This, as I understand it, is what education is all about—the advancement of knowledge. A community devoted to the education of all—students, *and* faculty, *and* administrators—I call an educative community. Here there are no permanent educators and educatees. Here *all* are anxious to learn, to advance knowledge, and to learn from one another, through criticism and dialogue. Criticism, the basis of the educative community, will generate a mutual exploration of the arguments of the critics and the criticized in order to discover where the errors lie, and a joint resolve to eliminate them once they are found.

The only requirement for the maintenance of an educative community is the humble confession of each member that he is *fallible*. There can be no intellectual authorities in an educative community. Neither the faculty, nor the administrations, nor the students (including the Students for a Democratic Society) are infallible authorities. All decisions, all procedures, all policies and all practices are subject to criticism, and refinement in the light of criticism.

This notion of fallibilism is a crucial one. Most of us, I am sure, would admit to being fallible. We know, or say that we know, that our theories, our procedures, our practices and our policies are not absolutely perfect, that they contain errors or inadequacies unknown presently to us. Nevertheless, whenever others criticize our theories, or our policies, practices or procedures we usually react by trying to "save" them. What we fail to realize is that criticism is the only way to improve them, or of improving other people's understanding of them. Criticism of our theories, policies, practices, and procedures can mean only two things: either (1) they are inadequate, or (2) the critic's understanding of them is inadequate. In either case education is called for—for us, or for the critic. So rather than trying to "save" or "defend" our theories when they are criticized, we should welcome the criti-

cism as an educative opportunity. And to react in this way requires us to admit that we, like all men, are fallible. Likewise, any attempt to "save" or defend our theories implies a claim to infallibility, or a claim to possessing some infallible method for discovering what is right.

By asking all who belong to educative community to admit that they are fallible, I do not mean that when criticized we should meekly accept it. To the contrary we should enter the dialogue by criticizing the arguments of the critics—i.e., try to refute them, or try to identify the errors they contain. The critic, in turn, should reply by criticizing our counter arguments with more arguments of his own. This is a dialogue. It ends when one side is unable to refute the arguments of the other. Not, however, with one side claiming victory, but with both recognizing that through the dialogue they have advanced knowledge—for themselves and for the other. This educative process, this dialogue, is possible only if there is a mutual admission of fallibility.

Performing Traditional Functions

If the colleges and universities are to become educative communities in the way I have described them, the internal policies, practices, and procedures will be but one small part of what is open to criticism. For since it is devoted to the advancement of knowledge and since knowledge advances through criticism (i.e., the discovery and elimination of mistakes), then in the educative community nothing is immune from criticism, including the very function of higher education. This does not mean that the traditional functions of the university will be abandoned. It does mean that these functions will be performed somewhat differently since they will flow from the central concern of critical inquiry. Let me briefly describe how three traditional functions would be performed in an educative community.

The traditional function of transmitting the culture and knowledge of our civilization to the young will not be discontinued. It will not be transmitted to the students for them to accept it and appreciate it, but rather to criticize it. Thus, what historians have said about the past and what natural and social scientists say about the world we live in will be criticized by professors and students, rather than merely transmitted by professors to students. The same holds for literature and the arts. In the better universities this is already the common practice.

The traditional function of training personnel for the various professions would have to be modified. Manpower training is incompatible with the primary mission of critical inquiry. This is not to say that the universities are to turn their backs on the professions. To the contrary they are to help improve the professions, improve them through criticism. In other words a student

planning to enter a given profession, say medicine or engineering, or teaching, ought not to expect the university to train him in the skills he will use in the performance of his occupational tasks. These skills ought to be acquired in institutions outside the university—in teaching hospitals, in elementary and high schools, and with engineering firms, for example. Within the university the potential professional should learn *about* his future profession and learn what is wrong with it; that is, he should hear, and be encouraged to make, criticisms of what's going on. So long as the university takes upon itself the task of manpower training, it undermines the possibility of engaging in criticism of the professions and so cannot help to improve them—except perhaps in terms of technique.

The Service Role The traditional function of service to the community—so common in the United States—would also, in an educative community, be performed critically. That is, the university ought not to be expected to support the existing political, social, and economic policies, practices, and procedures. The university would perform its service role through criticism. Through criticism (conducted by the faculty and the students) the policies, practices, and procedures of the community hopefully would be refined and improved. What is crucial here is that to remain an autonomous, critical institution the university must not itself become the home of alternate policies, practices or procedures that it tries to foist onto the community. For once the university becomes a positive force, once it claims to have the answers, then it gives up its role as critic. It becomes an authority, a political, a social, or an economic authority. I do not mean that the faculty and students may not suggest alternate policies, practices and procedures for the political, social and economic life of the community. But these suggestions from the university will be in the form of "probes." They will be issued only for testing purposes; i.e., so that they can be tried out, criticized, then refined or discarded.

Since we are fallible, improvement is always possible through criticism; and the one institution concerned with advancement and improvement is the university. All other institutions of the society are devoted to the operation and maintenance of the ongoing political, social, economic system—committed to existing procedures, policies and practices. The university, as an educative community, has no such commitments to what exists or to what might exist. To retain its critical stance it must remain free of all commitments. And unless it retains its critical stance, advancement will cease—unless some other institution takes up this critical educative role.

I said at the outset of my plea for the creation of an educative community

that I feared such a plea may be too late. Can the universities become comprehensively critical communities? Can they be self-critical, criticizing and welcoming criticisms of their own policies, practices, procedures? It will be very difficult to bring about this change. I fear that most administrators, faculty members, parents, ordinary citizens, and many students—all would view the emergence of an educative community with dismay.

Anti-Critical Stances In many institutions of higher learning officials have responded to serious student criticism by calling in the police to "resolve the conflict." Officials at other institutions either tacitly or explicitly indicated that they would respond in the same way should a similar situation arise on their campuses. The administrators seek stable, smooth-running institutions. In their resolve to avoid what they term "conflict" they are supported by trustees—most of whom are themselves administrators of other kinds of institutions. Since they view all criticism as conflict or as potential conflict there is a concerted effort to stifle it, to canalize it, to thwart it, to isolate it, or to counter it with compensatory prizes and benefits. This last tactic has worked quite well with professors who might be inclined to be critical of the way universities operate. Significantly it has been at institutions where many of the faculty have been bought off (low teaching loads, lavish administrative support for research and scholarship) where the most serious student criticisms have erupted. The students at these places can find new faculty to talk to about their criticisms, no one to engage with them in the educative process. Understandably they finally lash out in dramatic and direct action—a confrontation. The tragedy results when the faculty joins the administration in viewing the student criticism in political and military terms, engaging in pathetic war games that totally eclipse all hopes for an educative community.

In addition to the lack of support from administrators and many faculty for an educative community of the type I have described, many parents would object. They send their sons and daughters to college so that they may enjoy themselves *and* get prepared to fit in to responsible positions in the economic institutions of our society. The educative community would not supply the tickets that enable their children to "make it," so at its best it would be irrelevant to the concerns of most parents, and a threat to many.

Moreover, laymen unconnected with colleges and universities would view my proposed educative community as an addled-brain scheme that will encourage more lawlessness and disorder among youth at the very moment when what is needed is firmness and control, a return to respect for law and order. Finally, the students themselves: many are not really concerned with advancing

knowledge. Because they have never participated in the educative process during their twelve plus years of schooling, this is understandable. Many students, on the other hand, are indeed concerned with the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of our society and its institutions. Unfortunately many in this group have been politicalized by the new left and now proclaim their infallibility as saviors of society. An educative community cannot exist when any member claims infallibility.

All of these obstacles to the creation of an educative community point to the continuation and acceleration of ferment and violence on the campuses of American institutions of higher education. Racial violence in recent years has made it clear that our existing institutions are inadequate to handle the criticisms of the blacks in America. Similarly, unless our educational institutions are radically changed, unless they become truly educative institutions, I can foresee only the increase of violence between the generations. Perhaps some time (soon?) enough people in our colleges and universities will ask themselves: "What are we here for?"

Revolution and Relevance: International Educational Exchange

Margaret L. Cormack

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Revolution Berkeley, Oct. 25, 1968—excerpt
from the front-page editorial in "The Daily Cal":

I hold your hand. I kiss your lips. I love you.

Only we can bring humanity back into society and we can only do that by bringing humanity back into ourselves.

We want to save the University. We want to save society.

We want to save ourselves.

But we are not. We are playing games, storming buildings, seizing territory. What a tragic farce.

Berkeley, fount of free speech, free love, and student power. Berkeley, today more a symbol of the social order than ivory-towerism—assailed by an international student proletariat demanding relevance and participation in defining that relevance. The issue is contemporary, but the means of protest and control well up from the primitive unconscious—the shielded phalanx, the helmet, club, and fist. Berkeley, premier public institution of higher education. Berkeley, Oct. 26, a Pakistani student speaking:

I am so happy to be here! Berkeley has been my mecca for four years—it is the greatest university in the world. I promise I shall dedicate all my learning to my own country when I return. I want to be Berkeley to my people!

This University of California campus in the fall of 1968 was host as usual to hundreds of newly arrived foreign students—who were "oriented" among other things to the crucible of confrontation, some fearfully and others eagerly. The saffron-robed and shaven-headed Krishna devotees were Om-chanting by Sather Gate, the Black Power students were shouting on Sproul steps, in the Plaza cause-petitioners vied with troubadours for attention, and the campus dogs splashed joyously in Ludwig's Fountain. One graduate student from

Professor Cormack, well-known for her studies of Indian culture and her long association with educational exchange programs, has recently moved from Berkeley to Callison College. In this vivid article, she discusses some of the changes occurring in educational exchange because of world-wide student restiveness, new challenges to prevailing value structures, the emerging needs of developing countries, and the slow development of a global community. Another version of her paper, originally read before the International Studies Association, is appearing in EXCHANGE, Fall 1969.

Oxford, when asked what an Oxonian could possibly find of value on an American campus, exclaimed, "I had to experience Berkeley!" . . .

Will this privileged young man remain voyeur or become engagé in this individualism-collectivism psycho-drama? The minorities are militantly seeking group identities, but those in the restive majority are clearly repudiating membership in the Club. They demand, in fact, the very individualism basic to our American creed that is so threatened by our rigid institutions—but like artists, writers, and other non-conformists express themselves in stereotypes and reinforce their rebellion to form by sub-cultural collectives.

It is the same in Paris. Last year an American girl from Chapel Hill turned from loneliness to involvement, toward the end of her student sojourn marched with Sorbonne students on the Champs Elysées in anti-DeGaulle protest. "My mind works in different ways now. I'm using everything I'm learning. At home I was wrapped up in my own little problems. Here you have to take a stand on big issues right away."¹

In Berkeley, Paris, or almost any place today, young men and women in various stages of maturation are in dynamic process of growth. Their particular post-war experience involves an "explosion of awareness"—not only because of modern mass media but also because perception is sharpened by new experiences in new environments. Education away from home has always been considered essential to growth, and education abroad is a potent catalyst.

The thousands of American students increasingly flocking abroad reflect a sophisticated-to-naïve spectrum. Similarly, the more than 100,000 students from about 180 countries that annually partake of American campus life vary from the polished urbane to the inarticulate timid. Berkeley is but one social laboratory utilized by domestic and foreign students for the primary and the instant—for the *personal* experience of the total organism, the senses as stimulated as the cerebrum. The total campus for the total experience. On any normal day one sees the slide-rule and computer elites, briskly carrying heavy briefcases into buildings quietly humming—but more visible are the long-tressed and barefoot drop-outs, strumming guitars. Is it amusing to observe that many American students are unkempt and rude, the majority of foreign students well groomed and courteous? An invalid comparison of unequal samples, yes, but a comparison making its audio-visible impact. It is not only an era of primary sense-impressions for those on-stage but also one of instant communication and projection to a global audience. Government officials, parents, and youth from Nairobi to Sapporo are watching the seething campuses as if magnetized by poles of attraction and repulsion.

¹ As reported in *Look*, Nov. 12, 1968.

Disappearing Dichotomies Many of the traditional dichotomies are vanishing, especially in American universities. It is often difficult today to distinguish faculty from students, doctoral candidates from freshmen, the wealthy from the poor, the Western from the non-Western, the students from the non-students. But new polarities are forming, the State and the Administration having supplanted teachers and parents as authorities imimical to youth. And across the board the social distance widens between blacks and non-blacks (to be sure, narrows for some), those on far left and far right, the drop-outs and the engaged, the militants and the fearful. But they need each other, woo each other. It is like a mass proselytization—complete with processions, sermons, chanting, and collections. The new evangelists have a new interest in good and evil, honesty and hypocrisy—the modern variant of truth and heresy? They are both players and audience in new morality plays, evil depicted with super-horror and too strong for the anti-heroes of yesterday. Many students today respond less to the self-confessed cowards and bon-vivants popular a decade ago and more to muscular intellectuals that radiate moral charisma—not to mention far-out films and plays depicting Every-youth behind thin veils of psychedelic fantasy.

It is not a silent generation, and it is serious about relevance, however irrationally or naively understood by some. Students of today largely spurn the security their forebears needed and partially achieved, and welcome the risks accompanying this repudiation—probably unaware of the floor of security that makes daring possible. They are, for instance, demanding a new curriculum. In Berkeley the popularity of the Social Analysis course featuring Eldridge Cleaver and The New Revolution with Tom Hayden is more than a straw in the wind. "Tell it like it is"—a dictum in the New Education as firm as the punctilious use of quotation marks in the Old. Furthermore, these students are succeeding, though they understandably stumble over academic shards like credit, degrees, and other perquisites of establishmentarianism.

In the last several decades the United States has opened its doors to alien students, not only for our advanced studies and applied technologies but also for our campus life and community processes. We have maintained a pious faith in democracy and have chosen to act as missionaries in showing others how responsible leadership is developed and utilized, how citizen participation reaps both peace and prosperity. We have believed in the pursuit of happiness and wished it for others. Happiness is a private euphoria—but socially illegitimate without public conscience. Our society, we have liked to think, has no Establishment problem because the people are the Establishment.

There may, indeed, be some reason in this faith, but if so it is not the reasoning found on most campuses today—in our nation or any other. Recently

I heard an American student who wanted to go to India sigh, "Only in India can one do his thing!" The next day I overheard an Indian exclaim, "I can't go back to India, because here I am a free man." One of his countrymen used more contemporary idiom—"In India I'm not beautiful." Each student was protesting his own social order, of course, but more significantly was admitting his own impotence within it. The age-old flight from home is taking new form, today more a repudiation of society than family. The context of identity is enlarging. In fact, for many it is already supra-national—some committed to world membership, others crying, "Stop the world, I want to get off!"

Nihilism for some, escapism for others! How could this have happened in these post-war years of affluence and phenomenal progress in higher education—no mean contribution that of international educational exchange?

Educational Exchange 1945-69 Peace has been the over-riding purpose of educational exchange, if we define peace as the environment of non-hostile and cooperative peoples. The emphasis was originally on "mutual understanding," a vague umbrella proving dubious shelter from the monsoons of misunderstanding. We were still in the exchange kindergarten in the late 1940's, however; and American exchange programs were frankly designed to increase exposure to life American-style, a "favorable image" the expected result. Somewhat later the emphasis shifted to "helping others to help themselves" through intellectual technical assistance. Many idealistic non-governmental agencies, best illustrated by the American Friends Service Committee and the Experiment in International Living, had no direct foreign policy rationale; and, while government support for "development" waned, they continued to contribute with programs implementing face-to-face human relations and shared concerns.

Much interest in foreign students' "adjustment" developed among advisers and community volunteers concerned with providing social warmth and academic success. Foreign students soon became a natural part of the campus and community scene. The campus began to encompass the world, and the world became the campus. Although international studies are far from optimum development and curriculum rigor is not always applied to international activities, our curricular fare is infinitely richer than it was—partly as a result of educational exchange. Both domestic and foreign students benefit from the improvement, a fact that would add to the irony of confrontations if it were not obvious that dissent is stimulated by rising expectations rather than mute despair.

But what have been the motivations of the students and faculty involved in educational programs? Have these motivations changed? In the postwar decade,

American students reflected the international cultism through their own youthful sense of adventure and deemed internationally related courses and activities salient to many problems in the warring world. Participation in international programs did not bring peace, however; and today the new international and psychological approaches are viewed as contributions but not solutions. Many students today are social analysts and activists; others have turned inward in search of mystical awarenesses. All, however, are in search of meaning and are, rationally or irrationally, demanding more control over their destinies. The classic question "Who *am I?*" has given way to the challenge that "*I am I!*" On the east and west coasts, at least, the world as frame of reference is now taken for granted. A year in Rome or Benares, the *Gita* or the *Analects* as Monday's reading, term paper on Japanese industrialism or the Indonesian student movement, and the learning of Swahili or Urdu are accepted options. As with sex, today's students talk about relations less but practice them more. Many who go abroad do so in a purely romantic mood; but, for all the weakening of organizational support for their *wanderjahrs*, numerous students have defined professional incentives for themselves and view international experience as part of their professional experience, whether they expect to work at home or abroad. There are overseas internships; there are grants for doctoral dissertations in international education; and it seems safe to assume that the proportion of American students studying abroad (for all the failure to implement the International Education Act) will increase. Educational statesmanship is needed to increase allocations from university funds, extend the consortium trend, and win popular and legislative support for study abroad.

Foreign Student Motivations Overseas study for most students in developing countries, like marriage, is a familial and social "push" rather than the personal "pull" of adventure. Many, consequently, are subject to strong success imperatives for which they are ill-prepared. The West's advanced knowledge and golden degrees are short-cuts to status and security for those living in societies hurtling from kinship to achievement systems, and American higher education has therefore become functional to individual and national development. American productivity is admired—and copied. Perhaps some of my readers have seen the Delhi billboard proclaiming "You can be sure if it's Mukherjee!" or others in Bangkok illustrating how a girl can get her man by using Lux.

The most recent and significant change relates more to fears and latent jealousies. America is no longer the symbol of hope and success she used to be for colonial peoples. The Vietnamese non-war, the CIA, the assassinations, racial violence, crime, sexual excess, drugs, campus warfare all are reported

and pondered; and people abroad are disquieted. This fact, and the gradual development of higher educational facilities in their own countries, will cause some decrease in the number of students from developing areas. Still, many kinds of students are still applying for the American visas. More intrigued than intimidated by what they hear, they are attracted to our curricula or our cultural life; or they may be seeking relief from their own familial or social hang-ups. In the long run, the flow-pattern in our direction will be stronger. We may be at the beginning of a new phase of international education. With others helping us to help ourselves, "we" may find a common cause.

Researching Results So far the research is inconclusive; and most of it has to do with foreign students in the United States.² Selection and admission have only recently received major attention; but now most universities can be rigorous in their standards of admission and retention, thanks largely to the competence of foreign admissions specialists. There is more insistence on English language competence, today made possible by the availability of language laboratories. Although "adjustment" to this country has not been found to be a major problem, little is known about the modification of social roles at home as a result of overseas education. Longitudinal studies and time-lapse data on returned students are needed, but precision in such studies would prove as difficult as their financing. It does seem clear from available data that what a student brings with him to an alien setting is more important than the specific nature of his new environment. His perception and responses—for instance, on the status of women, prejudice patterns, the roles of authority—are conditioned by his own experience and learned awareness; his own motivation, further, pre-sets his efforts and satisfaction. The task-oriented seem to have fewer adjustment problems and greater academic success; but they probably learn less about human relations and are less likely to serve as innovators on their return. They, speaking generally, are likely to be older graduate students in the process of career-improvement, while the more people-oriented are likely to be younger, without yet having entered adult life at home. There is evidence, however, that many undergraduate students become alienated from their home cultures by a stay of several years and find it difficult to go home again.

We have, in fact, neglected consideration of the foreign student's mental and emotional responses to his own culture. "What am I like and what is likely to go on in me?" might become the core of orientation procedures and

² See, for a lucid summary of existing studies, Barbara J. Walton, *Foreign Student Exchange in Perspective*. Washington, D. C. Superintendent of Documents, Department of State Publication 8373, September 1967.

would not diminish our concern with adjustment to the American scene. Certainly we need to investigate the changes taking place over time. Do students experience "culture crisis" at the end of a year? Do they feel dissatisfied with both home and host cultures? Do they objectify their views of cultures within two or three years, finding it difficult to return home after three years? What difference does marriage make? The quality of the total experience for each individual is more important than quantitative aspects of programming, but persuasive data on this point has not been used in decision making. Alienation is in some ways a part of growing up, and disengagement from conditioning attitudes and social structures may be a good thing. But, for many individuals, alienation may be damaging to identity and commitment. We need to know. Cultural shock is relatively unimportant today, but culture strain—or fatigue, as some call it—has not been sufficiently considered. The foreign student who has apparently adjusted to all our folkways lives under a continuous strain; and, if he cannot withdraw or seek his kin somewhere, he can never relax. Cultural cliquing may seem counter-productive and often inexcusable; but a certain amount may be life-saving. It seems naively inconsistent to maximize Americanization and minimize foreign students' identity feelings—and then expect them to return home and live happily ever after!

The American sojourn, in short, should be viewed as a chapter in each student's biography, with less emphasis on adaptation to American culture and more on integrating this experience with his personality and destiny. Education abroad certainly contributes to national development, but to the individual it is a matter of growth, not politics. Nevertheless, most students from developing countries are conscious of their roles in relation to development. When, and possibly only when, their own nations are engaged in organized development planning, the "technical assistance" they receive for advanced study is visibly and immediately effective, especially in the natural sciences. We do not know how much impact American academic methodology has had on educational principles and practices in developing countries; but, by now, such a large number of American-educated personnel has moved into decision-making positions that dissent and discussion over obsolete pedagogy has increased, and there is a growing determination to develop indigenous systems rather than copies.

Identity and Citizenship American students going abroad resemble students coming to the United States from Europe, Japan, and other developed areas. They have more life options than do those from developed countries, are less subject to success imperatives, and are more like-

ly to be pursuing specific personal and professional goals. They are not necessarily more mature; but the investments and risks are not excessive, and it is easier for them to leave home. Relative affluence makes an overseas sojourn "no big thing" for Americans, even in the developing countries to which many are now attracted. European countries remain the most popular, however; and many young Americans, girls particularly, seem to be staying "indefinitely." For some it is a case of "no place like Rome"; for others, a general disillusionment with American society; for more than a few, a reaction against domestic success standards. They find pressures beyond ideological and psychological tolerance in America; and culture shock is not the problem it is for their elders. They may be shock-proof, of course; but it is more likely that they have been so turned-on, they find it restful to be turned-down—that they enjoy culture relaxation, as against culture strain.

Re-entry into the United States is another matter. Unlike students from abroad, American youth find increasing difficulties in returning home. It is difficult to imagine any effective orientation for this; perhaps shock should be allowed to take its course. As one student put it, "I was miserable and hateful for months, finally realized America is me and I am America. So I'm working in a law office by day and going to encounter groups by night—it's really turned me on again." But another commented wistfully, "I'm glad to be an-American—I guess—but I want to be more than an American. I want to be a resident of the world, whatever that is."

American and foreign students, it seems, are searching for identity; and they have a sense of kinship and mutuality that is beginning to be meaningful. The development of an international intellectual community is recent; and Edward Shils is one who makes a case for a conscious orchestration of national and international communities, by no means to be confined to scholars. But he points out that the symbiotic existence of intellectual components does not necessarily lead to "community."³ Charles Frankel, in his turn, discusses the conceptual and semantic difficulties among intellectuals that impede community.⁴ Perhaps one important stimulant to the mutuality of intellectuals is the challenge of student protest!

Relevance The relevance of educational exchange today should be judged only by the "learning" enhanced by the process. The student revolutions of our time, though waged by numerical

³ Edward A. Shils, "Toward a Modern Intellectual Community," in James Coleman, Ed., *Education and Political Development* Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1965.

⁴ Charles Frankel, "The Scribblers and International Relations," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1965, pp. 1-14.

minorities, are separate manifestations of a global student confrontation. They are more than portents, and whatever anarchistic elements are present, they will not be solved by police or politics. These students are graphically living the latest chapter in the history of Man and Society. Their arc of action circles the world, Berkeley no more significant than London, Belgrade, Calcutta, or many other points East and West. Perhaps the "agony of San Francisco" is particularly characterized by the beauty of black, that of Paris le mal d'état, and that of Tokyo by the power of collective youth in a gerontocracy—but kinship among these dissenting youth is clear.

The aging intellectuals will pass on, and the young will age. Their dialectic seems to be individual autonomy and social justice. This sounds like nothing new on this earth, but like everything on earth today is wanted instantly. It is also demanded in almost exclusively naked power terms—lessons youth learned well from their elders. The relatively minor confrontations of today will become massive and irreversible if we continue to fail in communication and cooperation. Nationally and internationally we desperately need really integrated societies—societies designed for a far more sophisticated and functional integration than anything conceived in relation to "democracy." Kenneth Boulding consistently and eloquently argues for legitimating the integrative system. "I have come to the conclusion that the dynamics of the integrative system, and especially of legitimacy (the acceptance of the individual of his own acts and those of others), dominate all other social systems, and that neither exchange capability (wealth) nor threat capability (power) are capable of organizing society unless they are legitimated. To put it another way, if we lose legitimacy we lose everything. The idea that the integrative system has a unity and dynamic of its own—that there is, in other words, an 'integrity' as there is an 'economy'—is quite foreign to most thinking today."⁵ Can anyone deny that human survival rests much more on this "learning" than on building an ABM system?

A sociometric approach, however essential in changing national and international societies from their conflict-of-power modes, places too little emphasis on time dimensions. We are experiencing social fracture because obsolescence has accumulated like shock waves made by a supersonic plane. *Today is different, and tomorrow will be unrecognizable.* As John Gardner persuasively posits, we need social purpose and organization designed for self-renewal. The greatest failure of twentieth century social organization is its rigidity rather than any inherent inhumanity.⁶ To put it emphatically, we

5 Kenneth Boulding, "Prognostics: A Guide to Present Action," *Saturday Review*, February 10, 1968.

6 "Uncritical Lovers, Unloving Critics," Cornell University Commencement Address, June 1, 1968.

must program our integrative system for flexibility and self-renewal. Redefined social purposes and reconstructed social organizations are not possible in time-compressed decades without conscious "education" with and among nations. Since this goal is but a more precise formulation of the peace motivation underlying the international educational exchange principle, it seems pertinent to ask to what extent and in what ways educational exchange can now contribute to the development of self-renewing integrated societies? What "learning" could thus be enhanced?

In the waning 1960's we seem to be on a learning plateau. We have learned a great deal but have levelled off before moving upward on a new and more conceptual learning curve. Before these new purposes and forms become operational they must be legitimated—they have to be conceived, challenged, tested, and reformulated before they can become a habit. This process, we firmly contend, is the stuff of higher education. The many ways in which higher education could move in these directions are obscure as yet, but we academics are fortunately being forced to re-examine our academic fare, and even more fortunately can virtually forget any distinctions between domestic and international education. What are our general requirements, electives, and advanced seminars? We know there is much even more important than statistical tools and techniques and at least three credits of non-Western civilization. What could be some of the new demands and challenges pursuant to the integrative, self-renewing system we are now ready to develop?

Education is a profession dedicated to "literacy," the term originally perceived as the verbal competence needed for effective function in society. Using the term non-literally, it is widely conceded that "scientific literacy" is also essential to function in modern life, curricula all over the world reflecting this assumption. Other forms of "literacy," however, are also fundamental to effective function, but little recognized. It is apparent a third requirement is "organizational literacy" toward the new modes needed for new conditions, awareness, and aspirations. This is a competence, incidentally, that even the most highly developed societies do not possess—hence our "unbending institutions." Any of us could make a long list of items urgently needing change in our own society—gun-control, abolition of the Electoral College, sanction of birth control, elimination of poverty, preservation of the ecological balance, and resolution of the international crises certainly among them. Harrison Brown and others remind us that we have only a decade or two in which to make radical progress. Organization, however, is merely a martailing of energy toward some purpose. A fourth "conceptual literacy" dealing with values and purposes is essential if organization is to serve humanity in the shifting terms of time. These "literacies" in a higher education sense are as

elementary as the ABC's—and centrally appropriate to the purposes and processes of international educational exchange.

Educational exchange, thus, is on its way from cult to curriculum—but has yet to devise the New Curriculum. University students today, whatever their immature excesses, in their collective cri de coeur seem to ask a curriculum in which "man and society" is the core. It is about time! Educational exchange is but one aspect of higher education, but it may not deserve our continued investment if it does not address itself to the self-renewing integrity of this our troubled world—if it does not deal with organizational and conceptual literacies. It is time to shift from a differential to an integral social calculus. It is time to think of students and scholars as "integers" in a whole system rather than "grantees" in programs.

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A Private Concern about Music Teaching

Samuel Aster
Brooklyn, New York

Various critics of American culture have been commenting upon the American schools' deficiencies when it comes to creating a sensitive, appreciative public for the art forms to which it is increasingly exposed. But what sort of education should be provided? Many people have had courses in "appreciation," or have studied an instrument, or have listened to programs on radio or television which presume to explain Brahms or Debussy. Why are such people still insensitive in so many areas—so uncritical and uninvolved? For me, the answer lies in the *kind* of cultural or artistic education they have experienced. The efforts undertaken by certain well-known musicians who try to simplify and popularize complex music do little if anything to help, since what they are really offering is a predigested kind of "education." Their audiences are given a false assurance that they "understand" Debussy or Brahms after listening to one or two programs; and often they become lazy and glib in their fraudulent "expertise," mouthing a few catchwords with little meaning or depth. In actual fact, complex music cannot be understood by or have authentic meaning for an individual unless he studies seriously.

The schools are no better. The Survey Course, alternatively called "Music Appreciation," is the mainstay of most music curricula; and its main function is to traverse music history and styles from organum to electronic compositions. A course of this kind also teaches the "rudiments of music"—rhythm, pitch, harmony, scales—all in the same semester. The ultimate absurdity is revealed when, during the final examination, the teacher plays one of the recordings which were skimmed at some point during the term. The student is required to supply the composer's name, dates, style, and period. The form of the composition is to be identified after the briefest possible hearing. It is assumed that the student who passes the course "knows" music because he can name names, recall dates, summarize personal histories, and record catalogue numbers. Unfortunately, professionals and laymen alike identify this kind of rote learning with "understanding" music.

Survey courses of this type deal with so much that students are somehow convinced they are becoming cultured and teachers frequently delude them-

Mr. Aster is concerned with the need to develop a sensitive audience in the schools and with the insufficiency of "survey courses" in accomplishing this end. He makes a modest suggestion for the kind of music teaching which involves the education of emotions. As he sees it, this is the way "understanding" can best develop, not through the mastery of names and dates.

selves into thinking they have taught "culture." The material is often popularized and watered down to such a degree that it reaches too low a level to interest and involve students; or it is made so overwhelmingly complex as to alienate them. It seems obvious that an entirely different approach to the teaching of music is needed in the schools.

As I see it, the most important element lacking in most music courses is the development of the kinds of emotional responses in the listener which the musical works chosen validly arouse. Instead, music is taught as a mass of techniques, forms and sounds which, although interesting in themselves, do not involve the listener emotionally. My intention here is to contrast with a conventional course in "rudiments" a different sort of approach which may be more successful in cultivating musical understanding.

Approaching Music I use the word "approach" advisedly, since each pupil and class must be met individually. This demands great flexibility and insight of the teacher *within* the framework of the approach. Any approach is no more profound than its basic ideas, the teacher's sensitivity, and the student's willingness. To make clear what I have in mind, I shall concentrate on the opening lessons of the two contrasting approaches.

Lesson I (Conventional)

Most of the music they are likely to know, the students are told, "swings" in twos and threes. That is, they count ONE-two or ONE-two-three as they listen. The teacher may have the class sing some two and three meter songs while they clap the beats or, in some cases, are taught standard conducting patterns. The four meter and six meter patterns are often introduced before any security has been established in the simpler meters.

Next, the students are told that while the beat remains constant, the rhythm of the melody may be in smaller or larger units superimposed over the beat. Also, silences or rests may be encountered between any two notes. The notation is graphically presented, as is the relative duration of the note values. Sometimes dots are used in connection with these symbols.³ A dot adds half the value to whatever note (or rest) it follows.

The remainder of Lesson I is spent in practicing difficult rhythms, tapping beats, and (too often) creating confusion. The impressive charts in the syllabus feed into the kind of presentation which too frequently makes students—even 20-year-old students—fearful and frustrated. After all, most of them clearly remember being inhibited by some "music specialist" in the early grades who designated certain pupils "listeners." Numerous cases of supposed "tone-deafness," inability to sing, or "lack of physical coordination" can, I think, be

traced to music teachers' insensitivity to the needs of individual children. Because of the accumulated inhibitions and the excessive technical information communicated in Lesson I, many of the students find nothing but agony in Lesson II.

Lesson II (Conventional)

The staff, the bar lines, G clef, F clef, and the more complex C clef are presented; and then students are considered ready to begin singing melodies from printed scores, playing recorders and even the piano.

An Alternative Approach to Lesson I

This approach may be exemplified by a discussion of what might be done in a single class. The teacher, it is suggested, might begin by saying that "music is a language which has many things in common with spoken languages." Asking what the purpose of language is, he would try to elicit comments about the role of language in communicating physical, intellectual, and emotional "ideas." Writing, say, a line of poetry—e.g. "Gently flows the cooling stream"—on the blackboard, he would ask his students to respond by talking about the feelings or moods the line evokes in them. If they respond by using words like "refreshing," "calm," "gentle," etc., they are asked to compose sentences in accord, in sound, with the sentence on the board. They frequently realize that the opposition of "softly" to "loudly" corresponds to dynamics in music, while "slowly" opposed to "rapidly" suggests tempo. They may then be asked to express whatever recurring pulsations they have felt with their hands and arms and to identify patterns of strong and weak pulsations. An example follows:

Gently flows the cooling stream.
S w S w S w S (w)

The pattern number called "meter" is two in this composition and appears in a Strong-weak arrangement. The (w) is a "silent weak," added to complete the pattern.

In music, the strong pulse is indicated by a vertical line, drawn preceding the Strong pulses and called a "bar line." A "double bar line" at the end of the composition indicates the finish.

²
meter | S w | S w | S w | S(w) ||

The pulses are represented by written symbols called "notes" which are related to each other in length. Each pulse will be represented by a $\frac{1}{4}$ note which looks like this  . The kind of note which represents one pulse is indicated

beneath the Meter at the beginning of the composition ($\frac{2}{4}$ means that there are 2 quarter notes in the metric pattern). Going back to the sentence, it will be remembered that a "silent weak" was added to complete the pattern. Hence a note which lasts for the duration of 2 pulses is needed: $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{2}$ note J .



For each quarter note the syllable "ta" will be spoken, and for the half note "ta-la" will be spoken. This gives a sense of the sound of the pulses moving in time. In order to distinguish physically between Strong and weak pulses, the students are taught a very simple conducting pattern as follows: Large circle for a Strong pulse, small circle for a weak pulse. The $\frac{1}{2}$ note will get two circles since it represents two pulses.

The students are asked to practice speaking and conducting the musical picture of the sentence, performed with the soft dynamic and slow tempo decided upon previously, while trying to think of the gentleness and calm of the original sentence. If there is any difficulty in conducting, they can reinforce the metric pattern by speaking the sentence again and stressing the Strong syllables.

ASSIGNMENT 1

The students are requested to practice what they have learned in the order of presentation, and are to work on the following sentence in the same manner:

Buttercups joyously dance in the spring.

(It will be noted that this sentence is in a three meter, with a mood in contrast to that of the first sentence.)

The appeal is to the emotions of the student. Since no one "right" answer is being sought, the student feels free to "take a chance" with his feelings, use his imagination and give his reaction to the sentence. Terminology and symbols which are not relevant to the lesson at hand are *not* introduced. This is contrary to the conventional approach where the student is overwhelmed by 32nd notes, rests and clefs which he will never see in his lifetime.

Singing is not introduced in the first lesson because the student will have enough to practice. The emphasis is on less quantity, but more security and depth of understanding. Often students cannot sing pitches accurately until their sense of the pulse, meter and simple rhythms is secure. This is aided and developed by speaking the rhythms with the "ta's" and conducting with "circle pictures." Circle pictures are used instead of standard conducting patterns because they are more easily grasped; they give a continuous flow, and they may be expanded to more complex metric patterns.

The need for *Tempo* and *Dynamics* is constantly stressed since their function is to heighten the basic moods the singer or instrumentalist is trying to convey. These concepts are always lacking in the first approach.

In Lesson 3, when singing is introduced, it is through very simple and short melodies. Most popular and folk tunes are too complex to allow the students to hear the pitches, sing the correct rhythm and conduct all at the same time.

Mood and Melody The objection may be raised that we have been dealing with the moods of sentences rather than those of abstract music which has no words (unless it is a song) to guide the listener. After sensitizing the students and drawing upon their imaginations through the use of the sentences, they can begin to extrapolate (the psychologist would say "transfer") what they know about what creates a mood to a simple melody.

slowly & smoothly

softly

The above melody is sung to the class with the indicated tempo and dynamics, and they are asked what moods or feelings the melody elicits from them, and what produced these feelings. Their reaction to the mood may be: gentle, soft, tender. What reasons? Slow tempo, soft dynamic, the rhythms of the melody are even (mostly $\frac{1}{4}$ notes) and it ends with a long rhythm ($\frac{1}{2}$ note). The distances between the tones are small (all stepping); the melodic line rocks gently at first (F-G F-G), then there is a small ascent and an easy descent to the sound of the opening pitch (A-G-F). The melody gives a feeling of hovering rather than great movement, and there are no strong thrusts or jagged lines or large leaps. This melody is not a graphic picture, but a distillation in sounds of the moods that were found in the sentence used as a starting point in **Lesson 1**.

Here, then, is a way of discussing moods and feelings in music in concrete terms and without the vague mysticism which so often shrouds the musical and artistic process. A writer embodies his feelings in words, images, symbols. Just so does a composer express his emotions through rhythms, melodies, harmonies, forms and orchestration.

Implications for Education Less quantity and more quality should be emphasized. The classes should be no larger than ten, so that the teacher may be enabled to develop the imagination and emotions of the students by helping them express their feelings in words. Conventionally, the emotional aspect is lost in a maze of technical detail, which only bores interested students and alienates the uninterested ones. If the excitement and emotion and meaning are drained out of music, it ceases to exist as an Art and becomes mere pedantry! Form devoid of interpretation is form for its own sake and *not* music.

Naturally the approach used in teaching and analyzing music advocated in this paper requires more time, more imagination, more preparation, more patience, and a more sensitive teacher. But isn't it the responsibility of all who undertake the teaching profession to breathe life into the words on a printed page, or the notes on a page of music? And if the student does not receive this kind of training in the classroom, won't meaningful culture in large part be lost to society?

Contemporary Art of Poland and Yugoslavia

Featured on the cover of this issue of the RECORD and on the following pages are several examples of the works of some of Poland's and Yugoslavia's finest contemporary artists. The works are part of the current exhibition sponsored by McGraw-Hill, now touring college campuses around the United States. All the paintings have been created in the last 25 years.

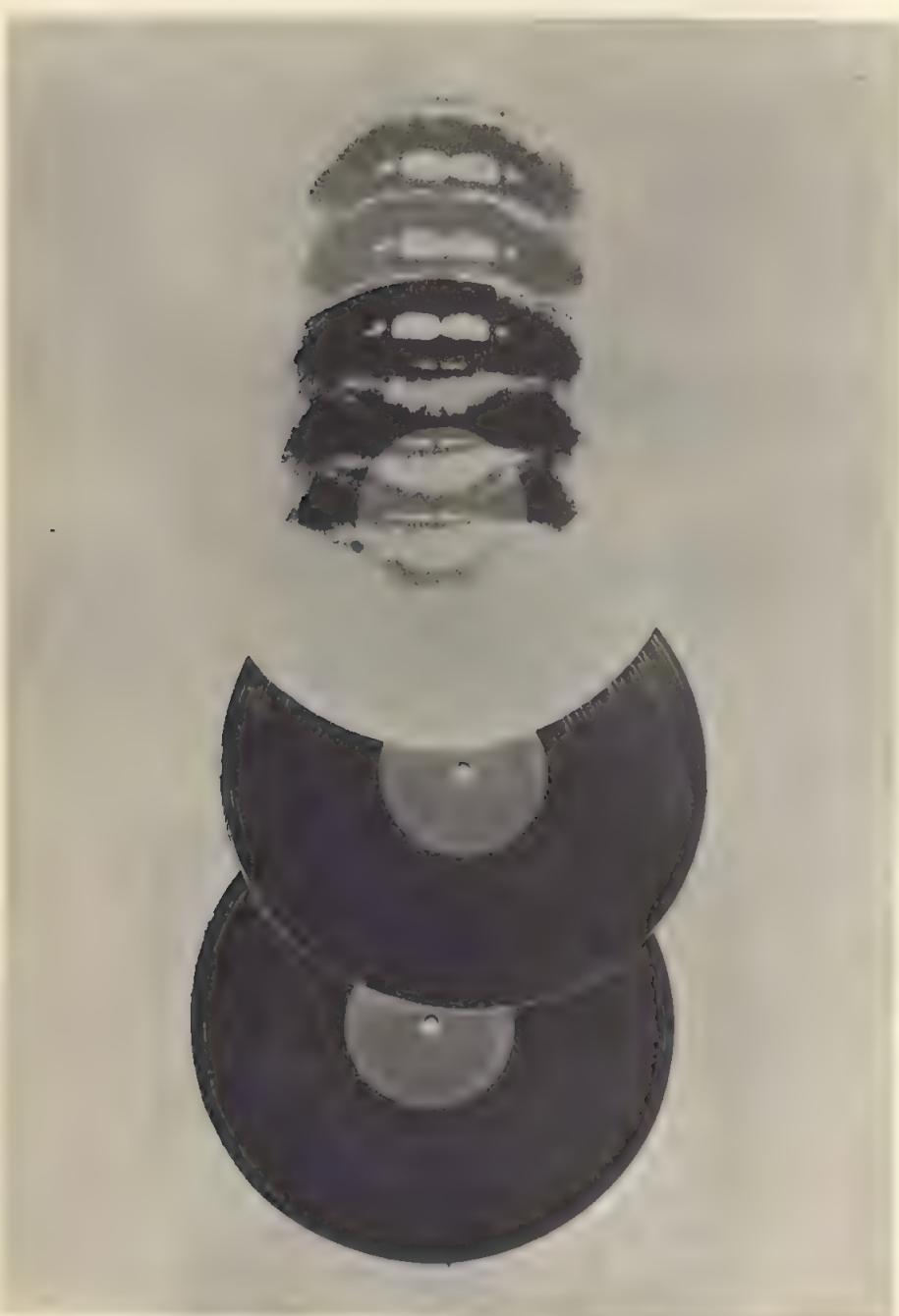
In describing the works, Jerzy Michalowski, Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic, has stated: "Not only are they deeply rooted in the millennium of our cultural tradition, but they are closely connected with all those trends in international art movements which are representative of the ideals of humanism."

Fric Frankl, Director of the Yugoslav Information Center, has written: "Perhaps this is the first time that such an excellent cross section of contemporary Yugoslav art is being presented throughout the United States."

After traveling to Poland and Yugoslavia and making selections for the exhibit, Edward F. Fry, Associate Curator of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, reported: "Despite hindrances and material obstacles, artists in (Eastern Europe) today are carrying forward their own unique heritage of lyricism, intellectual sophistication, and romantic fantasy."



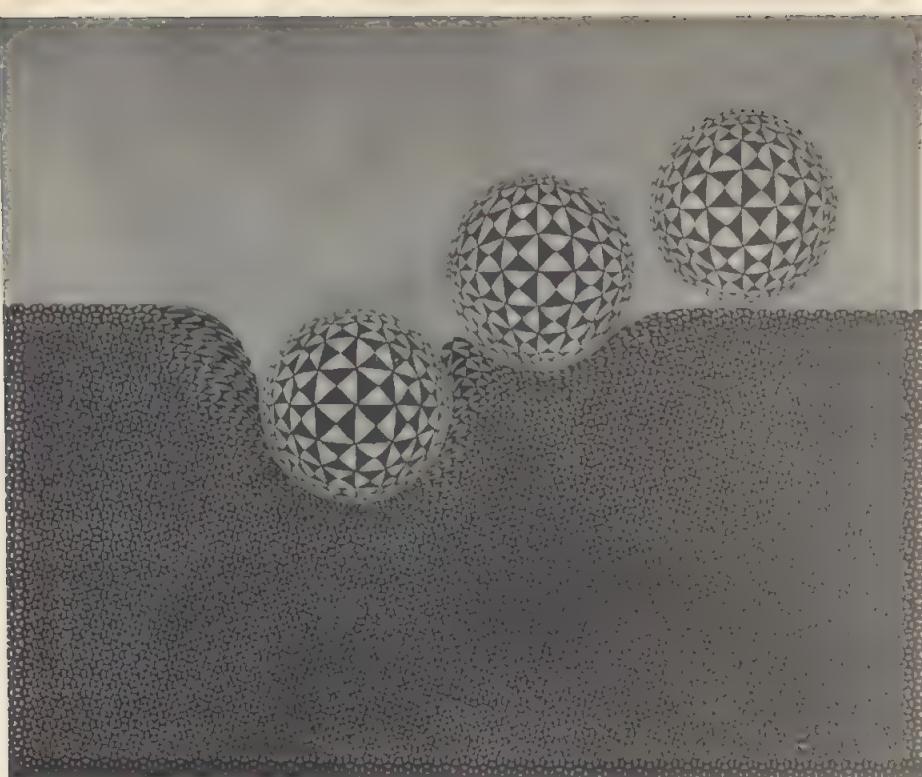
Janez Bernik, Yugoslavia. *Board 73.* 1965, aquatint.



Lucjan Mianowski, Poland. *Gramophone Disc.* 1967, lithograph.



Jan Dobkowski, Poland. *Double Girl.* 1968, oil on canvas.



Miroslav Sutej, Yugoslavia. *Ultra ABC.* 1965, serigraph.



Zbigniew Makowski, Poland. *Incipit Mu-arbor.* 1966, India ink, watercolor on paper.

Moral Education and Dissenting Youth

We have been in many cities this past half year, in this country and abroad; and wherever we have been, we have heard talk of powerlessness and witnessed the collapse of norms. We have smelled the smoke of lassitude, watched young people wandering from place to place in their strange, world-wide community. We have seen draft cards torn and fluttering to the street, spurts of violence, graffiti equating "Che," "VC," and "Love." We have heard the rock bands and the slogans and the obscenities. We have been silenced by cocksureness, fervor, and often by contempt. And still we know that something is a'borning in the younger generation, that moral searching is taking place, that educators have to learn somehow to help.

Two quotations, apparently disparate, come stubbornly to mind. One is from Kurt Vonnegut's *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*:

In time, almost all men and women will become worthless as producers of goods, food, services, and more machines, as sources of practical ideas in the areas of economics, engineering, and probably medicine, too. So—if we can't find reasons and methods for treasuring human beings because they are *human beings*, then we might as well, as has too often been suggested, rub them out.¹

¹ Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater or Pearls Before Swine*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1965, p. 201.

The other is from *Introduction to Moral Education*, by John Wilson and others:

One way of expressing our general thesis is to say that we do not have absolute moral rights over children (including the right to make them accept our moral values), but only a *mandate* over them. We protect and educate them so that they may grow up into free adults.²

We are concerned, at this moment, with moral education—which means, for us, an effort to encourage students to be rational and to create their own values; and we do not think this can be carried on until we learn once more to treasure human beings "because they are *human beings*."

It seems to us that one of the several causes of youthful unrest is the sense that the technological society has made the individual "obsolete."³ The feeling of powerlessness is one side of the coin; the feeling of insignificance and purposelessness is the other. Young people talk of being manipulated, of being prepared merely to fill "slots." Perceiving contem-

² John Wilson, Norman Williams, Barry Sugarman. *An Introduction to Moral Education*. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Inc., 1967, p. 168.

³ See, e.g., Bruno Bettelheim, "Obsolete Youth," *Encounter*, September 1969.

porary society as alienating, depersonalizing, they seek their own "life styles" and their own community. It is not a question of *creating* a new social order; it is a question of *being*, *looking like* the kind of person who belongs with others who appear to be the same. Convinced (by the war, the draft, the techniques of societal selection, racism, and inequities) that the establishment places no value on the person *qua* person, they no longer feel responsible for "making something of themselves." Self-abandonment becomes the solution, merging with others, entering in a spiritual communion in which they can touch their fellow-communicants, tune in, and simply feel. The style they have adopted seems deliberately intended to exclude the adult, the "straight" one, or the "square." An in-group has taken shape with its own ethnocentricity; it is apparently so large, so widespread that it is treated as a culture, with its own mores, its own laws. Rejected by the members of that culture, teachers—like other adults—have imposed a kind of invisibility on the persons who belong to it. "Youth" is used derogatively, as "teen-ager" used to be. Teachers find it difficult to attribute worth and dignity to individual young people who have (or seem to have) contempt for their opinions. Nevertheless, they recognize, on some level, that the person who is granted no respect as a potentially rational, autonomous human being is not likely to become a moral human being. To be moral is to be aware of one's feelings and desires, to be capable of weighing situations, to be conscious of competing rules and principles, to make rational choices in accord with what one is.

We believe that our rebellious young people are innocent where morality is concerned. Suffering the contemporary tension between anarchy and "law and order," they have fled what they think of as conditioning and settled for a new conformity. There is evidence, we think, of a kind of moral vacuum where they are concerned; there is a need for learning how to choose. Experimenting, groping, the young have not found the fulfillments they are looking for; and the doubts, the frustrations are becoming clear. Many of them, perhaps most of them, may be explained by the political and social situation we have created in America—by the continuation of an irrational war, the perpetuation of inequities, the pollution, the brutalities, the bland efficiency of planning, the evasion and neglect. We are not among those who prefer to rely on psychological explanations only. Granting the permissivism of the young rebels' bringing up, granting their affluence and self-indulgence, we think it absolutely necessary to keep remembering that there are good and sufficient reasons for their discontent. Authority is used illegitimately in this country; our priority systems do put space travel first and the relief of poverty last; people are too often treated like objects, like cogs in a technologically perfect wheel; there is repression of dissent, and policemen's clubs draw blood. But teachers (who ought to be fully conscious of all this) cannot simply attribute what is wrong to "society" and refuse the responsibility for enabling young people to cope.

They need help in learning how to choose; they need help in learning how to secure what they want—how, in

fact, to *know* what they want. ("'Me, for instance,' said a handsome, red-haired youth from upstate New York. 'But I'd say that people are not political, just very angry, and waiting for something to happen—something apocalyptic.'")⁴ We can acknowledge the idealism and vitality in many, even as we recognize that their use of brutality (as at Harvard, for instance) is a sign of trouble. We can acknowledge the sweetness and tranquillity in others, even as we see that the dependence upon "pot" for serenity (as at the Bethel Music Festival) is a sign of insufficiency.

Consider the films the young rebels consider their films and line up to see: *Easy Rider*, for example, and *Alice's Restaurant*. *Easy Rider*, with its evocations of the frontier, of the American quest, may be the new generation's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Wyatt and Billy are lighting out for "the territory ahead"—in their case, New Orleans at Mardi Gras. The towns they go through on their motor cycles are as haunted and evil and narrow-minded as the towns on Huck Finn's river banks. They are frequently on drugs; and Wyatt, who sees so much because of the drugs, becomes progressively more abstracted and melancholy as they move. After their climactic "bad trip" in the New Orleans graveyard, they take to the road again. "We blew it," Wyatt says, just before they are casually shot down; but Billy does not seem to understand. Young people acclaim the film; and, it appears to us, they do understand. The America portrayed is corrupted, prejudiced, "hung up"; but the rebels,

the free wanderers are doomed—perhaps because they have no commitment, because they really have no place to go.

Alice's Restaurant, for all its warmth, humor, and the recurring sound of "Amazing Grace," is equally sad. It is true that Arlo Guthrie, with his tie to his dying father, his musicianship, his clarity about what he does not want, survives intact; but the couple with their hippie "family" in the deconsecrated church do not. The enveloping, abstract love they offer to the "aging children" who huddle and smoke on the floor is ineffectual in the face of addiction, anxiety, dread. It is irrelevant to authentic need; it does not sustain relationship nor enable people to live more meaningfully; and the hippie wanderers, at length, are homeless, shrill, and lost. This film, too, is recognized by the young who flock to see it; it, too, may in some measure reveal.

These films were made, of course, by professional movie-makers; and we are not using them as proof of a rebellion's failure. They are suggestive, however; and they may remind us that, for all the young's assertiveness and assurance, the rebels have probably not discovered the heavenly city or even the good life. As teachers, we can sit back and condemn the times or the human condition or the ineptness and stupidity of the young generation. Alternatively, we can attempt to do what we are paid to do: we can work to help our students think about who they are, about the reasons for what they are doing, about the choices they want to make.

This is, unquestionably, complex and difficult. Moral education is not

⁴ "American Youth on Tour," *The New York Times*, September 5, 1969, p. 39.

so hard to accomplish when authorities are respected, when teachers are entitled to impose their own values on the young. This is no longer the case, as most educators know. We are not justified in conditioning, indoctrinating, molding—certainly not if we are committed, in other areas, to the promotion of cognitive growth. Courage is needed to confront the fact that we do *not* know what is right for the individuals in our classrooms, although—secretly—we may be sure we do. Courage is needed to confront the possibility that successful moral education may result, in individual cases, in intensified rebellion, in the choice of ends which teachers cannot approve. The first step, then, for the teacher is to define his own commitment. Is he serious about his devotion to the rearing of free, highly conscious persons? Does he really mean it when he talks of valuing autonomy and the ability to think? Can he present and defend his own preferences without making absolute claims? At a time when fundamental commitments are being challenged by the young—noisily, arbitrarily, sometimes viciously—this is not easy for any teacher, especially the one who delights in form and the life of the mind. But if he is concerned about his students, if he can somehow learn to cherish them even in their defiance, he may be able to help them act upon the freedom they claim; he may be able to enlarge their opportunities for choosing what is worthwhile.

Where moral decision is concerned, the individual must take responsibility. If the teacher attempts to impose his own preferences, to tell his student *what* to choose, he is preventing the young person from de-

veloping as a moral being. Principles, of course, should be discussed and criticized; rules should be made clear. But the student must be given the opportunity to decide whether or not he can appropriate a given moral principle, whether it makes sense to him to act according to particular norms or rules.

There are principles of loyalty and fairness, for example, which are relevant to the communities young people have begun to share. Most often, they are inarticulate, if they are considered at all. The individual may have a feeling about the kind of comradeship he desires. He may vaguely expect his companions to play fair with him, to stand with him if he is busted for smoking "pot," to resist non-violently along with him if a decision has been made to do so during a sit-in. He may, just as vaguely, expect a girl to share his ideas of sexual freedom, to defy what he calls "hypocrisy" or "prudery," to value candor and spontaneity, to reject social "games." We are suggesting that there are ways of being moral in the domain—and ways of being immoral. To make a moral choice of non-violent resistance, for instance, is to choose such action seriously, freely, with an awareness of alternatives and consequences, with sensitivity to as many aspects of the impinging situation as possible. To make an immoral choice of non-violent resistance is to follow others without thinking about it, to take the stance because there are no alternatives,—or simply not to care one way or another. We are suggesting, in fact, that indifference or abstraction is the opposite of being moral. To teach people to be moral is, in many respects, to teach them to be

aware, to teach them to *care* about what they are doing, and to teach them to know why.

Sartre has said that man has two alternatives: to acquiesce and to rebel. Strangely enough, the dissident student who simply goes along with the current "life style" of the rebellious is acquiescent, not rebellious. To rebel, he must be awake and fully conscious. He must be able to think what he is doing and, as a free, autonomous person, to take responsibility for his actions. When he says something "ought" or "ought not" to be, he ought to be encouraged to give a reason, hopefully a good reason, a reason that makes logical sense.

It is not the obligation of the teacher to propose authoritative guidelines for objectively existent rules. It is his obligation to talk of the nature of principle and the range of existing principles, as it is to help his students clarify their feelings and desires and to learn how to achieve what they want. Of course he will want them to want "better" things; he will strive to move them to enlarge the range of their desires, so that they include more than protest and communion, more than "turning on." His first job, nevertheless, is to try to stir them to somewhat more rationality, somewhat more consciousness and care. If he does this, he is at least beginning their moral education. The rest—in truth—must be left to them.

Quite naturally there are no guarantees; but there is a terrible necessity confronting us, visible wherever we move. A hard-won human order is being challenged on all sides: hijackers, kidnappers, terrorists are eroding the role of law. At once, what we perceive as "order" is being calcified in many ways, used illegitimately and repressively, made resistant to criticism and reform. There are no simple "goods" and "bads" any longer; there are ambiguities and puzzlements throughout the world. Biafra, Ulster, Prague, the Suez Peninsula—nowhere are norms clearly defined. Looked at in one dimension, the modern world is "wasteland"; looked at in another dimension, it is all possibility.

Surely teachers have to work with possibility, where young people are concerned. Bob Dylan, one of their folk heroes, has written:

i know no answers an no truth
for absolutely no soul alive
i will listen to no one
who tells me morals
there are no morals
an i dream alot.⁵

We cannot tell anyone "morals"; we can only liberate our young, to the degree we can, to be moral and to learn how to realize their dream.

MG

⁵ Ralph J. Gleason, "The Children's Crusade," *Ramparts*, March 1966.

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Poetry

The Rime of the Ancient Pedagogue

It is an ancient Pedagogue,
And he stoppeth one of three.
'By thy long grey beard and glittering eye,
Now wherefore stopp'st thou me?

The classroom doors are open wide,
And I would enter in;
The guests are met, the feast is set:
May'st hear the merry din.'

He holds him with his skinny hand,
'There was a Book,' quoth he.
'Hold off! unhand me, grey-beard loon!'
Eftsoons his hand dropt he.

He holds him with his glittering eye—
The Teacher-New stood still,
And listens like a three years' child:
The Pedagogue hath his will.

The Teacher-New sat on a chair:
He cannot find a log;
And thus spake on that ancient man,
The bright-eyed Pedagogue.

'The bell had rung, the desks were cleared,
In time we made a start
To read and talk, to think and write,
But always missed the mark.

Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.

Ah! well a-day! what evil looks
Had I from old and young!
Instead of love, a hangman's noose
About my neck was hung.

'Oh why? oh why?' asked flustered I,
'Do we get nowhere fast?'
The answer came from one and all:
'This is an awful task.'

I thought awhile of what they said
And tried to comprehend,
And then through faces bored to tears
The meaning they did send.

'The Book is lovely, deep and long,
Its pages search the soul:
It is profoundly meaningful—
For us the bell doth toll.

But what about the school we're in,
The classroom where we learn;
What about the students here,
The teacher with concern?

The school is highly organized,
The schedule firm and tight;
Subjects come and subjects go:
The clock wields awesome might.

The seats and desks from front to back
Have neither bolts nor screws;
They're moveable, in Dewey's name,
And placed in rows by twos.

Order, order, everywhere,
And all begins to sink;
Order, order, everywhere,
Nor any time to think.

The course is firm, fully prescribed,
You're told just what to teach;
The texts are old, dog-eared and worn—
The good books out of reach.

A time ago, when all was well,
A poem we sought to share;
The moment of discovery came,
The box¹ commenced to blare.

The public nature of this place
To say what's felt and thought;
The privateness of literature:
Within this trap we're caught.

Let's talk of students sitting here,
Let's talk awhile of us;
We're here by law not by desire—
Small wonder that we fuss.

We know our place and what to do,
Our thoughts and words are canned;
The world that all around us lies
We owe to Sperry Rand.

We sit in walled togetherness
And share but ink and rag;
The world outside goes humming by
And motivation flags.

We're inexperienced and naive
And know what's only trite;
We study what's unreal to us:
We'd rather fly a kite.

We have our goals and toward them aim,
Our destination's clear;
The Albatross around our necks
Is graduation year.

Our teacher hath not suffered much,
He went from school to school;
Life was soft and pampered him:
This man was no man's fool.

1 *Loudspeaker.*

You do your best and play your part
Up there in front on high.
Are you made of flesh and blood?
We wonder with a sigh.

The Book demands much more than this,
Than even a replacement.
Those who soar on wings of song
Will end up in the basement!

Farewell, farewell! but this I tell
To thee, thou Teacher-New!
He teacheth well, who teacheth well
Some little facts in lieu.

He teacheth best, who teacheth best
All things both trite and small,
Who leaves the Book outside the door
And won't teach it at all!

The Pedagogue, whose eye is bright,
Whose beard with age is hoar,
Is gone: and now the Teacher-New
Turned from the classroom door.

He went like one that hath been stunned,
And is of sense forlorn:
A sadder and a wiser man,
He rose the Morrow morn.

R. S. Fay
(With apologies to S. T. C.)
Boston University

Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Lean Years, 1940-42

William M. Tuttle, Jr.
The University of Kansas

Prior to America's entry into World War II, the voice of the American Council on Education in the councils of the federal government was weak and in certain circles barely audible. Presidents of the United States seldom sought its advice. Cabinet officers sought it only infrequently. Congressmen often drafted legislation affecting the colleges and universities without consulting the ACE. Yet, toward the end of the war, it was to the ACE that key officials in all branches of the government turned repeatedly for advice and approval. By 1944 the ACE had clearly become the central spokesman of American higher education on a myriad of projects and proposals—the Army Specialized Training Program, the Navy's V-12 program, Selective Service, universal military training, the G.I. Bill, UNESCO, the National Science Foundation, ROTC and the Holloway Plan.

What had brought about this transformation? There had been, of course, a vast increase in wartime educational programs, and many of these were dependent upon the colleges and universities for guidance and support. The ACE was knowledgeable and deeply concerned, and its constituency was the largest of any educational organization. Above all, however, the ACE had made a position of centrality for itself during the war. Until mid-1942 it had had no satisfactory apparatus for making its representations to the federal government. In August of that year it had formed the Committee on the Relation-

Here begins the first part of a two-part article telling the story of the slow awakening, early in World War II, of a sleeping giant called the American Council on Education. Professor Tuttle discusses the inertia and ambivalence characterizing higher education when the Federal Government first began making plans for a draft, deferment practices, scientific activities, and the rest. The "lean years" were those during which the ACE tended to watch ineffectually from the sidelines, occasionally making mild requests of government and legislative representatives. While the War was still going on, however, the giant came dramatically to life. Higher education then arose out of inertia to become the powerful force in planning it obviously is today. In his next installment, the author will describe the "triumph" of the ACE in its relations with the government.

ship of Higher Education to the Federal Government. Now, of course, the ACE has its Commission on Federal Relations, which, by further institutionalizing this relationship, has become one of the most significant of its several commissions.

The catalyst in this development was World War II, and in particular the exigencies of mobilizing military manpower. Since the invasion of Poland in September 1939, educational associations had been discussing plans for utilizing the colleges and universities "in the present emergency and in preparation for any emergency that may develop," and in March, 1940, representatives of four of the major associations gathered at the Washington headquarters of the ACE. Above all, they decided at this meeting, they must avoid a repetition of the disastrous experience of World War I.¹ Before American entry in 1917, neither the government nor any agency representing higher education had evolved plans coordinating the potential of the colleges and universities with the preparedness effort. Confusion had all but consumed the campuses after the declaration of war. Bewildering and contradictory orders from a multitude of government bureaus had flooded the schools, and students in a burst of patriotism had rushed to enlist. As enrollments dropped drastically, it appeared that a generation of the nation's leadership—not only scientific and technical leadership but leadership in all fields—might be lost. The emotional fervor of mobilization seemed to threaten the very educational values and resources which would be essential in the postwar world. But that was not all. There was the famous and unlamented Student Army Training Corps. In exchange for enlisting students and giving them a private's pay of \$30 a month, the Army took over complete control of the colleges and universities, resulting in an almost total victory of military over academic training. The only real effect of the SATC—since the Armistice came three months after its formation—was to instill in the academic world a lasting prejudice against military control of higher education.²

Education and National Defense Further discussions of the educational associations led, in May 1940, to the establishment

1 George F. Zook to Charles H. Judd, June 13, 1940; E. J. Brown, "Report on Education and Defense to the Science Committee of the National Resources Planning Board," February 9, 1941; and "Brief Summary of the Activities of the Subcommittee on Military Affairs," October 31, 1940, all in the Papers of the ACE, Washington, D. C.

2 Samuel P. Capen, "The Effect of the World War 1914-18 on American Colleges and Universities," *Educational Record*, XXI, January, 1940, pp. 46-48; L. S. Iverson, "Lessons from the War of 1917-18," *Educational Record*, XXIII, October, 1942, pp. 67-91; John O. Gross, "The Colleges and World War I," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXVIII, May, 1942, pp. 238-46.

of the Committee on Education and National Defense (CEND) as a standing committee of the ACE. Included in its membership were representatives of the school principals and administrators, teachers colleges, vocational schools, land-grant colleges and universities, and secondary schools.³ Under the guidance of George F. Zook, the ACE's president and a former Commissioner of the U. S. Office of Education, and Francis J. Brown, an educational sociologist on loan to the ACE from the faculty of New York University, the CEND in June published a manifesto entitled *Education and National Defense*. Both the government and the educational institutions, this document proclaimed, should strive for a proper balance between the necessary mobilization for the emergency and the "conservation of educational values, resources, and personnel."⁴

Unknown to the ACE, however, another organization at this time was formulating a plan that would profoundly affect the colleges and universities. Members of the Military Training Camps Association—the veterans of the "Plattsburg Movement" of World War I—were drawing up the nation's first peacetime conscription act. Relying upon the counsel of Harvard's President James B. Conant, the MTCA had incorporated into its bill a provision—Section 7 (c)—which would obligate the President of the United States to defer men "whose continued work, training or education in medicine, dentistry, physics, biology, chemistry, or other sciences, are found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national interest. . . ." Such a provision, which could easily be construed as providing specifically for the deferment of numerous students, gave promise of appealing to both the self-interest and the sense of service of the colleges and universities.⁵

The War Department, on the other hand, quickly expressed its opposition to Section 7 (c). It would open a Pandora's box, the Army declared; every sort of professional and occupational association would clamor to be mentioned specifically in Section 7 (c). "Some adjustment" of this section would be essential, Major Lewis B. Hershey of the General Staff wrote General George C. Marshall. While the Army did not object to deferments, it argued that a selective service act should not enumerate professions or occupations. It favored a general provision giving the President broad discretionary authority to defer the service of men "whose occupations or employment [are] found to be neces-

³ Minutes of the Meeting of the Problems and Plans Committee, May 2, 1940. Washington: ACE Papers.

⁴ Copy in *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ J. B. Conant to Grenville Clark, May 27, June 13, 1940; and Conant, "A Memorandum of Historical Notes on the Fate of Section 7 (c) of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill," November 17, 1940, all in Conant Papers, Harvard University Library; and Selective Service System, *The Selective Service Act*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954, III, p. 245.

sary to the maintenance of the national interest." Deferments should be determined by administrative regulations and manpower surveys, and they should be granted not by statute but by the local boards. The MTCA appreciated the realism of the Army's position, but Conant's arguments in behalf of Section 7 (c) were also persuasive and they carried the day.⁶

It was to the ACE's Committee on Education and National Defense that Conant explained the MTCA's conscription proposal on June 18, 1940. The deferment provision was adequate, he assured them, "for the protection of doctors and scientists and students of these professions."⁷

It was evident that the MTCA desired the support of educators. It was equally apparent, however, that the ACE possessed neither the centrality nor the initiative in the summer of 1940 to participate in the formulation of selective service legislation. It could influence the MTCA only through Conant, who was a member of the ACE's Problems and Plans Committee. It had few contacts in the War Department. And, finally, it had not heard about the MTCA's bill until June 18, just two days before it was presented to the Congress as the Burke-Wadsworth Bill. The ACE could thus merely respond to a *fait accompli*.

The ACE voted to endorse the bill publicly in testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. On July 3, Conant had stated before this committee that he understood that Section 7 (c) applied not only to those "now engaged" in critical occupations but also to "those in training in our universities and schools for these professions." This provision was "essential," Conant had said. "Not essential, mind you, to protect the universities or the schools, but to protect the country." An uninterrupted flow of scientific and technical talent was imperative "in an age of mechanized war." Testifying a week-and-a-half later, four members of the CEND echoed this opinion. Zook asserted, for example, that the conclusions of the CEND "agree rather well with all those of President Conant."⁸

6 Hershey to the Chief of Staff, June 14, 1940, Selective Service Headquarters (SS HQ), Washington, D.C.; Clark to Conant, June 20, November 16, 1940, Conant Papers, and *Selective Service, Selective Service Act, III*, p. 239.

7 Conant, "Memo on the Fate of Section 7 (c)," Conant to Clark, June 17, 1940, and F. J. Brown to Conant, June 18, 1940, all in Conant Papers.

8 U.S. Senate, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, Committee on Military Affairs, *Compulsory Military Training and Service*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 22-23 and pp. 121-39. The other educators testifying were Guy E. Snively, executive director of the Association of American Colleges, Walter Hullibeen, president of the University of Delaware and chairman of the military affairs committee of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, and A. C. Willard, president of the University of Illinois and chairman of the military affairs committee of the National Association of State Universities.

Yet on July 23, when the Senate committee assented to this legislation, the Burke-Wadsworth Bill no longer contained Section 7 (c). The MTCA had been anxious to secure the War Department's endorsement of its handiwork, for the absence of this support could have fatally imperiled the bill's chances of success; and upon the General Staff's guarantee that there would be deferments but that these "same ends would be reached by regulations," the MTCA had concurred in the excision of this section.⁹

The ACE had little alternative but to acquiesce. The deletion of Section 7 (c) had been inevitable, some educators said, and it was not necessarily dangerous to the welfare of the colleges and universities. Francis Brown had suspected that the Army would "win out and that the only deferment phrase" would be "of a general character. . . ." The realization of his suspicions did not disturb him. Administrative regulations would protect enrollment, he contended, and Hershey had informed him that the Army was "very much interested in recommendations from educators concerning administrative procedures to be followed when and if the bill is enacted." Brown argued, and many members of the ACE seemed to agree, that it would be too late once the bill became law for the educators' counsel to be heard. If the colleges and universities were to play a role in determining how the system would function, their spokesmen should cooperate with the framers of the regulations. In addition, the bill would defer from military service men between the ages of 18 and 21, and an amendment to the bill would allow students over 21 who were drafted to waive induction until the end of the 1941 spring semester.¹⁰

For the discussion leading to the CEND's conclusions, see F. J. Brown to Guy Snavely, July 2, 1940, and attached draft of a statement; W. Hullihen to Brown, July 5, 1940; Snavely's secretary to Brown, July 3, 1940; Ernest H. Wilkins to G. F. Zook, July 5, 1940, all in ACE Papers.

- 9 Henry L. Stimson diary, July 8, 9, 23, 1940; and G. Clark to Stimson, July 11, 1940, plus attached memorandum, all in Stimson Papers, Yale University Library; Senate Committee on Military Affairs, *Compulsory Military Training and Service*, p. 327; *New York Times*, June 21, July 7, 24, 1940; Selective Service, *Selective Service System*, III, p. 338; in Conant Papers, "Memo on the Fate of Section 7 (c)"; A. C. Smith to Conant, July 24, 1940, Conant to Zook *et al.*, July 27, 1940; J. M. Russell to W. B. Lewis, July 30, 1940, and Clark to Conant, November 26, 1940; and in ACE Papers, Henry W. Holmes to Zook, July 31, 1940; and Zook to Holmes, August 2, 1940.
- 10 F. J. Brown to A. H. Upham, July 25, 1940, ACE papers. See also Brown to Edward C. Elliott, July 26, 1940; Brown to Frank P. Graham, July 26, 1940; Brown to D. D. Welch, July 30, 1940; George Zook to Umphrey Lee, August 2, 1940; Brown, form letter, to ACE members, August 7, 1940; Brown to Zook, August 26, 1940; CEND, "Recommendations Regarding Individual Deferment of Students in Institutions of Higher Learning," ca. August 28, 1940; Brown to W. Hullihen, August 2, 1940; Brown to H. W. Chase, August 28, 1940; Guy Snavely to Brown, August 29, 1940, all in ACE Papers.

Forming a United Front The educators also de-

cided to present a more united front in their representations to the government. On July 27, Zook for the ACE and Willard Givens for the National Education Association sent letters to 55 educational and professional associations inviting each to designate a representative to serve on the National Committee on Education and Defense, an expanded version of the CEND. Gathering at Washington's Mayflower Hotel on August 5 for this new committee's first meeting were delegates from not only the junior colleges, teachers colleges, universities, and liberal arts colleges but from the elementary, secondary, and vocational schools as well. Also there were delegates from the dental, medical, engineering, and other professions. "It seemed clear," the minutes recorded, "that much was to be gained by a coordinated and unified effort on the part of the various organizations," especially "for an effective future program."¹¹

Throughout the fiery days of debate over the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, during which invective filled both chambers of Congress and a fistfight actually erupted on the floor of the House, a presidentially-appointed committee had been unobtrusively framing the administrative regulations which would guide the local draft boards. Its chairman was a New York corporation executive, Frederick Osborn. Francis Brown was its adviser on the educational implications of selective service, thus being in a sense the middleman between this committee and the ACE. In suggesting regulations which would both provide for an uninterrupted flow of doctors, dentists, and scientists into society and protect the colleges and universities, the ACE acted on the assumption that a student in training for an occupation or job "found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest" would be deferred by his local board until graduation. But Osborn had unforeseen and unpleasant news for the ACE in early September, when he reported that the Solicitor General's office had advised him that "there was little doubt . . . that the attempt to broaden the scope of the law through . . . our recommendations to include those in training for such occupation or employment would be declared contrary to the spirit of the law and consequently invalid." Such recommendations "would in all likelihood be declared invalid by the court."¹²

11 See an unsigned memorandum, but probably F. J. Brown, dated February 23, 1942, regarding the activities of the National Committee on Education and Defense, in *ibid.*

12 *New York Times*, September 22, 1940, and F. J. Brown to Lt. Col. William H. Draper, August 13, 1940, ACE Papers. Since August 27 this committee had done exploratory work in anticipation of the bill's passage. See the drafts of the CEND's recommendations, undated but probably August 26-28, and September 1, 1940, G. E. Zook to Isaac Bowman, September 13, 1940, Zook to George Johnson, September 17, 1940, and unsigned memorandum, but probably Zook, dated September 7, 1940, all in ACE Papers.

This news sent a wave of alarm through educational circles. Guy E. Snavely, executive director of the Association of American Colleges and a member of the executive committee of the ACE's National Committee on Education and Defense, telephoned Conant at once in Washington, asking him to contact congressmen to have the bill amended. It was "much too late" to do this, Conant replied. Zook received the same unpleasant news from Congressmen James Wadsworth and Dow Harter when he conferred with them.¹³

The Burke-Wadsworth Bill was "a really satisfactory Bill and a great triumph," Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson noted happily in his diary on September 11.¹⁴ The House and Senate had cleared away the last troublesome roadblocks, and it appeared the bill would be law within three or four days. Still in limbo, if not a totally lost cause, however, was the critical matter of student deferments. Yet there seemed to be one possibility of a solution. The latest Senate Committee print of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill authorized the President to defer men whose "occupations or employment, or whose activities in other endeavors, [are] found . . . to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest." When asked if these "activities in other endeavors" could not include education and training, government officials agreed that they could.¹⁵

President Roosevelt signed the bill into law on September 16. A few weeks later he issued Executive Order No. 8560—the Selective Service Regulations—which authorized local boards to defer the service not only of the "necessary man" but also of the students in colleges and universities who were preparing to become necessary men.¹⁶

Towards the Draft Many educators believed that the mobilization of a peacetime army was a task of the utmost importance. Yet the role of the ACE in shaping the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 had been minimal, and the reactions of some college and university presidents to it were ambivalent. Selective Service was not only undemocratic, but

13 Conant, "Memo on the Fate of Section 7 (c)"; Conant to A. C. Smith, September 8, 1940, Conant Papers; minutes of the Board of the Association of American Colleges, September 7, 1940, AAC Papers in Washington, D.C., and Zook to Bowman, September 13, 1940; and Zook to Johnson, September 17, 1940, both in ACE Papers.

14 Stimson diary, September 11, 1940.

15 Selective Service, *Selective Service Act*, IV, pp. 122 and 226.

16 *Selective Service Regulations: Classification and Selection*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 19; Henry W. Holmes to Conant, September 18, 1940; Guy Snavely to F. J. Brown, September 18, 1940; "Brief Summary of the Activities of the Subcommittee on Military Affairs," October 31, 1940; Brown, "Report of the Subcommittee on Military Training," November 1, 1940, and CEND, minutes of meeting of Operating Committee, October 9, 10, 1940, all in ACE Papers.

in wartime it might not guarantee an adequate supply of scientific and technical personnel into research and development projects. The act and its administrative regulations were unspecific, entrusting too much discretion to local draft boards. Some boards might defer practically anyone, while others might induct everybody. Selective Service, moreover, confronted the student with a moral dilemma. Even though the local board might tell him it was in the national interest for him to remain in school, how could he feel this was patriotic when friends and neighbors were serving as soldiers and sailors and airmen? Perhaps the system would function satisfactorily in peacetime, but could it withstand the pressures of war?¹⁷

Selective Service did not imperil the enrollment of the colleges and universities in late 1940 or early 1941, as nobody under 21 years of age was liable for conscription, and even those students over 21 who were drafted were not liable for induction until the end of the 1941 spring semester. Moreover, Selective Service Headquarters dispatched numerous "occupational bulletins" and other memoranda to the state directors and local boards in which it repeatedly counseled them to defer "necessary men," and it defined literally hundreds of scientific, technical, medical, and industrial occupational titles as critical to the national defense. Those students "in training or preparation" for these occupations were also "necessary men."¹⁸ Thus the college tuition of 1941 could be equivalent to the "substitute" of 1861, if one sought to evade the draft.

America was still at peace in 1941, however, and the compulsion to sacrifice was slight. Prior to Pearl Harbor, "the colleges and universities went about their work in substantially the same manner," recalled George Zook.¹⁹ Indeed, in 1941 the ACE and especially the subcommittee on military affairs of its National Committee on Education and Defense lobbied for an extension of the statutory provisions and administrative regulations which had blunted even the peacetime impact of conscription on higher education. For example, there was the section in the act which deferred the induction of students until the end of the spring semester, a provision which would expire July 1, 1941. The ACE drafted an amendment to extend this provision indefinitely, and, with the

17 See, for example, Conant, "Memo on the Fate of Section 7 (c)", and Conant to A. J. Gehrt, September 25, 1940, Conant Papers.

18 *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletins No. 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, dated January 31, March 18, April 16 and 24, September 22, November 28, December 20, 1941, respectively, Selective Service System, Special Monograph No. 17, *The Operation of Selective Service*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1948, I, pp. 50-51 and pp. 68-75; Selective Service System, Special Monograph No. 6, *Industrial Determent*, Washington Government Printing Office, 1948, I, pp. 76-80 and p. 82; and Albert A. Blum, "The Army and Student Deterrents during the Second World War," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXI, January, 1950, pp. 41-45.

19 Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," *The Annals*, CXXXI, January, 1944, p. 2.

Association of American Colleges, it lobbied for congressional enactment. Suddenly unexpected obstacles arose to endanger the bill in the Senate Military Affairs Committee.²⁰ The Senate seat of William Langer, who had introduced the bill, was in jeopardy due to the resurrection of his tarnished past by political enemies. As Governor of North Dakota in the mid-1930's, he allegedly had coerced state employees into subscribing to his newspaper, disposed of state properties with a colossal disregard for the obligation of his office to promote the public welfare, and bribed a federal judge. In the fall of 1941 the Senate Ethics Committee conducted a public investigation into his moral turpitude. Thus tainted, the "Langer Amendment" had little chance of passage.²¹ Another obstacle was Senator Robert R. Reynolds, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. A notorious Lothario, according to the newspapers and gossip on Capitol Hill, Reynolds was absent from Washington for weeks at a stretch, and in October the 57-year-old Senator wed his fifth wife, a 19-year-old native of the capital city.²² Suffering from guilt by association, the innocent Langer Bill was thus left at the altar while the chairman of the Senate committee took another bride.

The ACE Awakens The ACE had not been innovative in 1940 and 1941. Nor had it been resourceful. It had sought only to reform piecemeal a system that would be basically defective in wartime. Not until the Japanese rained a deluge of bombs on Pearl Harbor did the urgency of constructing effective plans for the utilization of the colleges and universities in the war effort become fully apparent to the ACE.

- 20 In the Papers of the AAC, minutes of the Board of Directors of the AAC, December 7, 1940, January 9, July 30, November 8, 1941; in the ACE Papers minutes of the Executive Committee, March 24, September 7, 1941; F. J. Brown to Morse Cartwright, January 30, 1941; minutes of the Subcommittee on Military Affairs, January 15, February 20, March 13, April 16, May 21, August 8, October 29, 1941; A. C. Willard to F. J. Brown, February 3, 1941; and beginning in June, 1941, there is a great deal of correspondence between F. J. Brown and Senators William Langer, Robert R. Reynolds, Harold H. Burton, Representative Charles I. Faddis, and various educators. See also *School and Society*, LIII, January 25, 1941, pp. 124-25; *AAC Bulletin*, XXVII, March, 1941, p. 150; *Time*, XXXVII, April 14, 1941, p. 69; and the hearings on the bill, U.S. Senate, 77th Congress, 1st Session, Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, *Deferment of Certain College and University Students under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.
- 21 See F. J. Brown to Guy Snavely, October 13, 1941; Brown to H. W. Chase, October 9, 1941, all in ACE Papers; and *New York Times*, January 1, October 9, November 4-6, 1941.
- 22 See F. J. Brown to J. F. Lockett, September 4, 1941; Brown to H. E. Hawkes, September 24, 1941; Brown to G. Albert Hill, October 3, 1941; Brown to Senator William Langer, October 1, 1941; and Brown to Senator Harold H. Burton, September 22, 1941, all in ACE Papers.

A variety of factors coalesced after December 7 to hasten this realization. Two weeks after the Japanese attack President Roosevelt signed the 20-year-old-draft-age amendment, and it was evident that before the war was over the draft-age liability would be 19 or even 18. The eventuality of drastically decreased enrollments would confront many institutions with financial hardship. Moreover, the flow of highly educated young people into war activities might slow to a trickle, since students could no longer complete their educations before being drafted. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and other institutions responded to this prospect by adopting a new 12-month curriculum, which would enable students to earn baccalaureate degrees in three years instead of four.²³ But this, too, could be injurious under Selective Service. The accelerated curriculum could be an insuperable financial burden for students who had to work to pay for room, board, tuition, and fees. Those students who had to work during summer vacations—and could not enroll in the new curriculum—would probably be draft-age and more liable for induction than those men who could afford to attend year-round. Even more than before, then, the distinction between college and non-college graduates and very likely that between officers and enlisted men would be economic. Selective Service was also unscientific. The government had neither a quantitative nor qualitative analysis of the country's manpower supply and demand, even though the war would probably last for several years. It did not know what its scientific and technical requirements would be. Nor did it know what the colleges and universities were capable of supplying. Conant felt the government should compile at once a "national manpower budget." Until the country had such a budget, he wrote Zook, "I do not believe we can plan our educational program intelligently; nor do I believe the Selective Service can intelligently arrange for deferment of students. . . ."²⁴ In addition to these and other perplexities, there was the unpleasant memory of the SATC of World War I, a memory which the Army reinforced when certain of its officers began to contend in 1942 that a college education was a peacetime luxury. Belatedly, perhaps, but with resolve, the ACE decided it had to act.

23 *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XI.IV, January 10, 24, 1942, pp. 239-40, 246-47 and 270; *Education for Victory*, May 15, 1942, Zook, *The President's Annual Report, 1941-1942* Washington, ACE, 1942, pp. 33-36, and Conant to John J. McCloy, December 26, 1941, *Conant Papers*.

24 Conant to Zook, December 20, 26, 1941, Zook to Conant, January 2, 1942, Thomas C. Blusdell to Members of the Conference on Requirements for Specialized Personnel in War Time, December 31, 1941, and minutes of the ACE's Executive and Problems and Plans Committees, December 19, 1941, all in ACE Papers, Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1941-1942*, pp. 31-32, and U.S. House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 1st Session, Committee on Military Affairs, *Army and Navy Education Program* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 175-76.

Speaking Up for Victory

The temperature in Baltimore was an unseasonably warm 55 degrees on the morning of January 3, 1942, as 1,000 educators from every part of the country, from small liberal arts colleges and large state universities, from private and public institutions, filed into the Lord Baltimore Hotel and walked to the main ballroom. They "went to work without the trace of a smile," reported Benjamin Fine of the *New York Times*. Sponsored by the ACE's National Committee on Education and Defense and the Wartime Commission of the U. S. Office of Education, this mammoth gathering of educators—the largest of its kind ever assembled in the United States—proceeded to pledge the nation's colleges and universities to the immediate task of winning the military victory and to "the ultimate and even more difficult task of establishing a just and lasting peace." This conference, declared Zook, who as host presided at the first session, "is a symbol . . . of the determination on the part of the institutions to serve in every possible way in the prosecution of our common responsibilities in the winning of the war." The educators also adopted resolutions calling for a national survey of manpower by the National Resources Planning Board, the acceleration of curricula and financial aid to students in accelerated programs, and endorsement of the principle of Selective Service for the procurement of military manpower. For it was imperative, both for the "long-term conflict and for the post-war period," that "a continuous and adequate supply of men and women trained in technical and professional skills and in leadership . . . be maintained." Thus what was needed in this crisis were programs which would minimize the disruption of academic life while transforming the colleges and universities into integral parts of the American war machine.²⁵

The ACE seemed to be well situated to insure that its resolutions were realized. On December 23, 1941, for example, the Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker, had appointed the Wartime Commission, and every one of its 14 members was also a member of the NCFD or one of its standing committees. In addition, Zook was chairman of the Commission's Divisional Committee on Higher Education. The Commission, said Studebaker, would act as the clearinghouse for scores of educational groups, and would clear the channels to government offices. "We have a rendezvous for American education,"

²⁵ The proceedings of the conference are ACF, *Higher Education and the War*, Washington: ACE, 1942, pp. 1, 153-58, for the resolutions. See also *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletins No. 19, 20, December 20, 1941, January 19, 1942, Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1941-1942*, p. 32; J. H. Miller and Dorothy V. N. Brooks, *The Role of Higher Education in War and After*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. 31-32; AAC Bulletin, XXVIII, March 1942, pp. 90-102 and pp. 133-36, *New York Times*, January 4, 5, 11, 1942, Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," p. 3; and minutes of the Board of Directors of the AAC, January 3, 1942, in AAC Papers.

he added. "All education is now combined in a single, united, representative, democratically operated organization in the interests of simplicity, speed and directness." Other government officials, including President Roosevelt, stressed the centrality of the Wartime Commission in providing education with a unified voice." "I shall appreciate being kept informed through [it]," the President announced early in January, 1942, "as to our colleges and universities."²⁶ The ACE was thus in a key policy-making position to help determine such matters as federal aid to students in accelerated programs.

The ACE also assisted the National Resources Planning Board to survey higher education's capabilities for supplying "professionally trained personnel" for wartime service. Aided by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the ACE mailed questionnaires to every college and university in the country requesting statistics on the occupational qualifications and potential of undergraduate students, graduate students, and faculty members.²⁷ Moreover, the subcommittee on military affairs of the NCED, especially through its executive secretary, Francis Brown, was the principal educational group on which Selective Service Headquarters relied for advice in formulating directives and memoranda to the state directors and local boards.²⁸

The ACE appeared to be satisfied with its proximity to the centers of decision-making in the Office of Education, Selective Service System, and other government agencies. Through its NCED, it "knows its way around Washington," boasted one ACE official. "It knows what is happening; knows when to appear before a committee of the House or the Senate; knows when to suggest directives or instructions or amendments so that they will do the most good. . . . On the basis of friendship and mutual trust, representatives of education and government sit around the conference table . . . and solve their problems."²⁹

Short-term Approaches Yet this self-satisfaction was delusive. Piecemeal efforts to make the colleges and universities essential components of the war effort were no substitute for a comprehensive plan. There was no centralized direction of wartime educational programs, and little coordination between the various government agencies involved. The ACE, since it was more often ratifying decisions than suggesting policy, still lacked the initiative in the spring months of 1942. Moreover, it had not yet confronted the War Department with contrary views, and it would be the War

26 *New York Times*, January 3, 11, 1942, and ACE, *Higher Education and the War*, 53-62.

27 See L. Carmichael to "My dear President," January 27, 1942, C. S. March to "My dear President," January 29, 1942, in ACE Papers, and *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletins No. 20, 26, January 19, April 30, 1942.

28 See, for example, Brown to J. D. Dawson, May 7, 1942, ACE Papers.

29 Unsigned memorandum, February 23, 1942, *ibid.*

Department, more than any other government department, which would threaten to exact inordinate and unwise sacrifices from the colleges and universities. And indeed certain Army officers had plans for transforming the colleges and universities into an extension of the vast military training system. In other words, asserted one general, "We decide who is going [to college], what he is going to take, and how long he will be there...."³⁰

A few educators realized the deficiencies of the ACE's short-term approach, and several advocated trying as a long-term objective to emulate the British manpower system. Great Britain's experience in World War I had been tragic, her army having sent to its death in the trenches virtually an entire generation of scientific talent. To prevent a recurrence of this senseless tragedy, the British had compiled a register of scientific personnel and had made it impossible for men in these "reserved occupations" to be drafted or even to volunteer for military service. The British had also established joint civilian-military Recruiting Boards, which determined whether students should continue at the universities or enter the armed forces. Thus, unlike the American system, students and institutions did not have to shoulder the onerous burden of requesting deferments.³¹

One educator who advocated emulating the British system was Stanford's President, Ray Lyman Wilbur. "Certainly with immense [draft] calls upon us," he wrote Zook two weeks after Pearl Harbor, "we cannot afford to lose any student who has capacity in physics, engineering, chemistry, meteorology, mathematics, biology, bacteriology, and medicine. All such students should be assigned to the universities and not allowed, under any circumstances, to be called for indiscriminate military . . . service. If all the heads of the institutions would unite, at least on these items," he predicted, "we can see our way to a successful ending of the war."³²

Yet one aspect of the British system could be disturbing to the American people. The British officer corps was almost entirely college-trained, with its officers coming from families with the resources to finance these educations; the manpower system thus further stratified class divisions in that country. But this objection could be overcome. Through agencies like the Joint Recruiting Boards, for example, the American government could select a reserved category of promising young men, with the criteria of selection being intellectual potential, physical fitness, and leadership ability. These boards,

30 This remark was made by Brigadier General M. G. White, in U. S. House of Representatives, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, Committee on Military Affairs, *Lowering Draft Age to 18 Years*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942, p. 61.

31 "British Universities in the War," *Educational Record*, XXII, July 1941, pp. 345-55.

32 Wilbur to Zook, December 19, 1941, ACE Papers.

moreover, could have the authority to allocate men in the reserved category to colleges or universities or to officer candidate schools. Finally, the government could subsidize the education of these men. This proposition would not only embody the most beneficial features of the British system, it would be democratic as well.³³

Because of the War Department's opposition, the government's response to this proposal was discouraging. The Army had formulated its own program, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, which it announced in mid-May. Under the ERC and the Navy's V-1, V-5, and V-7, a total of 160,000 freshmen a year would be enlisted, and eventually 70,000 would be graduated and enter on active duty. The military programs, however, would not allow for men with good minds but slender financial resources; the Army and Navy would recruit their trainees from among men already enrolled and would not underwrite anybody's education.³⁴

Manpower Planning At a hurriedly-called conference at the ACE in May, educators met to voice not only their reservations about these undemocratic programs but also their concern about the lack of progress in formulating comprehensive measures. Months of uncertainty had followed the Baltimore conference. An absence of centralized planning and direction had plagued the programs for mobilizing military manpower. But then, on April 18, President Roosevelt had established the War Manpower Commission (WMC), with Paul McNutt, head of the Federal Security Agency, as its chairman. This had encouraged the ACE. Educators, Zook noted, "were immensely pleased that at last there seemed to be a way in which all the manpower needs of the country . . . could be estimated on a comprehensive basis and plans . . . made accordingly." Yet, just a month later, the Army had announced its ERC. Army and Navy recruiters would now be competing on the campuses, tempting "the student to look over the several branches of the armed services with the idea of choosing the one most advantageous to him rather than to choose the one in which his abilities are most needed. . . ." The result would be "confusion rather than planned and co-ordinated policy. . . ." The Association of American Colleges and Associ-

³³ See Educational Policies Commission, *A War Policy for American Schools*, Washington, N.E.A., 1942, pp. 36-37, and Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1941-1942*, pp. 38-39.

³⁴ *Higher Education and National Defense*, Supplement to Bulletin No. 28, June 2, 1942.

³⁵ U.S. House of Representatives, *Inquiry into Army and Navy Educational Program*, p. 176, Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1942-1943*, p. 36; Zook, "Fifteen Months of Negotiations," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVI, May 1943, pp. 563-64; Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," p. 3, and in ACE Papers, A Resolution Unanimously Adopted by a Conference Composed of College and University Officials and Representatives of

ation of American Universities also reacted against the ERC, and at a joint meeting in early June designated a delegation of educators headed by James Conant to "take up this matter" with McNutt.³⁶

Even though summer was lapsing, there was still no comprehensive plan for the utilization of institutions of higher education in the war effort. McNutt was well aware of this, though, for the Bureau of the Budget, after considering a host of diverse programs affecting the colleges and universities, had suggested to him that he should have an inclusive plan drawn up. McNutt thus had instructed the Office of Education to appoint a committee of educators to formulate a program.³⁷

The chairman of this committee was W. H. Cowley, president of Hamilton College. Its other members were Francis F. Bradshaw of the University of North Carolina, W. T. Middlebrook of the University of Minnesota, and J. L. Morrill of the University of Wyoming. When the Cowley committee submitted its report in July, its major recommendation was the creation of a "College Enlisted Reserve Corps." Conspicuous in the report was the suggestion that the government assign gifted students to colleges and universities, financing the education of those without the means. In addition, the "College Enlisted Reserve Corps" proposed by the committee would enlist women as well as men and the prospective size would be a whopping 471,000. The country must have "a coordinated plan for the mobilization and utilization of the facilities of higher education," the Cowley report concluded. Moreover, as the colleges and universities would soon be opening for the fall semester, "a time table leading to the establishment and financing of a coordinated plan is desirable, if not imperative, by August fifteenth."³⁸

By early July, however, the War Department threatened to check this and all proposals that would pay for the education of young men, and an agitated George Zook hastily summoned a dozen educators to a "very urgent one-day

. . . the Federal Government . . .," May 12, 1942; Zook to the Secretaries of War and Navy *et al.*, May 13, 1942, and Brown to Francis P. Gaines, May 21, 1942.

36 Minutes of the Board of Directors of the AAC, June 9, 1942, AAC Papers; and Guy Snavely to Isaiah Bowman *et al.*, June 9, 1942, ACF Papers.

37 Excerpts from minutes of the WMC, May 6, 1942; and Karl Bigelow to Edward C. Elliott, July 23, 1942, ACE Papers; U.S. Office of Education, *Annual Reports, 1941-42, 1942-43*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 47-53; and Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1942-43*, p. 21.

38 See the "tentative and confidential" draft of this plan, June 15, 1942; the final report, "A Recommendation to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission Concerning the Mobilization and Utilization of the Facilities of Higher Education for War Service Training," July 10, 1942, and minutes of the joint meeting of Problems and Plans and Executive Committees, June 17, 1942, all in ACE Papers.

conference" in Washington on July 7. The nation had been at war seven months. It had been almost six months since the 1,000 college and university presidents had pledged their total resources to the war effort. Still there was no comprehensive program for the utilization of their institutions.

Inertia might be too strong a word to characterize the ACE's efforts in 1940, 1941 and the first-half of 1942, but it had displayed a lack of foresight and an unwillingness to take the first resolute step toward the establishment of a realistic program. On July 7, however, it grasped the initiative.³⁹

³⁹ See "Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Triumph, 1942-1945," in the next issue of *The Record*.

Harry L. Miller, Hunter College Roger R. Wock, University of Calgary **Social Foundations of Urban Education**

This most timely text is a comprehensive examination of the economic, social and psychological sources of the major problem confronting the urban schools—the massive educational retardation of lower class minority groups in today's cities. The first section of the book looks at the complex causes of that retardation; the second reviews and evaluates the approaches that have already been tried and those currently proposed for improving the effectiveness of urban schools. The book focuses particularly on the many controversies underway in urban education, and helps the student to take a critical approach to the research findings that people use as ammunition in those controversies. A summary section has been included to assist the pre-service or in-service teacher who wishes to be equipped to cope with the problems of inner-city education. There are also detailed examinations of research studies such as the Coleman report and the Rosenthal-Jacobsen study. Sufficient background and discussion is given to enable the student to assess the criteria for research adequacy in this critical area.

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Maria Montessori: Priestess or Pedagogue?

Sol Cohen

University of California, Los Angeles

One day, in great emotion, I took my heart in my two hands as though to encourage it to rise to the heights of faith, and I stood respectfully before the children, saying to myself: "Who are you then? Have I perhaps met with the children who were held in Christ's arms and to whom divine words were spoken? . . . I will follow you, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

And holding in my hand the torch of faith, I went on my way.

Maria Montessori

The Montessori Method has its origins in 1906 as part of a broader experiment in tenement house reform in the slum district of San Lorenzo in Rome. For the tenement children, too young for public school, Maria Montessori, a lecturer in anthropology at the University of Rome, a holder of the M.D. degree from that University, and a specialist in the education of defective children, developed in her Casa dei Bambini, "Children's House," an extraordinary program of compensatory education.¹ America, also, at the turn of the century, had slums and neglected children; and some Americans, like Henry W. Holmes of the Harvard School of Education, saw the Casa dei Bambini as "a new gospel for the schools which serve the city poor." It was not to be. American interest in Montessori rose rapidly from 1911 to 1915 and then fell off sharply. By 1915 another educational creed was beginning to influence American education, and Progressive Education left little room for any system not espousing the tenets of its faith; by the mid-twenties scarcely a trace of Montessori remained in this country. Always strong in Europe, the Montessori Method has, since the late 1950's, been

1 I have described the origins of the Montessori method at considerable length in "Educating the Children of the Urban Poor: Maria Montessori and Her Method," *Education and Urban Society*, I, November 1968, pp. 61-79.

Professor Cohen, historian of education, here provides a timely and tangy biographical study of education's mystery lady. At a time when Montessori's theories are being rediscovered, it is important to be aware of her paradoxical career. Can one be scientist and artist at once? Can one be an empiricist—and at the same time a saint? (Professor Cohen notes that a University of California, Los Angeles Division, Research Committee grant made the research for this article possible.)

making a comeback here. Though the reasons for this rebirth of interest are many and varied, one reason appears beyond dispute. Conditions under which Montessori started her work exist in America today. At a time of increasing concern with the pre-school education of disadvantaged children, Montessori principles and practices seem peculiarly appropriate. J. McV. Hunt asserts that Montessori provides a practical solution to the "problem or the match"; that is, to the problem of deciding what kinds of experience are relevant and profitable for each stage of a child's cognitive development. Martin Deutsch has espoused the Montessori approach to early learning. Martin Mayer writes: "Nobody who reads Montessori ever looks at education in quite the same way again, and the change is always for the better."²

That the time is ripe for Montessori is quite possible. But there are some very serious obstacles in the way of a Montessori revival. In some things, in art and music, for example, as Mayer points out, Montessori is quite inadequate.³ Another obstacle is the dearth of research on the effectiveness of Montessori techniques.⁴ But the hurdle which American school reformers may find insurmountable is the enduring quality of the Montessori mystique which has made and which still makes any kind of scientific approach to her work virtually impossible and which alienates many potential supporters. The rigidity and the exclusiveness, the cultish aspects of the Montessori movement, have already been commented upon by sympathizers abroad as well as at home.⁵ These supporters of Montessori tend to think of the cultishness as the

2 See for example, J. McV. Hunt's introduction to Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method*, New York, 1964. Also Martin Deutsch, "Facilitating Development in the Pre-School Child: Social and Psychological Perspectives," *Merrill Palmer Quarterly*, 10, July 1964, p. 258; Martin Mayer, "Schools, Slums, and Montessori," *Commentary*, June 1964, pp. 33-39; Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White*, New York, 1964; Edward Wakin, "The Return of Montessori," *Saturday Review*, 47, November 21, 1964, pp. 61-63.

3 Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

4 Dr. Thomas J. Banta of the University of Cincinnati surveys the literature of Montessori research and concludes in one sentence: "There is no research." "Is There Really a Montessori Method?", *memo*, no pagination, paper presented February 16, 1966 at a joint meeting of the Ohio Psychological Association and the Ohio Psychiatric Association, Cincinnati, Ohio. See also Barbara Edmundson, "Let's Do More Than Look Let's Research Montessori," *Journal of Nursery Education*, 19, November 1963, pp. 36-40; Reverend Aubert J. Clark, "Evaluation of Montessori Postulates in the Light of Empirical Research," *Curriculum Evaluation Review*, 61, January 1963, pp. 7-15. But now Dr Urban Hiege of DePaul University, and Dr Ronald Kugler of UCLA, as well as Banta, among others, are doing research projects on Montessori. And it's only recently that research on Montessori has been undertaken abroad, in Amsterdam. Association Montessori Internationale (AMI), *Comments*, No. 2, 1964, p. 17.

5 Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII; John J. ARD, "Montessori and the New America," in Urban Hiege, Ed., *Battling the Forces of Ignorance*, London, New York, 1964; Ruth, *op. cit.*; In C. Ruggie, "The Montessori Movement," *British Association Montessori International*, AMI, *Comments*, No. 1, 1963, pp. 18-19.

misguided work of disciples and as a late blooming development at that. This is not so. The tendency to deify Montessori was present almost from the beginning and was encouraged by Montessori herself. Montessori regarded her system of education as a new religion and regarded herself as its Messiah, or at least its Madonna. It is this aspect of what is a many-sided phenomenon--business, method of education, psychology of child development, as well as religion --which will be emphasized in this paper.

Science and Mysticism "My method is scientific, both in its substance and its aim" Montessori asserts. "The method used by me," she writes, "is that of making a pedagogical experiment with a didactic object and awaiting the spontaneous reaction of the child." As soon as she had a school, "It was my wish to make of this school a field for scientific experimental pedagogy" She calls her classroom a "laboratory." She calls her classroom lessons "experiments." She even calls her games and exercises and apparatus "scientific."⁶ But all this is hardly to be taken seriously. Montessori was trained as a physician. Science was prestigious. When she turned her attention to education she couldn't resist the temptation to call her work "scientific." In spite of her rigorously scientific training, as her biographer, E. M. Standing, puts it, there was a deeper and mystical side to Montessori's personality.⁷ This is an understatement. Dublin University Professor of Pedagogy R. J. Fynne in 1924 was closer to the truth when he observed of Montessori: "Here is a great enthusiast, . . . here is a great reformer, . . . here is a great woman who loves children of whom she has amazing intuitive . . . knowledge; here too is a great teacher; but she is not a scientist, and does not think or write as one."⁸

Montessori thought and wrote as a religieuse. In her writings there is revealed the spirit of the disciple of Christ rather than the spirit of the scientist. There flows from her pen not detailed accounts of experiments and observations, but a constant flow of religious similes and metaphors. Her books, even

6 Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method*, New York, 1964; Maria Montessori, Dr. Montessori's Own Handbook, London, 1914.

7 E. M. Standing, *Maria Montessori, Her Life and Work*, New York, 1962. There are a few other biographies of Montessori. All are unsatisfactory: Anna M. Maccheroni, *A True Romance: Doctor Maria Montessori As I Knew Her*, Edinburgh, 1946; Norah Smaridge, *The Light Within: The Story of Maria Montessori*, New York, 1965. Information from these sources has been supplemented by an interview with Mr. Mario Montessori, held June 5, 1968, Santa Monica, California.

8 Robert J. Fynne, *Montessori and Her Inspires*, London, 1924. Typically, Montessori defines the scientist. "The scientist is not the clever manipulator of instruments, he is the worshipper of nature and he hears the external symbols of his passion as does the follower of some religious order." *The Montessori Method*, p. 8.

The Montessori Method, with its subtitle, *Scientific Pedagogy as Applied to the Education of Children . . .*, are filled with religious image and parable.⁹ For example, take the account of her inaugural address at the ceremonies attending the opening of the first Casa dei Bambini. She was possessed suddenly, she writes, with a mysterious intuition of the immense significance of the enterprise. It was the Feast of the Epiphany, and the words of the Epistle seemed to her at once "an omen and a prophecy: 'For behold darkness shall cover the earth . . . but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and the Gentiles shall walk in thy light.' "¹⁰ To Montessori, the Casa dei Bambini was not so much a school or a laboratory as it was a New Jerusalem. The children in the Casa were not so much subjects for experimentation as they were subjects for meditation: ". . . the figure of the child presents itself as potent and mysterious, an object of meditation, for the child who holds in himself the secret of our nature becomes our Master." The children in the Casa were not simply well behaved: "If we try to think of parallels in the life of adults, we are reminded of the phenomenon of conversion, of the superhuman heightening of the strength of martyrs and apostles, of the constancy of missionaries, of the obedience of monks. Nothing else in the world, except such things, is on a spiritual height equal to the discipline of the 'Children's Houses.'¹¹ Of the results of their obedience, she asserts: "From minds thus set in order, . . . come sudden emotions and mental feats which recall the Biblical story of Creation. The child has in his mind . . . , the first flowers of affection, of gentleness, of spontaneous love for righteousness which perfume the souls of such children and give promise of the 'fruits of the spirit' of St. Paul. . . ." When the children in the Casa began to write, Montessori describes it thus: "We felt as though we were in the presence of a miracle."¹² Unwilling at first to believe her eyes, incredulous at the reports of her teachers that the children acted as if "the holy angels" were inspiring them, finally she too was converted.

A Ministry Crystallizes Up to this point, Montessori had been undecided what path in life to follow: professor, doctor, educator. Her work had had a rather limited and specific objective: to meet the needs of the slum children of San Lorenzo. But with her first success in the Casa dei Bambini, Maria became convinced that her methods of education were fundamental and universal. With her first success in the Casa, her minis-

9 This book was first published in English in 1912 as *The Montessori Method: Scientific Pedagogy as Applied to Child Education in "The Children's House."*

10 Maria Montessori, *The Secret of Childhood*. Bombay, India, 1936.

11 Montessori, *The Montessori Method*.

12 Montessori, *The Secret of Childhood*.

try crystallized. As Standing puts it, ". . . she felt the duty of going forth as an apostle on behalf of all the children in the world, born and as yet unborn, to preach for their rights and their liberation."¹³ In 1910 Maria withdrew from all active work with children of the poor, gave up her medical practice, and resigned her post at the University of Rome, to devote her time and energy to the propagation of The Method. First, she had to recruit a "corps 'of teachers, of disciples, of missionaries.'" ¹⁴ Maria drew around her a small group of acolytes; Anna Maccheroni, Anna Fedeli, Lina Traverso-Olivero, Elisabetta Bellerini, and one or two others, who followed her into seclusion. They lived with Maria, called her "Mammalina" (Montessori was about forty-one now), and had no life apart from Montessori and her work. As Dorothy Canfield Fisher put it, Montessori surrounded herself with five women of uncommon devotion, "who exist in and for her and her ideas, as ardently and wholeheartedly as nuns about an adored Mother Superior."¹⁵ Nor is the religious nomenclature exaggerated. On Nov. 10, 1910, Montessori and the others met in a small chapel in Rome to vow to dedicate their lives and all they had to "the Cause of the Child."¹⁶ Like St. Ignatius Loyola, Maria attempted to establish a Religious Order, a Montessori Order, to cover the world with a network of Montessori schools and missionaries. The Vatican denied approval.¹⁷

Maria had little difficulty in recruiting a dedicated and worshipful band of followers. Although she was, by 1910, no longer the beauty she had been ten years earlier, she possessed a fascinating and inspiring personality. With her marvelous black eyes, her regal bearing, and "the apostolic ardour" she brought to her work, she had a magnetic effect on many, especially many young women. Anna Maccheroni, her first convert, is typical. Signorina Maccheroni was one of those well-born, well-educated, troubled young women which the Western world threw up in such large numbers at the turn of the century. Then she attended Montessori's course of lectures at the Univer-

¹³ Standing, *op. cit.*, 61.

¹⁴ Josephine Tozier, "An Educational Wonder-Worker: The Methods of Maria Montessori," *McClure's Magazine*, 37, May 1911, p. 19.

¹⁵ *A Montessori Mother*, New York, 1912; Margaret Naumburg, "Maria Montessori: Friend of Children," *Outlook*, 105, December 13, 1913, p. 798; Claude Claremont, "Anna Maria Maccheroni, 1876-1965," *AMI, Communictions*, No. 3, 1966, p. 15. They were later joined by the American, Adelia Pyle. Of this group, only Lina Traverso-Olivera survives. "Her apostolate is not yet finished" is the way Mario Montessori puts it. Helped spiritually by these apostles and disciples, Maria was helped materially by rich and influential friends: Queen Mother Margherita, Baroness Leopold Franchetti, Marchesa Ranieri di Sorbello, Marchesa di Vitti di Marco, and Donna Maria Maraini, Marchioness Guerrieri-Gonzaga. See Anna M. Maccheroni, "10 Novembre 1910," *Vita Dell'Infanzia*, II, November 30, 1953, p. 13.

¹⁶ Ragnhild Hoff, "Anna Maria Maccheroni, 1876-1965," p. 26.

¹⁷ Interview, Mario M. Montessori, June 5, 1968.

sity of Rome in 1906 and was converted. Of the lectures, Maccheroni writes: "It was as if I had been thirsty and had found pure water." For a small group to which Maccheroni belonged, the lectures and personal contact with Montessori became the starting point for a new life. Maccheroni states: "I would not even be able to imagine what my life would have been without this work. I was looking for a form of love which would not fall in the circle of family life, of likes and dislikes and of seeking personal interests. I found it and this has been my peace." In her old age, Maccheroni reminisced: "What my life would have been without the Montessori light, I do not dare to consider. Even now in my old age, the reason why kind friends look after me is because I have tried to follow Dr. Montessori. I owe it all to her."¹⁸ Such sentiments, redolent of conversion experiences, are not uncommon in the Montessori literature. In the course of an impassioned defense of Montessori, English educational reformer Reverend Cecil Grant declared that there was a need for someone who was expert at once in the physical, mental, and teaching side of school work. "God has given us that triple expert in Dr. Montessori." The Rev. Grant had no doubt that the world was witness to the coming of the "Montessori epoch."¹⁹ Nor were Americans immune to the Montessori magic. Ruth French, an elementary school teacher, asserts of Montessori: ". . . her words seem winged-messengers of light, . . . contact with her seems to turn the veriest truism into a new and mystical revelation." Journalist Carolyn Bailey described her first meeting with Montessori:

At first you have no words. You have seen her picture . . . but it gave you no conception of the fine, chiseled beauty of the woman . . . the marble of the classic features, the depth of the far-seeing, dark eyes. Poise, grace, self-control, sympathy, love of humanity are written on the face. It is as if all the Madonnas of the imagination of the old Italian painters had come to life in La Dottoressa.

Montessori affected novelist Dorothy Canfield Fisher "almost as the conversion to a new religion."²⁰ And age did not wither nor custom stale this charm. In 1941, a young Ceylonese woman, Lena Wikramaratne, attended a

¹⁸ Anna Maria Maccheroni, *A True Romance: Doctor Maria Montessori As I Knew Her*, pp. 3 and 109; Vittoria Fresco-Galeazzi, "Anna Maria Maccheroni, 1876-1965," p. 38.

¹⁹ Conference of Educational Associations, *Report of the Conference of Educational Associations Held at the University of London, January, 1914*, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 198; Cecil Grant, *English Education and Montessori*, London, 1913. See also Sheila Radice, *The New Children*, London, 1920.

²⁰ Ruth H. French, "The Workings of the Montessori Method," *Journal of Education*, 78, October 30, 1913, p. 421; Carolyn Sherwin Bailey, *Montessori Children*, New York, 1915; Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

training course given by Montessori in India. Twenty-two years later, Miss Wikramaratne describes the event:

I met Dr. Maria Montessori in 1941, and the course of my life was changed. And now in 1963, looking back over the years that have gone . . . it should seem a very long, long time ago. But strangely enough, my association with her and the years of my own work do not seem to me to belong to the past. My first impression of her, the long contact of over ten years I had with her, and the great impact of her message with the inspiration she gave me seem so very real in an ever living and extended present. . . . Her voice had such a ring of truth in it as with sparkling eyes, regal gestures, and the musical tones of her native Italian which fell on our ears like a beautiful cascade of clear and glistening water, she unfolded to us the vision of the new child. . . . To me she seemed like the prophets of old. . . . By the end of the course we had come to love the beautiful and gracious champion of the child, with almost a feeling of reverence.²¹

One is reminded of the child who is supposed to have said of Francis Parker, the American educator, "Mamma, Colonel Parker put his hand on my head today. I think he blesses children just as Jesus did."²²

Teacher-Training The Montessori "conversations" were not altogether fortuitous. Credit must also be given to Montessori's unique method of teacher-training. By World War I, Montessori had worked out her own system of training teachers in her method, her "international training course." A short course, usually from four months to six months in duration—it comprised Montessori's lectures on her own principles and practices, study of the Montessori "didactic apparatus," and where possible, visits to Montessori schools.²³ There were no subjects taught as such, no

21 Lena Wikramaratne, "Dr. Maria Montessori As I Knew Her," in Fleege, Ed., *Building the Foundations of Creative Learning*, pp. 244-246. Claude Claremont, a long-time English disciple of Montessori, in 1958 had this to say: "The difficulty of writing soberly about Montessori and her work is that it is only possible to a person who has not understood it. Directly the barest gleams of the truth begin to penetrate, all the world looks different, students and lecturers alike fall into a state of trance for which enthusiasm is hardly the word and religious fervor would be more appropriate. It becomes, in short, a dream of salvation. . . ." Review of E. M. Standing, *Maria Montessori: Her Life and Work*, in *The New Era*, 39, April, 1958, p. 100. To Standing, Montessori represents "the beginning of a great new social revolution based on the revelation of the hitherto unknown potentialities of childhood . . . a force which . . . will usher in a new world for a new man," p. 201.

22 Ida Cassa Heffron, *Francis Wayland Parker*, Los Angeles, 1934.

23 Standing, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-77.

books read but those of Montessori, no apparatus demonstrated but Montessori's; students compiled their own "books" from the lectures and demonstrations of Montessori. As Claude Claremont, a long-time Montessori teacher-trainer, put it, "We 'Montessori' the students."²⁴ But books, not even those of the Dottoressa, were not a very important part of Montessori's system of teacher-training. In fact, Montessori insisted that her doctrine could not be learned from books. Montessori teacher-training partook of an initiation into a religious order. Montessori herself referred to her method of teacher-training as a "spiritual preparation." It wasn't the teacher's mind that had to be prepared, it was his spirit: "The teacher must not imagine that he can prepare himself for his office merely by study, by becoming a man of culture. He must before all else cultivate in himself certain aptitudes of a moral order . . . what we wish to emphasize is the fact that the teacher must prepare himself *inwardly*." (Italics in original.)²⁵ The preparation Montessori demanded of a teacher was that he should examine himself and purge himself of his sins, "the seven deadly sins," anger, pride, etc.: that he "strip himself of pride and anger and become humble; this, first of all; then reclothe himself in charity. . . . This is his 'training,' its starting point, and its goal." Christ was the true psychologist, not Freud: "That which the teacher must seek is to be able to see the child as Jesus saw him."²⁶ Unless his sins be purged the teacher could never understand the child. This capacity in the teacher to enter into the spirit of the child—to call to the spirit of the child—required great sensitivity and art. So Montessori carefully and personally supervised the training of her teachers. Montessori was herself able to communicate with children on this spiritual plane. It was her hope to develop this art in others. By all accounts, however, she succeeded perhaps better in winning her students over to her side than to the side of the child. The Montessori training course was like a religious service where Montessori expounded her method "like a High Priestess surrounded by her neophytes."²⁷ The students,

²⁴ Conference of Educational Associations, *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Educational Associations Held at University College, London, London, 1931*, p. 102. An authorized Montessori training course today comprises four parts I. Theory Discoveries of Dr. Maria Montessori: Her Life and Her Work, II. Practical training Montessori Methods and Montessori Materials, III. Compiling of Books of Exercises, Albums of Lesson Plans based on II, and IV. Examination based on I, II, III. From "The AMI Montessori Training Course Course Outline," prepared by Mrs. Lena Wikramaratne, for a Montessori training course offered in March, 1967 at the Santa Monica Montessori School, Santa Monica, California. See also Standing, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

²⁵ Montessori, *The Secret of Childhood*, and *The Montessori Method*.

²⁶ Maria Montessori, *The Advanced Montessori Method: Spontaneous Activity in Education*, New York, 1917. Montessori, *The Secret of Childhood*, Radice, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

²⁷ Claude Claremont, "The Montessori Movement in England," *The New Era*, April, 1928, p. 75.

exposed to several months of pure Montessori, the whole Montessori, and nothing but Montessori, came away with an awareness of "belonging to the Dottoressa."²⁸ The students sitting at her feet became "the messengers of the new truth."²⁹ For this kind of experience, unlettered students were best, and indeed there were no prerequisites to become a Montessori student. Montessori preferred unlettered students.

The Divine Dogmatist Martin Mayer has written that many weaknesses of the Montessori movement over the years have been due to Montessori's unwillingness to accept the need for teacher training. It is clear that it wasn't so much Montessori's unwillingness to accept the need for teachers as it was her unwillingness to allow anyone but herself to prepare them, or in later years, anyone who had not been prepared by a long apprenticeship under the Master herself. Montessori belongs to what educational historian Claude A. Bowers has recently called "the Messianic tradition" in education. Montessori was convinced that "new children" could be produced by her method of education, that these new children would save the world. She was invincible in her conviction that the purity of her method had to be preserved. Any tampering with the method (or the apparatus) would weaken or dissipate its power. To preserve the purity of the method she could trust few beside herself. Montessori constantly declined to approve any scheme for training teachers in her method not under her own control. In 1920, Sheila Radice, an English journalist and confidante of Montessori, declared that any institution to which Montessori lends her name must be one "that embraces the whole of her teaching, and her teaching only."³⁰ All else was error; indeed, heresy. Where others—Piaget, Claparède, Decroly—had colleagues, Montessori had disciples. Surrounded by disciples and hierophants, not one ready to press an argument or differ with her, unwilling or unable to tolerate even the slightest modification of her work, dismissing all criticism as ignorance or jealousy, Montessori's dissatisfaction with prevailing educational orthodoxy came to rest in new orthodoxy which soon hardened into dogma. The comparison with the fate of Froebel, the Froebel "gifts" and the kindergarten movement is obvious. Indeed there were warnings as early as 1912 by sympathizers here and abroad, e.g., Henry W. Holmes, Ellen

²⁸ Susan J. Freudenthal to author, May 27, 1967. Miss Freudenthal, a Dutch educator, has been an observer of the European educational scene for many years and knows Montessori at first hand.

²⁹ Conference of Educational Associations, *Report of the Eighth Annual Conference of Educational Associations Held at University College, London, January, 1920*, London, 1920, p. 126; and see Standing, *op. cit.*, 75-77.

³⁰ Radice, *op. cit.*, 1963.

Yale Stevens, Clara E. Craig here, Edmond Holmes in England, of the fate Montessori was courting by her exclusiveness and absolutism.³¹ They fell on deaf ears. In the 1920's and 1930's, Montessori found herself more and more isolated from progressive movements in education. Montessori and her followers took on the aspect of a government in exile awaiting the judgment of history to honor her. It is significant that as the emblem of the Children's Houses, Montessori chose Raphael's "Madonna della Seggiola." The choice of the painting and the interpretation which Montessori gives it—the Madonna, the Divine Mother, the universal symbol of suffering and self-sacrificing womanhood—well symbolizes her view of herself.³² While Montessori increasingly came to think of herself as a martyr, the rest of the educational world came increasingly to think of her as an eccentric. In 1929, to help propagate the method, and to keep a tight rein on the Montessori teachers and schools in the far-flung corners of the world, Maria organized the Association Montessori Internationale, with headquarters in Amsterdam, and with herself as president. She remained its president until the day of her death in 1952, when she was succeeded by her son, Mario.³³

The Disciples Remain Montessori left behind a body of disciples all trained personally by herself. Many of them function

³¹ Henry W. Holmes, "Introduction," to Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method*, New York, 1912, pp. XIX-XX; Clara E. Craig, *The Montessori System of Child Culture*, Boston, 1913, p. 14; Ellen Yale Stevens, *Guide to the Montessori Method*, New York, 1913, pp. 14-15; Edmond G. A. Holmes, *The Montessori System of Education*, London, 1912. The genius of Froebel, writes Miss Stevens, was "curbed and fettered by devotees who held blindly to a system. . . . The games, gifts and occupations he devised appeared to have in the minds of his disciples a kind of sanctity, so that it seemed to them a desecration to make any changes. . . . Then . . . , the system instead of the genius of Froebel was seized upon by half-taught young girls, and the whole movement fell into dispute. . . ."

³² Montessori, *The Montessori Method*. Sir Frank Salisbury's portrait of Montessori, for which she sat in 1939, has her holding a book turned to a page bearing the inscription, "**Mammalina Immortale.**"

³³ The AMI's chief function is to license Montessori teachers and charter Montessori schools. A recognized Montessori school "is a school where the Montessori Method is applied to the teaching of children of mixed ages . . . by teachers who have a Montessori diploma bearing the signature of Dr. Maria Montessori and/or Mr. Mario Montessori issued by a training centre recognized by the AMI, with the use of the蒙特梭利 material fabricated by one of the authorized manufacturers. The only teaching diplomas recognized by the AMI are those which bear Dr. Montessori's signature, Dr. Montessori's or Mr. Montessori's and the President of the AMI—AMI Committee, Nos. 1 and 2, 1963, p. 40. At about the same time, in 1928 or 1929, Montessori began the publication of a short-lived magazine, *L'Espresso Montessori* in Milan. A few years earlier in 1924, she had started an openly short-lived newspaper, *Giornale Freidenk*, published in Amsterdam.

much as though they had been blessed by the hand of their priestess. Thus the Montessori pedagogy is almost lost in the midst of the cult which has risen about her memory. For Montessorians, Maria's writings are "scripture." Books they write about her are sentimental raptures or religious in approach, "gospels." Those who would experiment with or expand the original revelation are met with cries of "schism." The Revealed Truth must not be tampered with and private interpretation is forbidden. To Mario Montessori has fallen the responsibility of caring for the Church. Little is known about Mario. The chief source of information about his life are some fugitive glimpses in the pages of *Communications*, the bulletin of the Association Montessori Internationale, of which he is editor.³⁴ Mario was born in 1898. He remembers the early years around 1913 or 1914, "the heroic epoch," when his mother was being discovered, and they were on top of the world. He remembers when "our house became the focus of a pilgrimage," when the pilgrims came across the oceans and the continents to seek out his mother, the "star: a spiritual star . . . the star who was my mother." Mario remembers when "we were glorified." (He adds, "not me, of course, because I was just a child, but I was attached to it . . . so I got all the effects of that glory and that reverence."³⁵) He remembers also the hard times: the quarrel with Mussolini in the early 1930's and the self-imposed exile from Italy which followed; the flight with his mother to Spain to live there for a while until the outbreak of the Civil War. Then the flight to England and from there to Holland in 1936. Then, after the outbreak of war in Europe, the flight to India in 1939, only to be interned there with his mother as an enemy alien. In the meantime he had married and had four children left behind in Holland during the Nazi occupation. In 1946, Mario returned to Holland with his mother. He was at her bedside when she died.

Mario's Trust Mario's responsibilities are heavy.

He is expected to protect the doctrine from false interpretation and to pass on to posterity his mother's unpublished works. Standing outlines Mario's trust. To Mario, he writes, has fallen the "delicate task of safeguarding the integrity of the Montessori movement in the many countries where it is active, by recognizing under the aegis of the Association Montessori Internationale only such Montessori schools and training courses as faithfully interpret, both in spirit and practice, the Montessori principles."³⁶ This is a trust which Mario, now director-general of the AMI (its headquarters are still in Amsterdam),

³⁴ Supplemented by an interview with Mr. Montessori, June 5, 1968.

³⁵ Mario Montessori, "In Search of Answers," AMI, *Communications*, No. 1, 1964, pp. 3-6.

³⁶ Standing, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

has accepted. He has warned that it behooves Montessorians to keep the movement "pure and undefiled."³⁷ That is to say, to keep the universal, catholic church from becoming a national one. Mario has performed his charge with great diligence and success. In the years since his mother's death he has overseen a worldwide revival of Montessori.³⁸ But he, no more than his mother, has not been able to avoid the internecine quarrels which have rended the movement from the beginning. The case of the American Montessorians is instructive. The one individual more than anyone else responsible for the revival of Montessori in America is Mrs. Nancy Rambusch. Mrs. Rambusch received her training in Montessori techniques in England in 1953. Upon her return to the United States, she organized a small Montessori class in her apartment in New York City. She and her family subsequently moved to Connecticut where, with the aid of friends, in 1958 she founded Whithby School in the suburbs of Greenwich, with herself as Headmaster. She subsequently established ties with the AMI, and, with the encouragement of Mario, organized in 1960 the American Montessori Society, with headquarters in Greenwich, and with herself as president. Soon Nancy began to insist that the Montessori Method had to be Americanized if it were to receive a fair trial in this country. To this, the purists objected. As Miss Wikramaratne put it, "Mrs. Rambusch wanted to adapt, adapt, adapt. This was not in the spirit of Dr. Montessori." According to Mario, Nancy's grasp exceeded her reach; she thought she knew better than Dr. Montessori.³⁹ In 1963 the AMI removed its seal of approval from the American Montessori Society.⁴⁰

Defending the Faith Further light is shed in a remarkable pamphlet written by Mario and distributed to American Montessorians in 1964.⁴¹ In this pamphlet, Mario (dead pan?) defends his mother and

37 Mario Montessori and Claude A. Claremont, "Montessori and the Deeper Freedom," *Yearbook of Education*, 1957, London, p. 426. "Like Leonardo da Vinci," writes Mario, "Dr. Montessori has bequeathed to the world her notebooks and as with those, generations may pass before their contents are fully assimilated." *Ibid.*

38 See Standing, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-208, for a list of Montessori societies, training colleges, and publications.

39 Lena Wikramaratne, interview, Santa Monica Montessori School, Santa Monica, California, March 2, 1967. Mario Montessori, interview, June 5, 1968, AMI, *Communications*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1963, pp. 35-36, *Time Magazine*, 84, July 10, 1964, pp. 53-54, Wakim, *op. cit.* p. 63. For Mrs. Rambusch's views see her *Learning How To Learn: An American Approach to Montessori*, Baltimore, 1962.

40 AMI, *Communications*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1963, pp. 35-36. It is not to be thought that the American Montessori Society, or the schools associated with it, have been able to avoid the scribbles which are endemic among Montessorians.

41 Mario Montessori, "A Long Letter to Montessorians in America, in Answer to Some of the Many Questions I Receive," Amsterdam, n.d., 1965, no pagination, mimeo.

the movement against the charges of Nancy Rambusch and other heretics and Americanizers that the movement is rigid and exclusive and anti-intellectual. To the charge that his mother's methods of teacher training are academically indefensible, Mario admits that his mother was not interested in the book learning of prospective Montessorians. It was not a question of initiating liberally trained teachers into the mysteries of Montessori, he writes; it was rather like "preaching Christianity to the pagans." Like some latter-day Tertullian, Mario demands, what are the qualifications required to become a Montessori teacher? And answers: "What are the qualifications required to become a Christian? Must one be (a) graduate or a post-graduate?" Possession of a degree does not make one a Christian. In any event, Montessori herself had no special teaching degree. And he continues, "I wonder also if Christ, Buddha and Mohammed had any teacher qualifications." As to the matter of how exactly Montessori teacher-trainers are chosen and prepared, to quote Mario: "In Doctor Montessori's time, during summer vacations, these teachers came around Dr. Montessori. She cleared their doubts, suggested further studies, gave them all the new ideas or material she had evolved during the year. . . ." After several years of this, they were recognized as authorized "trainers." With regard to the charges of rigidity and formalism, Mario compares his mother to a scientist. Like a scientist, he writes, his mother had discovered the real nature of children and, like a scientist, she had made the discovery under "certain rigid conditions"—the conditions could not be changed.

That Head Start may be a fresh start for Montessori in America is quite possible. Montessori developed her system of pedagogy with a clear understanding of the importance of the formative years before the age of six for the development of the child. This is an understanding that we in America, some sixty years later, are coming to appreciate. Montessori was a genius at devising educational toys and games for children. She had a sure grasp of the ways in which children learn. She anticipated many trends in current

pamphlet, at the Kriterion Montessori School, Santa Monica, California. Again, the resemblance between Montessorians today and Froebelians in the latter part of the 19th century is striking. Thus John Kraus defends orthodox Froebelianism at a National Education Association meeting, 1877: "One could just as well speak about American Christianity, American Beatitudes, American Sermon on the Mount, American Golden Rule, etc. . . . , as to speak about an American kindergarten adapted to American wants." Quoted in Edgar P. Wesley, NEA: *The First Hundred Years*, New York, 1957. And, as did kindergarteners with Froebel then, today in India, the various Montessori centres celebrate "the historical Montessori dates," the inauguration of the first Casa, her birth and her death, with songs and dances and moving speeches on the life and work of "Mother Montessori." AML, *Communications*, 1964, No. 2, p. 7.

early child learning research. The principles and goals underlying the establishment of the first Casa are fresh and pertinent today. However, the notion held by some that the Montessori Method precludes innovation and adaptation may prevent application as well. In 1951, the year before her death, the Ninth International Montessori Congress was held in London. Delegates from seventeen countries attended. The theme of the congress was "Education as an Aid to the Natural Development of the Psyche of the Child from Birth to the University." In the evenings, Maria Montessori gathered the faithful about her and spoke about her philosophy of education. Said the *London Times*, "To listen to Dr. Montessori, now in her eighty-first year . . . and to watch her benevolent domination of her audience, is in itself to experience the impact of an intellect of rare quality." A concurrent editorial on the congress summed up the paradox of Montessori as educator and prophet:

The truth is that Dr. Montessori has deceived herself. No system can be scientific, in any accepted sense of the word, that depends so much on the personality of its advocate. La Dottoressa has always attracted followers as much by the dominant force of her personality as by the strength of her arguments. She has an intuitive understanding of children. . . . She is, in short, a scientist in education by conviction, but an artist in teaching at heart. The danger is that her personal magnetism will create a coterie that ignores criticism, so what she has to offer of value to teachers in general will be lost in the jealous preserve of a few.⁴²

This danger is still clearly present.

42. *The London Times Educational Supplement*, May 18, 1951, p. 395, editorial, "Dr. Montessori."

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The Second Industrial-Instructional Revolution

P. Kenneth Komoski
EPIE Institute

In order to provide some initial insight, let me offer a proposition: that the interplay between industry and education in America during the last century and a half has had a more profound effect on our patterns of living and learning than the interplay between any other pair of American institutions. The present unrest within American public education has strong roots in 150 years of interaction between private industry and education, extending from the first appearance of English mass production methods, through the factory-like Lancastrian schools, all the way up to the "school management" approach developed by Franklin Bobbit.

Today's teacher and student militants voice devastating criticism against "mass-produced education," while more positive educational reformers emphasize the need to "individualize" and "personalize" school curricula. But this situation is not without irony. While the militants are decrying the effect of mass production techniques and industrial practices on education, others (equally bent on changing the system) are looking to the extended use of modern industrial technology to help them achieve individualized and personalized approaches to learning. This irony needs to be understood and dealt with as part of the reality within which any positive revolution in American education must take place. Let us look, therefore, at the present situation from a somewhat historical-theoretical position in order to develop some practical insight into it.

As is well known, the nineteenth-century school shared with the nineteenth-century factory deadly dull routine and an authoritarian approach to discipline, reinforced by corporal punishment. Those who could not be successfully processed through that factory-like education system found themselves dumped (like industrial waste) to "the other side of the tracks" into slums from which far too few escaped. Nevertheless, this very factory-like education system made it possible for American educators to take on with consider-

Dr. Komoski, who is Director of the EPIE Institute in New York, delivered a longer version of this paper to the Fourteenth Lake Okoboji Educational Media Leadership Conference. Subtitled his discussion "Industry and Education in the United States—from Interplay to Interdependence," the author traces the development of a new interdependence between education and industry, the relationship between methods of structuring mass production and methods of structuring learning systems. Both industry and instruction, he says, are concerned with structuring; and he goes on to discuss the need for a remodeling of American schools to the end of making effective use of the new technology and individualizing learning at long last.

erable success a massive educational challenge—the fee-free instruction of ever-increasing numbers of learners with diverse national, social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds with a rapidly expanding system of public instruction.

Industrial Revolution and Education The point is, I think, that this task could not have been accomplished without some sort of *instructional revolution* that would make education accessible and inexpensive enough to become a free popular pursuit. However, a point that is frequently missed is that this *instructional revolution* would not have been possible if American educators had not learned to adapt the then revolutionary industrial process of mass production to the country's need for inexpensive mass instruction. Thus, the largely unpremeditated interplay between America's private industries and its public schools during a period dominated by the technology of the first "industrial revolution" made it possible for this country to move premeditately toward its nineteenth-century goals of a universally educated and universally employable population.

Attempting to accomplish these goals required concerted efforts to organize and give commitment to local education in communities across the country. However, once these local efforts had been made and shown to work, they tended in time to be simply reworked and eventually overworked. Because of this trend, the energy within a once vital local educational system frequently took the form of unadaptive conditioned responses rather than the form of adaptive responses to changing conditions. The result of this "tendency" is now clear: American industrial and social life has undergone a *revolution* since the development of the nineteenth-century factory-like school, while the school itself has undergone little more than a haphazard *evolution*. We should not, therefore, be surprised that one group of today's educational reformers are in revolt against "unresponsive," "mass-produced," "industry-inspired," educational systems, while others advocate the use of "new industrial technology to bring about a new "instructional revolution" characterized by "innovative," "individualized," "highly responsive" instructional systems. This latter group of reformers seems to be saying that the problem now facing American education is caused by the fact that the left-over forms, practices, and techniques of this country's first (nineteenth-century) *industrial-instructional revolution* are now in conflict with the newly emerging forms, practices and technologies of what they see as a long overdue "second" industrial-instructional revolution, although none of them might put it quite so theoretically.

Growing Interdependency This prompts me to offer a second proposition: that the interaction of industry and education in

the United States has entered a new stage in which the earlier indirect and unconscious interplay of education and industry has been transformed into a closely-knit INTERDEPENDENCY by the complex educational and social implications of the second industrial revolution. This growing interdependency has many aspects: industry no longer has a seemingly endless array of jobs for those who are not processable by the educational system and is, therefore, more dependent on education for the manpower it needs; education must learn how to reduce its number of dropouts or industry will take on the task directly (as is in industry-run Job Corps camps); the mass media (especially television) have put great resources of "informal" education in the hands of industry which have made the task of "formal" schooling easier and more difficult at one and the same time; finally, there is the increasingly direct involvement of industry in the schooling of young and old through the creation of materials, equipment, and "systems," ranging from books and films to "talking typewriters" and other artifacts of present day technology.

It is within this direct servicing of society's learning needs by the new educational technology industry that the growing industry-education interdependency may be most readily observed. And of particular importance is the symbiosis that has evolved in recent years between this newly (e)merged major American "industry" and its educational supporters in federal agencies, universities, and schools. In such interdependencies lies the heart of the *second industrial-instructional revolution*.

A Second Revolution My reason for explicitly labeling this an "instructional" revolution stems from the fact that, as I examine the growth of both industry and education during the nineteenth century, I am struck by the fact that the methods developed for structuring the mass production of goods throughout the century seem to be mirrored in the methods used by educators in structuring a system for the mass-production of learning. Another more important reason is that there seems to be a rather deeply rooted conceptual relationship between the words "industry" and "instruction."

This relationship, it appears, comes from the fact that both words have to do with the peculiarly human predilection purposefully to structure actions, things, and techniques in order to produce specific results. At their most fundamental levels of meaning, these seemingly unrelated words converge within the larger concept of *technology*; or so it would seem if we accept the insights into the complexities of this concept as described by two modern commentators on the origin of the Greek word "*technologia*." The most persuasive of these, Walter Ong of Wesleyan University, says that to the Greeks the concept *technologia* originally had to do with the "ordering of subject matter in

a logical fashion so that it might be taught!" The late Scott Buchanan, another student of ancient Greece and modern technology, has pointed out that the Greek word *techne* "signified the power or capacity, the habit or skill and the intellectual virtue of a man to make a product or an artifact," so the relationship of *techne* to instruction, says Buchanan, was summed up for the Greeks thus: "If you want to understand something, make a similar object or artifact." Finally we find Ong maintaining that "*technology* at its most profound level of meaning has to do with "*the ordering of possessions of the human mind.*" (Is then the computer, to the extent that it is an analog of the human mind, the purest artifact of technology? And "instruction," inasmuch as it deals directly with the "*ordering of the possessions of the human mind,*" the purest technological act?)

These insights into the three-sided relationship of industry, instruction, and technology—particularly Walter Ong's perception of technology as having to do with as fundamental a process as the ordering of human thought—I think suggest further insights into the nature of the interplay between industry and education.

Organizing Learning One insight so suggested is that the vast amount of thought which nineteenth-century man put into the first successful attempt at large-scale, highly ordered production would be expected to spill over into other large-scale organizational undertakings. If one grants that there is a fundamental conceptual relationship between "industry" as the systematic ordering of man's thinking about production and "instruction" as the systematic ordering of his thoughts about how to transmit learning, then it would indeed seem inevitable that in a highly industrialized society the organization of learning would be profoundly affected by industry. Furthermore, if we accept this hypothesis, then the next question for us to ask is, "just what forms, practices, and specific technologies will come to characterize the second industrial revolution and thereby affect the second instructional revolution?" While many of us may feel that this is a conjectural question, today's educational-industrial entrepreneurs do not hesitate to tell us the answer. And, if one listens closely to what they are saying, one cannot help agreeing that in many cases these educational reformers seem to be sensing correctly the instructional implications of a new industrial era, and the necessary re-ordering of thought which it seems to be ushering in. The revolution they are predicting is one in which education will break with nineteenth-century lock-step learning and out of the technological forms of the factory-like school. In place of these vestiges of the first instructional revolution will be flexible learning environments in which it will be possible for each student

to learn some things in large groups, some in small groups, and as much as possible in the privacy of a personal electronic study carrel through which he may call on a library of mediated, immediate events whether in school or at home.

They also tell us that to a very great extent this revolutionary re-ordering of learning will be dependent upon a parallel revolution in the design and form of the material artifacts or media of learning. Or, at the very least, it will bring about a revolutionary *re-structuring* of the use of those existing artifacts that lend themselves to such re-structuring. Furthermore, it would seem that they are also saying that this revolution-in-the-making will not require a revolution in educational philosophy. (We have had a philosophy calling for the individualization of the curriculum at least since the turn of the century when Pierce and Dewey started the revolt against lock-step, routinized, factory-like learning.) What it will require, however, is a revolution in educational practice that will turn our talk about a philosophy of individualization into an operational reality.

A Systems Approach To accomplish this would seem to require a complete macrocosmic remodeling of the country's elementary and secondary schools, shaped by the new organizational forms and practices implicit in what has become known in industry as the "systems approach." However, for a number of reasons American educators are not likely to undertake the macrocosmic remodeling and re-ordering of their existing educational systems. They are likely to generate a great deal of talk about "complete redesign based on systems thinking" while the actual redesign of their enterprises is more apt to come as the result of a gradual adaptation of present design to the organizational implications innovative instructional industry and education may be taking us. And, by examining these new artifacts of instruction, and explicating the educational objectives, social goals, and human values implicit within them, we ought to be able to discover a good deal about the real objectives of our educational systems as contrasted with our stated objectives.

It is a fact that materials, equipment, and systems are playing a more and more important role in education. This prevailing condition is, I believe, ample justification for examining with great care all contemporary artifacts of instruction, not only in terms of their design and purpose, but in terms of their actual use and effect on specific types of learners in specific learning environments. Were this examination to take place on a broad enough scale, we might, I think, learn a good deal about the opportunities and the limitations likely to be operating during the second industrial-instructional revolution. It must be granted that the opportunities will be greater and the limitations are likely to

be fewer than those which were present during the first such revolution, but no technological system is entirely "open." Therefore, despite statements (by industrialists and educators alike) about the adaptiveness of the new technology to any conditions, including the "learning styles" of individuals, today's instructional systems are likely to be built on assumptions about how learners "really do" learn—and about how teachers "really ought" to teach. While such assumptions are sometimes stated quite explicitly in manuals of use, more often they are not, but they may still be found (buried but very much alive) within the materials themselves.

During the last few years, Ira Gordon and others working in the general area of instructional theory, have pointed the way to the development of analytical techniques by means of which the range of logical, pedagogical, and psychological assumptions currently being made (both consciously and unconsciously) by the developers of curriculum materials and systems may be clearly explicated. Dr. Gordon's work is being expanded and adopted into an analytical system for use by various university-based curriculum analysis groups that are assisting the Educational Products Information Exchange (EPIE) Institute in its efforts to create impartial assessments of instructional materials.

The Role of Artifacts Using an extension of these analytical techniques, it is possible to throw light on a variety of assumptions now being made about the future economics and staffing of education by the developers of large-scale or small-scale computerized or non-computerized instructional "systems." It is interesting to note that such analytical techniques may also be employed retrospectively, as was done recently by Stanley Rudin in analyzing textbooks of the 1930's.

In addition to this type of "depth analysis" of the internal aspects of instructional materials, it is also possible (thanks in large measure to the development of new technologies of data gathering, processing, and synthesizing) to assess the "external" effectiveness of such materials and systems as used by teachers and students.

One outcome of this increasing number and variety of instructional artifacts may be that for the first time we are able to examine the objectives operating within our educational enterprises with relative ease and objectivity. If we think for a moment about the famous Jesuit and Oxonian educational systems, we will have to agree that their fame is due not to the subject matter they transmitted or even to the particular teachers they employed, but to the methods of instruction used by those teachers. A careful analysis of both methods would, I maintain, enable us to reconstruct the psychological, pedagogical,

philosophical, social, and other assumptions implicit within these two distinct approaches to education. However, while such analyses would be possible, they would hardly be easy, for although these methods of instruction do not rely entirely on intuition, they are primarily transmitted through a process of emulation and apprenticeship and, therefore, have never been systematically ordered to the point where their essential characteristics have been embodied in specific instructional artifacts.

It is quite significant, I think, that the highly intuitive-emulative instructional techniques of the Jesuits and Oxonians were developed prior to the first industrial revolution and the onset of instructional technology. In fact, one way of characterizing the instructional methods that began to appear during the early nineteenth century is to say that they approached the teaching-learning process less intuitively and more systematically than had been done previously. Nor were these characteristics found only within the clearly factory-like "Lancastrian system." We are told, for instance, that during the 1840's a visitor to one of Pestalozzi's early experimental schools said to the Swiss reformer, "I see! You want to mechanize instruction." By way of contrast, one might imagine that same perceptive visitor, looking in on one of today's instructional reformers and remarking, "I see. You want to use technology to do away with mechanized instruction."

Such a comment reflects a major article of faith for many educators who have become convinced of industry's role in contemporary educational reform, i.e., that modern technology gives educators the tools with which they will be able to build new "systems" capable of thoroughly individualizing and personalizing instruction. For these educators, herein lies the enlightened essence of the second industrial-instructional revolution, as well as the basis of a further faith that the growing interdependence of industry and education will be guided by an enlightened desire to serve the public interest.

Questions and Fears Other educators are raising questions as to whether such faith is justified. Their questions, it would seem, are prompted by mixed fears that industry will not be able to produce desirable results or, that if it is able to produce them, the fact that industry has done so will somehow put their own life-long efforts to improve education in a poor light. Another concern frequently voiced is that "industry is out to make a profit from education, and educators are increasingly being pressured to buy the stuff that industry has managed to ballyhoo to the public and the government," and that "no matter how good these new things are, they still must be purchased out of already under-funded local budgets." Such concerns and feelings are real, and cannot be discounted. However, they will tend to

have a greater effect on the short-range than on the long-range outcomes of the second industrial-instructional revolution. Those long-range outcomes will not be decided by such things as whether or not the feelings of certain educators toward industry can be manipulated, or by whether or not industry's primary aim is to make a profit, nor will they be much affected by acts of faith. For in the long run, the second industrial-instructional revolution will be assessed not only by how well its technology managed to achieve certain educational ends, but also *in light of the ends toward which that manifold technology tended to direct the thinking of those who used it!* Indeed, we would do well to reflect deeply upon Walter Ong's insight that the most powerful aspect of any technology may well be its potential "for ordering the possessions of the human mind."

Today's instructional technology is clearly more powerful than its primitive nineteenth-century predecessor, and clearly still in its infancy. Yet it is shaping today's education thinking. Given this situation, we would do well not to wait a hundred years or so before attempting to assess it in terms of its effect on individual learners, teachers, and school systems. This is a large task, but a manageable one, if approached cooperatively, systematically, and unfrenetically over time. It is an undertaking that should be organized "for the long pull," in the knowledge that all concerned (students, teachers, administrators, technologists, manufacturers and the public) will eventually benefit from such an on-going process of assessment.

Curricular Assessment What is needed for the short run is the determination to carry on curricular (i.e., running) assessments of the educational effects of an immature, yet surprisingly powerful instructional technology, not for the purpose of damning it, not even for the purpose of directing it (in a unilateral sense), but for the purpose of keeping ourselves intelligently informed of the multi-faceted effects of the artifacts of this technology, and, thus informed, to make responsible professional decisions about the value of specific artifacts and systems.

How is it possible to do this? Surely, the task of carrying on such running assessments of the educational effectiveness of thousands of diverse instructional artifacts in different combinations and permutations is, in a word, enormous. On a recent visit to one of today's most widely praised experiments with the "new technology," the members of a professional commission found that the 25 students in one classroom were making use of 39 different mathematics textbooks, and that each child's progress was being "managed" by a computer located almost three thousand miles away, but which reported to the

classroom teacher every night after it had finished scoring and analyzing each child's performance for that day.

As education moves farther toward becoming the major "service" industry within "the world's first service economy," there is every indication that the number of technological options it will produce for servicing the needs of individual learners and their teachers will continue to increase rather than decrease; not unlike the "consumer options" which have continued to increase within the American automobile industry, heretofore the country's major "goods producing" industry. We have only to compare Henry Ford's famous statement in the early days of the automotive business, "Tell the customer he can have any color car he wants as long as it's black" to the statement reported in 1965 by *Life Magazine* in which "A Chevy official introducing the new models pointed out proudly that the total possible combinations of models, engines, colors and other options would be an astronomical number with 125 zeros!"

If the "education industry" is, in fact, through some sort of irreversible tendency of modern technology going to supply "the educational consumer" with comparable numbers of options, how can we possibly keep track of them all and, in addition, trace their cumulative, dynamic effect on learners? The task does, indeed, seem impossible and yet unless it is possible what chance have we of intelligently guiding this admittedly emergent and profoundly important technology toward responsible maturity? Or, to put it less anthropomorphically, "How can we keep tabs on our budding educational technologists, as they try their new tools to be sure that they aren't *operationally* defining education in terms of the limits of those tools?" Were this allowed to happen, what was to be a new industrial-instructional revolution could conceivably degenerate into an infinitely efficient means of lock-stepping us backward toward an electronic version of its outmoded predecessor. What are the chances of this happening?

Instructional technologists, whether they are employed by industry or by schools, universities, or government agencies, tend to make light of the possibility that their work may somehow abort. (However, the followers of Joseph Lancaster witnessed the Lancastrian method of controlling classroom behavior through the use of praise and inexpensive rewards transmuted by less humane adaptors into a system of carefully ordered corporal punishments.)

But, if we cannot look to the technologists themselves (nor to their deprecators) to undertake the enormous multi-faceted task of assessing our new instructional artifacts, then to whom can the great majority of those who are neither "true believers" nor "non-believers" look to carry out the task? The

most responsible, but by no means the easiest answer, is that they must look to themselves and join together in a cooperative effort that will create the sort of "positive corrective feedback" needed to shape the course of the second industrial-instructional revolution.

Such a cooperative program might well be undergirded by three admissions: One, that traditional approaches to instruction are inadequate for meeting the individual needs of today's learners; two, that although at present the new emerging technology of instruction is also probably inadequate for meeting these needs, it, rather than traditional instructional technology, is more likely to fulfill them in the future; three, that our best hope for hastening the day when this emerging technology will be capable of fulfilling the changing educational needs of all Americans lies in the direction of using the new technology as broadly as possible, with as little ballyhoo as possible, and carrying out responsible on-going assessments of its use in everyday teaching, learning situations.

Were the majority of those who are today producing, purchasing, supplying the funds for purchase, and using the artifacts of the new technology to adopt and support these three ideas, the chances that the growing interdependency of industry and education might produce a positive educational effect would be greatly improved.

The Ultimate Consumer The most obvious alternative to such a program of broad-range assessment is to have more and more educators feel that they constitute simply another exploitable market in which industry is "out to make a profit," and in so doing, fail to sense their responsibility to help shape the nature of the growing interdependency between industry and education in American society. A second, equally undesirable alternative would be to have both industrialists and educators play it "safe" by continuing with the mass marketing and use of the traditional materials of mass instruction. There is considerable indication that this latter alternative may, in fact, be adopted. For, as Edward Katzenbach, formerly general manager of Raytheon Education Company, recently put it: "The money is not in the new stuff; it's in the old stuff." As a matter of fact, there are numerous traditionalists within the education and industry "establishment" who are not concerned about developing and assessing the new technology because they feel either that it cannot be made to work or will never be priced so as to compete successfully with the "old stuff" of instruction.

But the ultimate consumer of "the old stuff" (the learner) is growing increasingly restive about what he views as the perpetuation of the "establishment's" mass instructional system, and its inability to meet his individual learn-

ing needs. On the other hand, this same learner is apt to pre-judge the new instructional systems being developed by the educational technology industry as something that will inevitably "spindle, fold and mutilate" him until he has been reduced to the status of a unit of mass-produced, "trained manpower."

Education's "next to ultimate consumer," the teacher, is apt to be less dissatisfied with "the old stuff" than are his students. However, he, too, is showing signs of anxiety about how "the new stuff" will affect his status as a professional. Out of this mixture of satisfactions, dissatisfactions, and anxieties could come an unfortunate polarization; not (as one might have predicted a few years ago) a polarization of "education" and "industry," but a polarization capable of cutting across and opening deep divisions within the memberships of both institutions. On one side would be those in industry seeking the security of uninterrupted profits and those in education looking for undisturbed professional security; on the other side one would find the industrial and educational entrepreneurs—the risk-takers—who are willing to forego immediate profits and job security in order to shape new economic and new educational opportunities. Were such a polarization to occur (there are those who would say it already has), we would be witness to the interdependency of industry and education operating at two very different levels with two very distinct groups of operators. However, the answer to the critically important question of which of these two operating levels and which of the two groups of operators would be likely to attract the greater support from within the ranks of industry and education and the greater amount of public funds, is not at all clear.

Bets, Risks, and Feedbacks In recent years, of course, the federal government has been betting large amounts of money on the less conservative, less traditional level of this interaction and has, in fact, spent millions of dollars on the development of the new instructional technology. As a result, both industry and education have been reasonably well disposed toward producing and using innovative materials and equipment. However, given the "bad year" which many companies in the education industry have recently experienced, it seems evident that there are not enough federal, state, or local monies available to enable schools to purchase, use, and maintain the more expensive and frequently more complex materials, equipment, and systems of the new technology. It is not expensive to talk about meeting the needs of individual learners, but it is expensive to build and market instructional systems that do, *in fact*, meet the needs of individual learners. Building such systems requires more than the traditional skills of an author, editor, artist, compositor, printer, and salesman. The "author" may now be a team

composed of subject matter experts, developmental psychologists, behavioral technologists, and media specialists; the editor needs to know more than how to work with the printed word, and a great deal more than he used to know about learning; production now requires many more artists and technicians than it once took to produce a textbook; and, last but not least, the salesman must frequently be supported by a team of consultants capable of helping teachers learn to use the new tools of individualized instruction.

Given these added costs, it is clear that "the profit is in the old stuff." It is there because the "old stuff" is made up of less expensively produced products that can be mass produced for a mass market of "average" students. Faced by these hard economic facts, plus the added uncertainty of whether these facts can or will be changed by the appearance of "new" money with which schools may purchase the "new" technology, the immediate future does not look bright for either the producers of this new technology or for its ultimate consumer, *the individual learner*. This situation represents a profound irony operating within American society, which boasts not simply the "richest" but "the world's first service" economy. And, which, in addition, prides itself on its entrepreneurial spirit and on the ability of that economy to respond to the needs of the individual consumer. The irony is, of course, that this society seems unwilling to undertake the financial risk involved in servicing the most important needs of the most important individuals in its population.

What may be needed to resolve this embarrassing situation is a means of reducing the risks involved. But, of course, there is no sure way to do this. Money will have to be spent, and new systems of instruction produced and used. Some of these systems, and the materials and equipment they contain, will meet the individual needs of students and some will not. And about the only risk-reducing mechanism that could conceivably help both producers and purchasers to discover which is which, would involve the systematic gathering of "corrective feedback" directly from the ultimate consumer, the learner, and from the next-to-ultimate consumer, the teacher. Were such a mechanism to exist on a nationwide scale, the growing interdependent relationship between industry and education might even reach the level where decision-makers within what may one day become the country's largest industry would be able to hear very clearly what the country's most important "consumers" of its most important "product" need and want.

Book Reviews

Education and the Barricades

Charles Frankel. New York: W. W. Norton, 1968. Paperback, 90 pp.

Charles Frankel, liberal philosopher, author of *The Case for Modern Man*, and former Undersecretary of State in the Johnson administration, has undertaken an engaging, razor-sharp analysis of student unrest on American campuses. By concentrating his logician's weapons on obscurantisms which comprise much of the contemporary revolutionary lexicon, Frankel attempts to determine the operative meanings of student slogans such as "student rights," "democracy," and "a relevant education." Frankel attempts to go beyond the surface of slogan and generality which he feels characterize so much of the general discussion on student revolution. He believes that even though student upset is inextricably related to larger social and political questions *vis a vis* the war in Vietnam, the draft, the breakdown of communication between young and old, black and white, the deterioration of individualistic expression, the seething misery of life in our cities, and the estrangement of many intellectuals from official government service (Frankel himself was a peacetime "casualty" of the Vietnam war, giving up his political appointment in opposition to the administration's war policies), and even though one can offer the explanatory hypothesis that student unrest is a mirror reflection of the larger social unrest, still serious intellectual examination of the crucial issues begins on the "bread-and-butter" level of specific problems. Frankel maintains that too many people have lined up for or against student uprisings by deducing positions from broad general principles such as liberalism or conservatism in politics, and/or progressivism or traditionalism in education. But such general positions do not give rise to the critical operative questions which the author feels one must ask if student grievances are to be understood and resolved.

In the early part of the book, Frankel advances his own general explanatory principle which he calls "the crisis of legitimacy." On any campus where there is intellectual ferment there is also a "latent predisposition" toward student unrest. This is to be expected wherever provocative and sensitive instructors encourage students to challenge the entrenched values of the day. And what results is an intellectual skepticism which is sharpened by the failure of our society to do what its highest ideals call for it to do. Students, like many critical laymen, have become disillusioned with a society which legitimates itself mainly in terms of technological values, and not in terms of its human priorities. This "crisis of legitimacy" has caused students to feel that the quality of democratic life is debased and that restoration of individual participation in the political and spiritual life of a nation can be achieved only by wresting power from superjacent authorities. It is this student demand for power and partici-

pation and relevancy which Frankel submits to close, reasoned analysis. And the first two chapters of the essay are compelling and convincing.

Unfortunately, however, the basic weakness of Frankel's book is not its logical or philosophical acuity. It is his assumption that having placed the issue of student unrest within the larger social-political-spiritual matrix in chapters one and two, he can then proceed in chapters three, four and five to dissect, *in vacuo*, what he considers to be imprecise, unreasonable student demands. For example, his analysis of "student power" is an admirable effort to reduce to operational proportions a concept which has heated to the boiling point the emotions of many college administrators and instructors. To ask the question "Should students have power?" is hopelessly vague, asserts Frankel. In reality, students already have power. If they do not like an educational program, they do not have to demonstrate against it. They can just accept it without passion, without excitement. Or they can exercise their consumer's choice and not elect to take the course. This kind of residual power, although slow-working, often forces the university to modify its curriculum, out of sheer educational necessity.

Rather than such general questions, Frankel asks specific questions concerning the extent to which student power is to be granted. He concludes, for example, that students are not to select faculty because this would be incompatible with academic freedom. Neither are students to be granted the right to demand the introduction of certain courses because, due to their immaturity, they may choose "non-courses" beyond the tradition of discourse and disciplined inquiry. Neither is it desirable for students to be represented in the government of a college or university, because, among other reasons, students are unable to provide the continuity of perspective or the sense of time so crucial to the continuous stability of institutions of higher learning. (Frankel's chapter on the structure of universities is the most informative and concise which the reviewer has ever read on that subject.)

The author advances all of the above ideas with care, and with far greater subtlety and precision than can be suggested in a brief summary. Furthermore, it is difficult to fault his conclusion that "student power" is most legitimate when it is understood at the "elementary level" where the student has certain rights of free speech and association, and where he is free to petition for redress of grievances and to organize political actions, and even to control the use of his academic records. Most agreeable too is Frankel's belief that the student should have the power to sit down with his instructors and administrators in a spirit of reciprocity and mutuality and expect his grievances and suggestions for improvement to be heard and acknowledged. In fact, there is much in Frankel's diagnosis of campus upheaval which many readers will find most valid.

But Frankel's strength—his reasoned and sensible mode of analysis—is also where he is most vulnerable to the rejoinders of many in the New Left. They will argue that the author is really harboring a host of conservative political and educational assumptions which reasoned analysis can never conceal, and they will energetically repudiate these views. For example, the author feels that course work must be disciplined, structured, tradition-centered, and kept in bounds (p.31). Many young radicals will respond that no longer will they be selfless sycophants to tradition, academic rigorousness, or educational structure. If Frankel's "non-courses" mean an end to lock-step, arbitrary requirements such as grades, inflexible subject matter, prerequisites, artificial barriers between major fields, and machine-like, lecturing teachers, then these students feel that they ought to have the power to demand certain "non-courses."

Many students will also reject Frankel's fundamental assumption that the university is a place where ideas should be triumphant, "not people's interests or demands, and that ideas triumph by meeting independent standards of logic and evidence, and not by political maneuvers . . ." (p.78). They will wonder how an idea can ever be separated from an interest, especially when they feel that the university has an interest, both scientific and compassionate, to participate in the life of the community and to relieve human squalor, poverty and suffering wherever these evils are found. They will point to the university's actual participation in such "non-objective" secular pursuits as I.D.A. involvement, C.I.A. collaboration, extensive real estate holdings, and scientific research in biological warfare. They will insist, with cogency of their own, that the university is relevant only to the degree that it balances objective, rational analysis with moral engagement in the life of a society.

And finally, they will point out that because the author abstracts much of his analysis of student unrest from those social and political and spiritual problems which have brought the barricades into full view of the public, he is open to the charge of question begging. For example, he refuses to consider the student charge that higher education is exploitative (p. 48) because it trains human beings to take their places in a society which is basically unresponsive to human needs. Frankel asserts that such a hypothesis—that the fundamental purposes of the society are immoral and corrupt—is a proposition he need not examine. Many students feel that this is precisely what he should be discussing, and unless he does, he is simply unable to understand the impact which such a realization has on student radicals. A recent article by George Kennan has been bitterly denounced by student respondents on just this point. And the popularity of radical thinkers such as Marcuse, Goodman, Fromm, and C. W. Mills can be explained partially by their systematic and honest criticism of American life, and by their willingness to go beyond the tired tenets of an obsolete liberal faith in the American way of life.

It is this last charge which writers such as Frankel and Kennan must confront. Because, regardless of the perspicacity of their formal analyses of student unrest, and in spite of their eloquence in defending the democratic system, if students are convinced that the social fabric is rotten to the core (because it no longer responds to the person but only to the functionary and technician who embrace the system), then reasoned analysis will be an exercise in futility. There will continue to be an ever-growing proportion of students who will advocate social improvement through radical and revolutionary means. What is most regrettable about Frankel's essay is that the very people he would most like to influence will be those who are most convinced that, in constructing and defending the case for the modern university, he has ignored the case for modern man.

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Essentials of Learning: An Overview for Students of Education

Robert M. W. Travers. New York: MacMillan, 1967.

In his preface to this ambitious undertaking, Travers writes: "If teaching is the chosen profession, the student may be expected to include in his background a familiarity with those aspects of psychology that have the most direct bearing on problems of education. That aspect which impinges most directly is the psychology of learning" (p. v). And, indeed, what could be more reasonable? Education involves learning, and if we know something about learning, then we would know something about teaching.

Unfortunately, the word "learning" has more than one meaning. In the context of the *psychology of learning*, "learning" refers to a body of research and theorizing about the formation, strengthening, and weakening of stimulus-response or stimulus-stimulus associations. In the context of the practical enterprise of education, the word "learning" means a great deal more than that, as well it should. It includes, among other things, socialization, intellectual and cognitive development, and the acquisition of selected areas of knowledge. While the basic principles of learning, in the traditional sense, may underlie these processes (just as some kind of neuro-chemical process must underlie simple stimulus-response learning), it may be a misconception to treat the psychology of learning as basic to educational concerns. One can be brutal and argue that they may not even be relevant to educational concerns.

Travers does not entertain this argument. He feels that laboratory research conducted over the last five decades in the traditional area of learning has had, and will continue to have, important implica-

tions for education. I would not deny that such research may have implications for education, but I would argue that the case for educational relevance has yet to be made convincingly. I might also argue that research in the psychology of development, socialization and language may have as much or more relevance for education than does research in learning theory.

These comments concerning educational relevance are not intended as a critique of Travers' text, but rather as cautions to the reader and to the prospective instructor of educational psychology courses. The psychology of learning should certainly be included in any educational psychology curriculum, if only to convey to the prospective teacher the limitations of learning theory in the context of educational settings. Travers, to his credit, cannot be faulted on these grounds. He is well aware of the enormous gap between learning theory and educational practice, and of the difficulties involved in designing teaching methods. Travers does, however, fail to consider the possibility that traditional learning theory cannot, in principle, have very much to say about the kinds of learning that may be most important in the classroom. On the one hand, a theory of learning may be analogous to a theory of nerve conduction, or of the neurochemical bases of the memory trace. All three may represent sophisticated scientific treatments of important phenomena, and, at the same time, be inapplicable to the more complex activities of the classroom. No one would even think of applying neurophysiological principles to the design of teaching methods, and it may be the case that a sophisticated theory of learning may be similarly inapplicable, at least in any direct way. On the other hand, learning theory, in the traditional sense, may just be a dead end, a noble, even brilliant, but unsuccessful attempt to deal with even the most molecular forms of learning. In the light of the tremendous amount of time and energy that has been devoted to the psychology of learning since the 1930's, this thought is not very pleasant, but ignoring it in no way affects its potential truth value.

Even a cursory survey of contemporary psychology reveals a general disenchantment with traditional learning theory and a trend toward information-processing approaches to the study of learning, memory, attention, language learning, and cognition. It seems to me that a text in educational psychology should reflect this fundamental change in the complexion of contemporary psychology. Travers' book deals primarily with traditional learning theory and reflects the *zeitgeist* in American psychology and education prevalent through the 1950's. How does it deal with the advances of the 1960's?

One index to this is the temporal distribution of bibliographic references. Herbert Klausmeier, in a thoughtful review of Travers' text in the November 1968 issue of *Contemporary Psychology*, points out that 25 percent of all references listed were published

before 1950, about 57 percent between 1950 and 1959, and only 18 percent thereafter. This, in itself, is not necessarily important. What is important for a book of this kind is, how are materials of the past decade treated? To my mind, they are treated superficially or they are omitted entirely. Language learning receives less than one full page in the 500-page text, and it is treated, in essence, as an example of instrumental learning: "Just as the rat learns that pressing a lever results in the appearance of food, so too does the young child learn that the surest way of obtaining some desired object . . . is to use the word *please*" (p. 16). To add that "the development of more complex linguistic skills *may well* [italics mine] involve other processes too" doesn't particularly help the reader when nothing else is ever said about the possible nature of such other processes.

The most likely effect of this kind of treatment of complex issues is to mislead and confuse the reader. What, for example, could a student learn from Travers' one-page treatment of mathematical models and learning curves? Travers presents a plot of predicted and obtained data, comments on the exceptionally good fit, mentions that cases with poorer fits could be presented, and says nothing about either the theory or the data represented by the graph. The only lesson that could be learned is that observed data can sometimes be fit to mathematically derived theoretical curves. The student who says "so what?" can scarcely be blamed for coming away feeling utterly indifferent or confused. Equally superficial treatments are accorded to cognitive development, to process-models of learning and memory, and to the vast body of recent research and theory on mediational processes in discrimination and concept learning. The relative neglect of this latter area is surprising when one considers that it represents a direct line of development from traditional learning theory.

In a very real sense, the evaluation presented here is grossly unfair because it is based upon omissions. Travers explicitly chose to present and defend a set of propositions concerning learning theory and education. As Klausmeier (1968) notes, Travers feels that the laws of learning are developed in laboratory settings rather than in school settings, that these laws are primarily associative and that they provide the basis for educational practice, and that traditional learning research has had and will continue to have general implications for education. If these propositions are valid, then Travers' book is one of the better texts in educational psychology. The material is presented clearly and thoughtfully. It is also presented with an informed appreciation of the problems of generalizing from psychological theory to educational problems and practices. Travers even manages to compile a list of sixty-six generalities which he considers to be useful in understanding and influencing classroom management. One is tempted to respond to this act of intellectual courage by recalling a comment originally applied to a dog who

could walk on his hind legs: "The remarkable thing is not that he does it poorly or well, but rather that he does it at all!" The list, and the book taken on its own terms, is done very well. Any instructor who shares Travers' assumption that traditional learning theory is central to a science and technology of human learning will find this text perfectly suited to his needs. For the instructor who does not share in this view, the book is woefully out of date and will therefore be a source of profound dissatisfaction.

Sam Glucksberg
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The Teaching-Learning Process

James L. Kuethe. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967.

One is assailed by daily reports of protests and violent emotions directed at school curricula and administrations. The cry is for better education. A cry that echoes across generations.

What is it then that puts the angry shouts in the forefront of the mass media?

It would appear that there are two components in the protest movement that have aroused the tension-weary public, forcing them to come to grips with problems of education in a way that heretofore has been reserved for international, financial or political crises.

One element is the protester himself. No longer is it the educator, nor even concerned parents who implore the system to provide more efficient learning. Now, it is the student himself who raises his voice to say "teach me what I want to learn!" The second element is incorporated in this request to learn that which he is interested in, not what is imposed by authorities or curricula.

The implications for the teacher are overwhelming, particularly for the beginner who is just entering the teaching profession. It is most fortunate that James L. Kuethe's book *The Teaching-Learning Process* has appeared at this time. For in this power-packed short book the teacher can learn how to make material meaningful and how to motivate the students to want to learn beyond the point of bare necessity and immediate gratification.

Kuethe discusses the unique relationship between teachers and their students. In his own words "to study what is known about the teaching-learning process, not in order to formulate mandates, but rather to seek guides and explore the possibilities that one practice will produce better results than another."

To begin with, he defines teaching as "causing people to learn" while learning is "that process by which behavior changes as a result of experience." The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the

various learning theories and some of the controversies emanating from them. This chapter proves to be the weakest in the book, perhaps because it is well nigh impossible to do justice to the ideas on learning from Aristotle to the present in less than 20 pages. The reader does become acquainted, however, with terminology and concepts which become crucial in the latter parts of the book.

It should be noted here and much to Kuethe's credit that he espouses no particular theory. Rather, he shows how empirical knowledge resulting from tests of the theoretical positions in conjunction with educational values can be used to produce educational principles. He raises the question as to what type of experience will result in the student learning what the teacher wants him to learn. Kuethe uses the rest of the book to present four answers: 1) making material meaningful and readily transferable; 2) the use of the principles of reinforcement; 3) increasing motivation; 4) varying teaching methods.

Meaningful material is distinguished by being familiar and associated with facts already understood. The author presents a number of specific ways in which the teacher can help make material meaningful, such as presenting it in the framework of a general schema or plan. In addition, the teacher can stress the relatedness of the new material to the old or have the student discover concepts himself through the means of induction. One of the ways to assess that the teaching has been meaningful is to test for transfer, that is, to look for signs of learning in new contexts. As the book points out, education is based on the assumption that what is learned in the classroom can be utilized outside of school as well. It is made clear that the teacher cannot expect spontaneous transfer to occur but rather must teach for transfer. Students need experience and practice in generalizing what they have learned. To this end, Kuethe instructs the teacher as to what her role should be for optimum transfer to occur.

Throughout the teaching-learning relationship, the teacher uses rewards to shape behavior. The detailed discussion of schedules of reinforcement is one of the highlights of the book and warrants being read assiduously. The intimate relationship between rewards and motivation is underscored in the discussion of the thorny problem of discovering what factors are useful in directing the learner's attention to the right goals (i.e., those valued by the teacher). Kuethe points out that an understanding of the basic needs of the student is essential and he also presents an explanation of the results of conflict situations which raise touchy issues like fear of failure, competition and need for peer approval.

Throughout the book the implication is that the teacher must be flexible and ever on the alert as to the emotional reactions of the students. The import of this approach comes into particularly sharp focus in the section on teaching methods. The teacher of today has

at her disposal both the traditional methods, such as lecture and discussion, as well as the specialized techniques brought into the school through modern technology (i.e., closed circuit T.V.; teaching machines). To assist in the choice of method the author lists eight fundamental requirements of good technique and he presents a chart of probable performance relative to these requirements for each method. For the new teacher this chart should prove indispensable.

In sum, *The Teaching-Learning Process* is a book relevant to our times that is directed to the classroom setting regardless of the ages of the students. For the beginning teacher it is especially pertinent. In addition, the book should prove to be intriguing to all educators who must grapple with the problems of youth in our highly technological society.

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Social Studies through Problem Solving: A Challenge to Elementary Teachers

Maxine Dunfee and Helen Sagl. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966.
386 pp.

The authors have collaborated in teaching the social studies methods course at the same institution for several years. This collaboration gives the text a synthesis and harmony in style, tone and philosophy. Each chapter opens with an actual situation in the classroom of a Mrs. Johnson which is pertinent to the theme of that chapter. For example, Chapter 7, "Constructing and Processing to Solve Problems," begins with a description of the children in Mrs. Johnson's room constructing telegraph keys, linoleum blocks, etc. There is an abundance of examples in the procedures and of techniques of problem solving which contain validity and reality.

The core of the text revolves about the definition that "the essence of social studies is human relationships" (p. 2). This definition of the social studies is transferred into classroom organization through an "area of learning." This term the authors believe is less confusing than the word unit. The ingredients for an area of learning are based on what the American child is, how he fits into our modern society, and what demands are expected of him. The first seven chapters give information, suggestions and explanations as to how an area of learning is organized. There are excellent diagrams throughout the text illustrating the relationships and organization of the various components in problem solving situations. However, nowhere do the authors spell out the specific structured strategy of an area of learn-

ing. They believe a problem-solving situation is an ever-changing growing embryo.

There is a good background summary of the classical studies curriculum organizations (p. 312) of Miel and Stratemeyer, Hanna, Brogan, *et al.* The final chapter (13) gives a precise and clear account of the newer programs and approaches to the social studies, in which, claim the authors "lies something more solid, more deeply dimensional than the mere accumulation of information" (p. 317).

Generally the approach taken by the authors to the social studies is rational and scholarly. For example, "Why does a community have to have a policeman?" A great number of children associate policemen with the cry of "Pig, Pig, Pig," the roar of a mob, the sight of flailing night sticks, the thump of tear gas, grenades, the strained voice of an announcer. Perhaps some areas of the social studies should "tell it like it is;" militant students, militant parents. Such burning issues as content concerning the Afro-American, a social studies program for the inner city child, are omitted. One page only is devoted to the skill of critical thinking.

The value of the text lies in its clear explanation of how teachers involve children in the implementation of the problem-solving approach to learning and in its insistence that the social sciences be used as the strategy for such problem solving.

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Children's Writing: A Sampler for Student Teachers

David Holbrook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. 234 pp. \$2.95 (paper).

In *The Exploring Word* (Cambridge, 1967), David Holbrook described a training program for prospective English teachers that emphasized the need for teachers to respond positively to children's needs and interests as revealed through their writing. *Children's Writing* is a handbook containing more than eighty exercises in the analysis of creative and expository student writing. The British children whose work is included in the book range in age from ten to fifteen years; they are roughly the equivalent of American students in grades seven through ten. The exercises ask the reader to respond to the child's writing, describing the meaning he finds in it and explaining how he would talk to and work with the student. Holbrook's "Notes" at the end of the book present his own analyses, but he emphasizes that there are no "right" answers in such work and encourages the reader to gain confidence in his own interpretations.

Holbrook wants the prospective teacher to have a look at the kinds of papers he will probably receive from children when he begins teaching. Too often, he suggests, new teachers are so shocked by the appearance, mechanics, and usage in children's papers that they lose all ability to respond positively. For this reason Holbrook has reproduced a number of papers "in facsimile," complete with blots, misspellings, and illegible handwriting, and one section of the book is devoted to the art of "deciphering" children's manuscripts.

But appearance is only part of the problem that *Children's Writing* attacks. Holbrook feels that making an adequate response to student work is not easy for most adults. For many years English teachers in Great Britain (and in the United States) have been obsessed with correctness in composition. Teaching writing has often been little more than schooling students in the conventions of clear, dignified prose by showing them how their own writing lacks the desired characteristics. Most adults, who are products of the existing system, are linguistic purists of a sort; their inclination is to attack problems of form and correctness first, and they tend to ignore the content—the real meaning—in children's work. Coupled with the fact that adults are distant from the child's world because of age and maturity; this makes it difficult for them to respond meaningfully.

Holbrook does not dismiss correctness entirely, but he does state that writing has a much more important function in the English class: it allows the student to "explore the world by words," using language—the symbol making process—to deal with his subjective and objective experiences. To Holbrook the personal growth and development of the child is vastly more important than his skill in using correct forms. "It is . . . awe-inspiring," he states, "to find how full of energy, how unique, and how positive each child can be in exploring his experience by words."

The basic response, Holbrook says, is for the teacher to be "amused, delighted, and entertained" and to communicate this pleasure to the student. "Once the child sees this," he adds, "the teacher gets even more!" Holbrook is not advocating a flabby positivism, and he would criticize the teacher who was merely flattering children by praising their work indiscriminately. He insists that the teacher's positive response must be to writing that is good. He adds, however, that in virtually any paper a child submits, the teacher can find genuinely good writing; perhaps it will be only a phrase, a single image, or a rhythmic sentence, but the teacher must learn to see it and to respond to it. Often, he feels, the best in children's writing will reflect the times when they are most honestly and deeply engaged in exploring their own experience.

In each of the eight chapters of the book Holbrook suggests particular aspects of children's work that a teacher needs to see. A key chapter deals with "Symbolism in Children's Writing," where he suggests that the teacher ought to be able to treat a child's work as he

would a piece of literature, seeing and interpreting its conscious and subconscious symbolism. There are, of course, potential dangers in such analysis. Children are *not* professional writers, and it is quite possible that the zealous teacher may "over-interpret" his students' work, finding meanings that "aren't there." Holbrook is aware of the danger, suggesting that "any discussion of symbolism in children's writing tends to give the misleading impression that all children's utterance is like Blake." But at times Holbrook himself develops elaborate interpretations based on what seems to be rather slim evidence.

Nevertheless it is important to note that these analyses are not for the purpose of supplying therapy. Rather, Holbrook sees them as a way of discovering the child's interests, and in that way he directs the child to literature—poems, stories, and novels—that will help him expand and extend his experience. (This approach—from writing *to* reading—is in itself significant, quite the reverse of our existing curricula where literary works are chosen well in advance of the arrival of the students, and the students write about the literary content of books rather than about themselves.)

A section on "'Sincerity' and 'Realism'" helps the teacher separate the honest exploration of experience from the "insincere" and the perfunctory. Holbrook's discussion of students' papers seems generally sound, but he is too quick to condemn the students for lapses in sincerity. As often as not, it seems to me, insincerity results from a "bad" writing assignment, one that students execute to keep the teacher mollified. When insincerity appears, Holbrook needs to look more closely at the circumstances of the assignment, and he should ask whether it isn't the teacher (rather than the student) who has destroyed the teacher-student relationship.

The remaining chapters present problems in observing directness in "concrete" (descriptive) writing, in dealing with the "human problems" that often emerge in highly personal writing, in discovering and remedying the influences of "pop and pulp culture," and in responding to children's fiction and their oral and dramatic work.

As a handbook *Children's Writing* is meant to be mulled over at length rather than to be read in an evening or two. It does achieve its purposes, and the student teacher who works through the exercises should be much better equipped to "see" his students' work. In many respects it is unfortunate that Holbrook addressed the book to "student teachers." Thousands of experienced teachers of English in this country would be pleased enough to discard the "correctness approach" if they knew of any other way to "evaluate" their students' work. *Children's Writing* offers such an alternative and is a useful resource for experienced teachers no less than it is for pre-service undergraduates.

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A Teacher Is Many Things

Earl V. Pullias and James D. Young. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. 295 pp. \$6.95.

More and more, as we attempt to improve the teaching-learning process, research reminds us that the critical point of enactment is in the classroom. From slum school in the inner city to the rarefied atmosphere of the Ivy League college, "all that I am and hope to be" is shaped dramatically by the teachers encountered along the way.

For this reason, both educators and concerned laymen should welcome *A Teacher is Many Things*, a rewarding new book which spells out the many-splendored role open to the man or woman who chooses teaching as his profession. Written by Earl V. Pullias, professor of education at the University of Southern California, and James D. Young of California State College at Fullerton, it reflects the rich, varied backgrounds and perspectives of its authors.

Teachers, they tell us, are indeed many "things," yet not in the I-it sense that Buber deplores. Rather, to list but a few of the facets explored creatively in these pages, they are inspirers of vision, counsellors, guides, and evaluators. The "doer of routine" is but a minute part of the whole person who must be brought to the relationship between teacher and student. In one sense teaching is "as various, as unpredictable" as the love affair May Sarton called it; in a profounder sense, Pullias and Young point out, it is a friendship that must include sensitivity and concern for both the learner and what must be learned.

A Teacher is Many Things is composed of 24 essays, each of which could stand alone. But the sum is greater than its parts. Perhaps because it was written cooperatively rather than as a collaboration, style varies (although quality is constant) from literary, allusive prose to practical, down-to-earth "how-to's." Rather than being disturbed at shifting gears in mid-allusion, one comes away feeling that this technique may well epitomize the essence of good teaching—an imaginative interaction between what Dr. Pullias has called its sacred and its profane aspects.

T. S. Eliot asks wistfully:

Where is the life we have lost in living?

Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?

Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?

Much of it has been recaptured in this book which is must reading for all who share concern about what good teachers can and must be.

Eleanor Blumenberg
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Los Angeles

Rich Schools, Poor Schools

Arthur Wise. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread. Anatole France

When political and social realities seem to progress along their own course without reference to "good people" or "good ideas," it is hard to know just how useful any new book can be, and, to make one more skeptical, *Rich Schools, Poor Schools* is more about ideas than about reality. This conscientiously argued book is an attempt to examine, in the light of Supreme Court Decisions concerning related matters, "whether the absence of equal educational opportunity within a state, as evidenced by unequal per-pupil expenditures, may constitute a denial by the state of the equal protection of its laws." According to the author, such an investigation stems from his concern with differences in educational opportunity throughout the country which relate largely to the wealth of the tax base of local communities. However, except for one brief chapter summarizing data on school expenditures, Mr. Wise stays very much within the realms of legal and educational philosophizing.

The reader is led step by step in history through Supreme Court decisions regarding racial equality in education, the rights of indigent criminals (or, from the state's viewpoint, its obligation to provide equal legal protection to all citizens), and voter equality, including both the issue of the poll tax and that of ensuring one-man-one-vote. What is interesting about this historical review, as much as the line of argument which Wise draws from it, is the overwhelming sense one gets of changes in the Court's attitudes toward specific issues and its willingness to find constitutional bases for legislation.

Using more recent and progressive Court decisions, Wise draws three alternative arguments, any of which, he feels, might be chosen by the Supreme Court if it were to question the constitutionality of differences in educational funding on the basis of the wealth of local districts. The arguments run:

Discrimination in education on account of race is unconstitutional. Discrimination in criminal proceedings on account of poverty is unconstitutional. Therefore, discrimination in education on account of poverty is unconstitutional.

Discrimination in education on account of race is unconstitutional. Discrimination in legislative apportionment on account of geography is unconstitutional. Therefore, discrimination in education on account of geography is unconstitutional.

Discrimination in education on account of race is unconstitutional. Discrimination in voting on account of poverty is unconstitutional. Therefore, discrimination in education on account of poverty is unconstitutional.

From one point of view, *Rich Schools, Poor Schools* is an exercise in legal fantasizing and, not surprisingly, on the basis of past decisions alone, Wise feels that a case regarding equal educational expenditures might well receive a favorable decision by the Supreme Court.

Having made this breakthrough, however, another theoretical question arises: how is "equal educational expenditures" to be judged by the Court? Again, Wise takes the reader through a well articulated and comprehensive review of the various definitions of equality of educational opportunity. There is, for example, the "negative" definition which says only that "equality of educational opportunity does not depend upon a [child's] parent's economic circumstances or his location within the state"; the "full opportunity" definition which states that "every person is to be given full opportunity to develop his abilities to their limit"; the "foundation" definition which ensures each child a minimum expenditure; the "levelling" definition which asserts that resources should be allocated in inverse proportion to students' abilities; and the "competitive" definition which, on the contrary, assumes that expenditures should be proportionate to students' abilities to succeed. Wise assumes that, for the sake of expediency, the Court would probably stick to the negative definition—a decision which he admits would still leave districts wide latitude in policy making and dispersal of funds.

If it is possible to combine scholarly objectivity with naiveté, then Mr. Wise has wrought this combination into a book whose very strengths are also weaknesses. With utter seriousness, Wise reproduces legal as well as educational jargon at its face value. The several possible interpretations of educational equality are examined as if they were on the same plane; and Wise totally misses, for example, the racist implications of the "competition" definition, or the myriad of inequalities which might result from the equal-dollar-per-pupil "foundation" definition.

While it is not considered fair to criticize a book for what it did not set out to do, the omission of any confrontation with what is happening in education and politics gives the book an unreal tone. We have here a brief, ready to go, should the Supreme Court decide to take up the matter of equal educational opportunity based on geography or income. In the meantime, indigent defendants—and particularly those of minority groups—face discrimination in court proceedings as much as ever, despite such state-sponsored groups as legal aid. Legislation to stop gerrymandering has still not made it possible for Black, Puerto Rican or other minority communities to voice their interests. In fact, the voting system itself has come under

serious question by white middle-class citizens as even they feel themselves increasingly unrepresented at local, state and national levels. And the new move toward decentralization and community control in urban school systems is a pessimistic response to the fact that the schools have made almost no move toward desegregation. It has even been noted in New York State, for instance, that the City of New York, with all its special funding for compensatory education, still receives per-pupil expenditures significantly below those received by rural communities in the state. Finally, any projection of what an organization might do becomes significantly less meaningful if the participants of that organization or the climate in which it operates are not taken into account. *Rich Schools, Poor Schools* (perhaps because it was written almost three years ago) maintains the traditional faith in the Supreme Court as an instrument of liberalism and positive change. Meanwhile, recent turnovers in Supreme Court judges and alterations in the role considered valid for the Court to assume make one pessimistic about it assuming such a role in the near future.

Carol Lopate
*Teachers College,
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Nongrading in the Elementary School

John L. Tewksbury. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1967.

The author should indeed be credited for writing a book that establishes the basic tenets of nongrading in the elementary school so that the practicing school man who is in the process of developing a sensible, workable rationale with his staff and his community can successfully make the transfer to nongrading and/or upgrading a school.

Realistically the author faces "what is" in the typical public school with its pre-planned, subject-centered program and proceeds to delineate a number of ways in which the school can meet the individual differences of its children through practicing nongrading, even in the traditional building where the physical plant, curriculum pattern and staff attitude presents somewhat of an inflexible situation.

The student and practicing educator will find the chapter entitled "The Nongraded Movement in Perspective" an interesting historical thumbnail sketch of the development of the elementary school from the one room school (where a degree of nongrading was practiced) to the schools of today. The contributions of Search, Burk and Washburn to break the lockstep method of teaching and to individualize instruction are emphasized. Reference, too, is made

to the work of John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson and to the Progressive Education and the mental health movements in creating a climate of thought which is favorable to the non-graded approach. Included is a series of check points that support the advantages of a nongraded program where each child works at his own level of readiness that enables him to obtain a feeling of success. The author answers the question(s) that teachers and administrators raise about what research says about the relative merits of nongrading compared with the graded structure when he analyzes the research completed on nongrading and states that most studies to date have attempted to evaluate children's performance in skill subjects; that the lack of control of such variables as graded types of teaching, methods of assigning children to classes, and little or no attempt by the researchers to specify the instructional practices necessary to qualify either type of program in a comparative study negate the results; that few attempts have been made to investigate such important factors as children's self-concepts, attitudes toward learning and level of self-reliance, and that until adequate research is provided, it is premature to judge the value of nongrading on the basis of existing studies. Notwithstanding the fact that there is the lack of bona-fide evidence in the work of the researcher in attempting to make valid comparisons between the nongraded program and the graded program, the author points out that the principal weakness of the graded plan is found in that it does not provide for children's individual differences in growth rates and learning capacities while a nongraded program is one in which an attempt is made to work with children at their own levels and thus fits very well with the way children really are.

In comparing the graded and nongraded plans, Dr. Tewksbury ably supports his contention that in actual practice the typical graded school of today is not fully graded and contains some nongraded practices as sub-group instruction for reading, and that there are few, if any, schools that are completely nongraded.

He develops three principal ways of taking a child from where he is in each subject and helping him work at his own level: (1) providing multi-level instruction in self-contained heterogeneous groups; (2) assigning children to self-contained classrooms according to performance and then providing instruction from one class to the next of different levels of difficulty; (3) regrouping large groups of children from time to time during the day or week to form classes that work under the direction of different teachers. The author carefully analyzes such criticisms of the levels plan that it is: (1) nothing more than a system of inter-classroom achievement grouping; (2) a graded program in disguise; (3) not a plan that provides adequately for individual differences; (4) pre-planned, reducing opportunities for learning based on emergent situations; (5) a plan that may deter teachers from integrating work in skill subjects

and content; (6) a plan that places too much attention on the skill subjects and a de-emphasis of other parts of the curriculum. His succinct response to these criticisms stresses the fact that the levels plan is a flexible one that can be modified to satisfy local needs; that it has been found to be a workable one in many nongraded schools.

Many educators will find "the heart" of the book in the chapters that relate to the dynamics of nongrading in the elementary school: "Teaching Procedures in a Nongraded Program, The Levels Plan of Curriculum Organization in Nongraded Schools, Assigning Children to Teachers in Nongraded Schools."

Valuable suggestions are given of how to affect levels of instruction in such skill subjects as arithmetic, reading, spelling and handwriting. Curriculum content areas as social studies and science, which usually are not divided into levels, are seen as vehicles that provide opportunities for children of diverse abilities to work together on various topics, functional skill building concept development and democratic procedure being the concomitants to enable the pupils to gain deeper insights into man's basic social activities.

Assignment of children and checking their progress in a nongraded program is of paramount importance to the administrator, staff, children and parents. Five diagrams illustrating different ways this can be done, coupled with full explanations and a word of caution that the diagrams are not exact blueprints and that local conditions might necessitate variations, give the school planners positive guidelines to organize and direct the program. Team teaching is seen as the handmaiden of the nongraded school.

While it is one thing to embrace the philosophy of nongrading, it is quite another to expect teachers to produce materials that meet the individualized needs of their pupils. This book included a number of specific sources of commercial materials to use with the children that allow for differentiated approaches in techniques of teaching and differences in children's progress. It is richly documented with footnotes and a selected bibliography with annotations that can be helpful to the "on-the-job" schoolman, the student and the teacher of college courses.

Some might criticize the author for not having included a description of a number of schools that actually are operating a non-graded program, and could be, perhaps, a source to emulate. In my judgment, however, it is the intent of the author to help teachers and administrators to understand the nature of non-grading so that they, functioning as a team, could develop a set of criteria that will enable them to plan a curriculum blueprint of nongrading that fits their specific needs.

Stanley W. McKee
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"... Where Angels Fear to Tread"

Peter A. Taylor
University of Manitoba

In recent years, evaluative behaviors have been reasoned to consist of two major sets of activities, namely description and judgment.¹ Researchers have continued to unearth and writers to acknowledge the multiplicity and multidimensionality of the outcomes of the educative process. It is the complexity of the outcomes of education which is one of the main causes of the difficulties surrounding the collection and use of data and which has increased the numbers of decisions required of the evaluator. In view of the mass of actual and potential data at the call of the educational evaluator, it is essential to be able to ask what, out of that mass, is admissible evidence for a given evaluative undertaking. The evaluator must be able to reach a decision as to what will be meaningful for a given venture among all the many pieces of information that he might seek, and as to what is appropriate among all the different techniques and methodologies for data-collection that he might use.

The Problem of Meaning Clearly, the crux of meaning as distinct from significance rests in what constitutes admissible evidence. A meaningful statement is one that is amenable to truth analysis, that is, is capable of a truth evaluation. If what is asserted by a statement can be known to be true, and is true, then that statement is undeniably meaningful; or, if what is asserted is false and can be known to be false, then that statement is a meaningful one by virtue of its falsification. And it is the function of critical philosophy to determine whether or not statements are subject either to verification or to falsification. Should a given statement prove to be neither verifiable or falsifiable, nor true by its purely logical status, then it has no meaning.

1 See Lee J. Cronbach, "Course Improvement through Evaluation," *Teachers College Record*, 64, 1963, pp. 672-683; Peter A. Taylor and Thomas O. Maguire, "A Theoretical Evaluation Model," *Manitoba Journal of Educational Research*, 1, 1966, pp. 12-17; Robert E. Stake, "The Countenance of Educational Evaluation," *Teachers College Record*, 68, 1967, pp. 523-539.

Professor Taylor's philosophic critique of evaluative behaviors continues a discussion which began seven years ago in The Record. Before evaluators go too far, he suggests, they should confront the problem of what constitutes admissible evidence, the limits of measurement itself, the social nature of practical truth, and the role of personal value-experiences in affecting descriptions of a "world." He calls, in sum, for greater attention to goals and instrumentation, both of which require evaluation. He hopes to see educational evaluators working in teams and becoming clearer about meanings, more thoughtful in making judgments, more critical of objectives. The controversy goes on "where angels fear to tread."

Admissible evidence now becomes that which is allowed by the rules of critical analysis. Both positivists and empiricists have generally admitted two types of evidence: evidence in the usual sense of observation, sense-perception, reports and the like; and evidence that results from the legitimate use of a language according to the rules of its particular grammar. Thus a statement can be meaningful if it correctly reports some empirical state of affairs (the width of a piece of wire, the indicator reading of a galvanometer), or if it is logically true (that is, given certain definitions and rules of manipulation, valid conclusions will result from application of the rules). In other words, if a statement asserts an empirical state of affairs, and data either actually or potentially exist such that communicants can agree as to whether or not that state of affairs obtains, then that statement can be given meaning by virtue of its verification or falsification. And statements may also be meaningful if they follow an argument within some set of prescribed rules even though the specific referents of the statements are unknown or unrealizable. For example: given that X implies Y , then from X we conclude Y , regardless of whether or not there is anything in the real world for which either X or Y stands.

Thus, insofar as we are a positivist or an empiricist, two classes of statements have meaning: empirical ones which are meaningful by virtue of their being empirically true or false, and logical ones, which are meaningful by virtue of their following a set of prescribed rules for construction and inference. At a first glance, these criteria for meaningfulness are straightforward, and are indeed as old as empiricism itself. To ask for the meaningfulness of a statement one need only apply the criteria of meaning. Observation-based statements, reports of evidence, instrument readings, descriptions of apparatus or methods, and physical stimulus conditions are meaningful, as are the arguments of logic and mathematics. Statements that are not reducible to data or to a purely logical format are not meaningful. Philosophically, this implies that the metaphysics that spawned such terms as "essence," "the soul," "the id," and so forth, and, interestingly enough, even words like "atom" when it was first used, was largely evoking nonsense, except perhaps insofar as it directed the attention of scholars in the field.

So far as meaning is concerned, some words are not at all problematic: conventional definitions, connectives and articles, for examples. However, those words or collections of words which purport to signify some thing in the universe, or some state of affairs, or some activity, can give rise to problems if unequivocal rules for designating their referents are not available. Within the behavioral sciences, for example, it is clear immediately that some words are unambiguous. Words which describe a piece of apparatus, or a subject's overt behavior (the S is "turning the page," "running to the paint jar") are readily

understood. Such words symbolize phenomena which all of us can witness. If a question of usage arises, the case in doubt can be presented directly to a panel of judges who have not only had a dictionary-definition available, but who can experience the phenomenon to which the word is to refer. But suppose we consider a simple experiment. Suppose we ask a child to respond to a set of color-discs with the appropriate name: thus when we show him a red disc, he says "red," when we show him a green disc he says "green," and so on. The results are unequivocal: the subject names all the colors correctly. If we repeat this "experiment" with other children, and presuming that none are color-blind or so young as not to have had any experience in naming colors, we get unanimous agreement in naming the colors. We may then conclude (by way of a generalization) that under the prevailing conditions, the children perceive the colors correctly.

Now notice the not-too-subtle change. We have changed from "name" the colors correctly to "perceive" the colors correctly. While we concentrated on the naming response, our experiment was a purely behavioral one. By changing to perceiving as the response, a semantic complication has arisen. If the phenomena we are reporting are those of the act of naming colors there is no ambiguity. It is a simple matter to correlate the actual color of the disc and the response given, and everyone (allowing for exceptions like color blindness) concurs in what is meant by our description. However, if we report that if a child says "red" when he is confronted by a red disc that he is "seeing" red, we are in an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, our description is of his discriminating colors; on the other hand, our description is of what he sees—but not having access to what he sees, there is no way for us to know if he used the response "I am seeing red" according to a dictionary definition. If this argument is tedious, it is none the less essential; when a child reports that he has a "sore tummy," what is it, precisely, that he is reporting? In dealing with the child, a parent will take him to a physician who will look for observable symptoms and make clinical inferences. To whom shall the evaluator run when his client complains of "dull textbooks"? How does he know where to look, and indeed what are "external symptoms"?

Towards Theory-Making

If science consisted of no more than the collection of publicly verifiable facts and the manipulation of logical grammars, it would be simple enough to be dogmatic as to what kinds of data are acceptable. For instance, if it were only a question of prescribing the limits for admissible data, then behavioral evidence is acceptable to the psychologist and evaluator, whereas reports taken to signify introspective states of consciousness are not, unless what we want to observe is stated re-

ports. Few scientists, if any, are content to merely collect data, however. And educational evaluators are—within the dual role ascribed to them—somewhat duty-bound to go beyond the accumulation of information. They, in common with other scientists, feel the need to interpret the data, to seek explanations, to construct theories. But theories are more than summaries of data and more than aids to calculation. Invariably they include statements which are neither purely logical nor purely empirical. They include hypothetical terminology which is only indirectly related to data. And it is here that the task of adjudicating meaning becomes complex. There is at least one class of scientific statements—namely, statements about hypothetical entities—which is problematic. No easy decision can be attained as to the semantic status of such statements, for they are neither purely logical nor purely empirical.

Another problem arises with respect to universal statements. Historically, scientists have attempted to construct lawlike descriptions of natural phenomena, relying largely on the processes of induction to discover these laws. The problem is: how are any lawlike statements to be accepted as meaningful if an empiricist criterion for meaning requires that such statements be reduced to signifying a finite set of empirical events? Here again the hypothesis-problem intrudes. Even in the field of logic, the system of formal argument has been questioned owing to our inability to establish consistency and completeness. The matter of completeness is a complicated philosophical issue, but briefly it means that within any logical system, any statement that may be expressed should be capable of either proof or disproof. The proof that it is impossible to establish completeness for logical systems has been with us since the early 1930's,² leaving us in an interesting quandary. It is possible in a logical system, such as simple arithmetic, to formulate true theorems for which no proof can be found; yet such theorems cannot be dismissed as nonsensical since they (usually) follow the rules of the logical system for forming meaningful statements.

For an empiricist, the alternative to absolute skepticism is evidential convergence. Scientists do not hesitate to acknowledge that Truth is beyond their reach: but acknowledging that, it becomes a spur to better and better approximations. Obviously, convergence is more assuring if it exists within some mathematical framework, whereby each new result lies inside a mathematical asymptote. But this is rarely the case. Each advance in knowledge sparks the flame of Truth, only to falter and die. Certainty is an unattainable end. Per-

² Kurt Gödel. *On Formally Undecidable Propositions of Principia Mathematica and Related Systems*. (Original, 1931. Translated by B. Meltzer.) London: Oliver Boyd, 1962.

haps this is the hardest pill for the scientist (and assuredly for the layman who wants “the” answer) to swallow. Yet he has to condition himself, for the philosophy of science is essentially a matter of choosing amongst alternative constructs and explanations without recourse to proof.

The Measurement Problem The problem doesn't end here. Exactly as there are conceptual limits to establishing meaning and approximating Truth, the evaluator must recognize that there are limits to measurement itself. Of course, we probably have nowhere in the behavioral sciences yet even approached a reasonable limit, but limits to measurement are something that should be remembered in establishing payoffs to evaluative activities.

Perhaps eighty years ago, when the system of ideas of what we now call “classical physics” had been established, most physicists believed that they had an essentially true picture of the world. All that remained to perfect the picture, they thought, was to paint in the close details and make minor corrections to the physical laws. For this it was necessary to increase the accuracy of quantitative observations, on the one hand by increasing the accuracy and sensitivity of instruments, on the other hand by a careful logical analysis of possible errors. In fact, the situation became such that a physicist who succeeded in measuring a physical constant (*sic*) with a new degree of precision would assure himself of recognition in academic life.

The classical physicists realized, of course, that the process of measuring necessarily involves a mutual interaction between the thing being measured and the measuring device, which must of necessity change the measured object. For example, when one uses a micrometer screw gauge to measure the thickness of a piece of wire, the instrument causes a slight depression in the material of the wire. Or if compression effects were considered serious, and the thickness were measured optically under a microscope, the use of a concentrated beam of light would heat the wire slightly and make it expand. Similarly, to measure an electric current, at least a fraction of it must pass through the galvanometer, and that alters the original value of the current. Examples like this could go on and on. Yet it seemed to the physicist that, by increasing the sensitivity of his measuring devices, he could reduce this interaction effect below any preordained level, and that in any case corrections for the interaction could be calculated as long as the interaction was of a lawful character itself.

Around the turn of this century, this and other basic problems in measurement began to become a great deal more involved, partly as an outcome of new

experimental techniques and partly as a result of new insights in the nature of physical laws themselves.

It is obvious that a physical quantity can be measured with accuracy only if it is precisely defined. Our discussion above should have made this clear. Consider the measurement of properties of a gas. Now according to the kinetic theory the laws governing the macroscopic behavior of a gas hold strictly only for systems consisting of a theoretically infinite number of molecules. In other words, macroscopic quantities such as temperature and pressure (and hence density) are defined as statistical averages over infinitely large numbers of molecular events. But any device for measuring such a quantity can do no more than record the outcome for a large but finite number of events: for instance a pressure gauge records the net result of a finite number of molecular impacts on its sensitive surface. Hence even the most perfect instrument could not give the true value of the quantity to be measured and repeated measurements will show irregular fluctuations due to the irregular thermal movement of the molecules—fluctuations which become more and more apparent as the sensitivity of the instrument increases. The Brownian movement, first described in 1827, is a perfect example of readily observed fluctuation in movement.

The recognition that there is no point in trying to increase the accuracy of measurement of such statistical quantities beyond the inherent statistical error came early this century. It was Einstein who pointed out that when we try to do so, we will encounter another difficulty. The internal movement of particles in the measuring device itself will produce irregular fluctuations in the readings, which increases with increased sensitivity and increasing temperature. In communication systems using electronic tubes to amplify weak signals, such fluctuations become apparent as background "noise." Clearly nothing can be gained in the performance of a receiver by increasing its sensitivity beyond the level at which fluctuations (noise) begin to exceed the strength of the signal itself.

In view of these facts the older ideas about the action of the measuring instrument on the thing being measured had also to be revised. Because of the Brownian motion of the measuring device this reaction has an irregular character and, therefore, it cannot be completely corrected by compensatory calculations. Even nuclear processes are irregular in character and cannot, therefore, be measured with complete accuracy. If we evoke quantum theory and the concept of "zero-point fluctuations," we might say that a particle performs a kind of drunken dance about its classical path. As a result the calculation of interactive effects of instrument and object to be measured can at best be at the probabilistic level. All this has been reduced by the physicist to the so-

called "uncertainty principle" which attempts to account for the indeterminacy of measurement by the quantum laws of motion.

If the physical science picture has been pointed to with some tedium, it has been with the hope that it will be realized that the evaluator should not be given, nor should he accept, the task of attempting to refine his measurement activities beyond the inherent statistical error. What this is will not always be obvious, or even knowable within a foreseeable future. But with the assurance that the statistical error associated with human endeavor is likely to be large, it is probably more effective for the evaluator to concentrate (as a first step) on evoking broadly descriptive measures than to expend effort on trying to obtain convergent truths. A suitable guide here will be to examine the literature related to the activities of behaviors he is measuring. If he can be assured that the effort of obtaining refined data is worthwhile, then he would probably want to do so. If the inherent error is large, then measurement effort should be so apportioned. Only as a subsequent stage might the evaluator be interested in generating "truth," in its generalized sense. The basic point is that if exact measurement is impossible in physics, it is likely to be impossible in behavioral science. The evaluator should temper his efforts to measure to the likelihood of reasonable payoff from those efforts.

The Social Nature of Acceptable Evidence It

should have become quite clear by now that functional, practical truth (acceptable evidence) is social—the truth of agreement—and that absolute truth is not available in the language of science. The question now is: who does the agreeing?

In a technical sense, it is some in-group that does the agreeing. An "in-group" is any group whose members share a unique set of attitudes, beliefs, and sources that set them apart from other groups. Conversely, an "out-group" is a group seen critically by the in-group, and that differs from the latter in some manner recognized by the in-group. Neither group in the grand course of events remains either "in" or "out": changing forces transmute the one into the other, and back again, through time. If it so happens that the opposition to the current "in-group" is strong, then the "in-group" sets up prejudicial barriers against the "out-group" and unconscious biases maintain and reinforce these barriers. The "out-group" responds with counter-prejudices, and so on. Sometimes over-enthusiastic innovators, who for a while find no opposition, create a fictitious "out-group" in order to find a source for feedback, and a stimulus to effort.

"In-groups" will often develop a special language of their own—new terms

that have only an immediate referent but which in due course become more widely accepted neologisms. A special language promotes "in-group" solidarity, and marks its members as different from the "out-group." Probably the best test of special languages is time: insofar as a new terminology survives, then so far can its contribution to communication be valued.

But to say that agreement is the sanction for truth is to do little more than to say that people will believe what they accept. There is, however, an element of respectability that enters here. Agreement is not easy to get, especially the agreement of a highly intelligent group of people. Still, the question remains: what are the conditions for accepting evidence in science?

On this question, there are two or three broadly relevant things to be said. First, scientific agreement means agreement *by scientists*, by persons trained to interpret empirical evidence and to see its implications. The approval of philosophers, of publishers and editors, of the politician, and the whole of the rest of the public constitutes nothing. Obviously, the reason evoked here for rejecting the opinion of the public and of untrained savants is that they do not know how to evaluate empirical evidence. Not only are they liable to misinterpret data (or be totally incapable of reading it), but they tend to put too much reliance on semantic representation—to assume that literary reports are self-validating.

This argument has its implications for the training of evaluators and for the operation of evaluators in the field. In the first place, the assertion is that evaluators—insofar as they wish to produce scientifically acceptable output—must be trained as scientists, trained to insist on the right kinds of data and trained to interpret it. Agreement amongst scientists means that more than one evaluator should be available. Now, since in many instances evaluators are asked to produce reports on events which are non-replicable (either in reality, due to the complex environment being nonreplicable or deliberately, since feedback is used to change the subsequent course of events), to ensure themselves that their evidence is scientifically admissible, it would seem essential to work in teams. Further, although they should be willing and able to call on social philosophers, on political, economic and lay opinion, they should always remember that wisdom in one field does not always transfer to another. The evaluator must establish, himself, the criteria for acceptable evidence, and take unto himself the responsibility for interpreting that evidence.

Second, the basic feature that distinguishes scientific observation from other empirical ways of observing Nature is *control*. The use of control is the scientist's way of protecting himself from bias, of protecting his inferences and conclusions from his own personal predilections. "Control" in its scientific sense means substituting a more conservative (and in this case, accurate) rela-

tive statement for an absolute one. At best, the scientist observes a difference between events, not a single event.

In this sense, not all prudent evaluative activity can be scientific. Control may be impractical (though rarely conceptually impossible). Political "science," economics, medicine and education all have frequently to act in the absence of evidence obtained under controlled conditions. Society is not always ready to use scientific method on all possible occasions: few of us can imagine parents being willing to hold their children out of school to act as a control group for some curriculum experiment.

A third, and briefer, point to make about the validation of scientific belief is the fairly obvious one that all evidence must be taken into account. Some years ago now, Lafleur (1951) made this point most dramatically in reviewing Velikovsky's *Worlds in Collision*. In an extended paper³ on the criteria of acceptable evidence, Lafleur points to the necessity for suspending judgment about a small inconsistency which contradicts a great mass of otherwise consistent information. Velikovsky, it will be recalled, attempted to throw overboard the whole of Newtonian mechanics in order to support the biblical story of creation. The question that Lafleur raised was: what substitute did Velikovsky have for Newtonian mechanics? Should physics abandon the more fully confirmed larger system in order to believe in a tiny, imperfectly plausible contradiction?

As far as evaluation is concerned, this conceptually "brief point"—taking all evidence into account—looms far larger. As has been pointed out constantly in this paper, the criteria for meaningful, scientific acceptance of data are not always possible to employ. And the evaluator usually wishes to be able to make some use of opinion and values (to which we shall presently turn). Here is a problem to which evaluators must pay more attention: what constitutes the full span of evidence? The answer will often come through the experimental establishment of contingencies: just as often it will have to come (at least in the meantime until new or better experimental techniques are available) through consensus. Just what antecedent data are relevant to curriculum evaluation, for instance? Should the evaluator press a child for information regarding his father's income? Is it "more important" to find out if he needs to wear spectacles than that he comes from a town with a population of 10,000 people? In what ways are "intents" to be described? It is currently quite impossible, even with all our electronic sophistication, to take "all evidence," including the notorious kitchen sink, into account. The evaluator must select, and do so on the most scientific basis he can. And at present there is a great deal to be done to help him make choices and decisions on the results of careful experiment.

³ L. J. Lafleur, "Cranks and Scientists," *Scientific Monographs*, 73, 1951, pp. 284-290.

The Problem of Valuing It can probably be agreed that the distinction between facts and values is no more than a distinction between two types of claims that may be differentiated by the kinds of scientific and logical evidence that support them. The distinction is not between a system of rational empirical inquiry and thought outside science. Value-free social science is beyond possibility. It is impossible because judgments as to the merit of explanations, theories, experiments, data and instrumentation are expressions of value and essential to any science. In the present context, values are an undesirable intrusion unless they are explicitly laid bare, since it is the role of the social sciences (and hence the evaluator as a practitioner of social science) to provide solutions for the resolution of social problems, and that requires specific recommendations, not just descriptions. Although they do not enter as a problem in the physical sciences (although they may in applications, such as nuclear warfare or birth control), moral value judgments are seen as essential in the social sciences⁴ and certainly enter as a major factor in the concerns of the evaluator. What kinds of rewards are acceptable to society in order to evoke certain responses? What kinds of punishment? Should the Bible be discussed in schools? Who should provide sex education?

A value is always an experience of a person. Crudely—for this “definition” will not stand too close a scrutiny—a value is used to refer to an experience that a person desires. What is valued (and here “value” can assume both positive and negative attributes) is the experience, some personal undergoing. The crucial point, however, is that the experiencing of value is not the valuing of experiences. When one evaluates, one is analyzing and co-relating sets of value-experience. Furthermore, evaluating finds one predisposed to some values and value-patterns. Even before an evaluator starts his consideration of value-experience, before he starts to formalize his procedures, he has an established set of behaviors that seek some experiences and avoid others.

Therefore, when he evaluates, the evaluator does not create the value-experiencings. He grades value-experiences in relation to each other, not only in terms of their “felt” qualities (or patterns of qualities) but also with regard to their internal consistency, their mutual coherence. But in grading, the evaluator is forced to move beyond his experiences themselves to a set of equally awkward facts about his psycho-physiological makeup in relation to what creates the value-experiences. The evaluating of value-experiences takes the evaluator beyond their immediately enjoyed quality (positive or negative)

⁴ Michael Scriven, “Value Claims in the Social Sciences” Mimeo. Social Sciences Education Consortium, 1966.

to some understanding of the preconditions within himself and outside him that produce the value-experiences. To evaluate, in this sense, is to establish an awareness (within the evaluator) of the causal relationships that exist within personal experiences and in the interaction of man and environment.

Thus, a value-pattern becomes a description of the world with man left in it: values relate the evaluator to the world. Evaluative activity requires of the evaluator the added ability to introspect and determine his own prejudices, to be able to tolerate and even seek opposing value-judgments.

Some Implications In an earlier paper with Maguire⁵ an evaluation model was proposed that effectively drew attention to the need for assessing congruences of outcomes to goals, and at the same time permitted acts of both formative and summative evaluation. Now I am calling for greater attention in evaluation to the evaluation of the goals themselves, and to instrumentation evaluation.

This is not a new call. The problems of meaning, of measurement and of values have been written about for centuries. But evaluators have tended not to heed the call—there have been other matters that have been more pressing, clients who wanted fairly quick answers, test data that was relatively easy to collect and obtain agreement on. Even some of the terminology has been used, but used in ways that bring solutions to problems other than those raised here. Cronbach,⁶ for example, uses "meaning" in the sense of "attitudes"; Stake⁷ uses "judgments" to cover a series of activities from the most scientifically ordained inference to the passage of a subjective, idiosyncratic like-dislike statement.

People want to know how well their materials or activities achieve certain goals. And they are entitled to know, of course. But they should also be willing to be told (with or without actually being told—with or without actually asking for it) that their goals are (or aren't) worth achieving within some dynamic framework. Who cares how well the objectives of a mathematics curriculum are met if those objectives do not include the processes of addition and multiplication? Who cares if a school produces people with a high consciousness for traffic safety if they are never aware of a need for personal health standards?

Here again is an argument for teams of evaluators, never single evaluators. It will be extremely rarely that a given individual will be sufficiently broadly endowed with skills to enable him to pass the socio-philosophical judgments

⁵ Taylor and Maguire, *op. cit.*

⁶ Cronbach, *op. cit.*

⁷ Stake, *op. cit.*

required for this kind of analysis and at the same time to make scientific judgments on empirical data. It has been pointed out already that the kind of training for one does not necessarily generalize to the other. There is a pressing need for a kind of super-evaluation, and evaluation of the evaluative activities themselves, and the end to which they are directed. Are these goals meaningful? Do these processes lead to admissible evidence? What kind of evidence is this—to whom should it be passed for judgment? Is this person properly qualified to make this kind of judgment? Are these instruments oversensitive, in the sense that what is measured by them is (in context) largely "noise"? Is this judgment overly clouded by the personal value-system of the evaluator involved?

Each of these questions is a difficult one to answer, but not impossible. And the countenance of evaluation is changing sufficiently fast to make them questions to which some attention must be given.

In a typical congruence-oriented evaluation a statement is made as to the extent to which goals are met. To the extent that the goals are not attained, what has to be altered? More often than not, it is the material or the instructional technique, and the like, that are changed. But need they be? Who has proclaimed that goals are infallible, sacrosanct? How often do we, as evaluators, question the goals themselves? The possibility of giving a differential weighting to goals has not been overlooked in practice, and is a first approximation to the kind of concern being expressed here.

The problem of meaningfulness of goals is not altogether separate from the meaning attached to statements of objectives. In much of my own work and the work of Maguire in this area (all of this material being in various stages of progression towards the press) attempts have been made to obtain maps of semantic meaning ("map" being used in its mathematical sense). Through various scaling and factoring procedures we have attempted to find out the ways in which the logic of grammar is being manipulated. But these measurement-based efforts are not an absolution for the evaluator: he must, if necessary, obtain appropriate assistance to enable him to return to the question of meaningfulness with a chance of reaching a solution, and having assured himself of the latter, to find out if the goals are worth achieving anyway.

Similarly with the problems of obtaining appropriate judges. Fairly frequently, the evaluator will not be in a position to judge the over-all cohesiveness of a set of goals. It would seem essential to include a subject-matter specialist on the evaluating team to carry out this, among other, functions. More frequently the evaluator will not be able to make with anywhere near a necessary degree of efficiency social-philosophical judgments. Most likely he will be trained to interpret the more objective kinds of data. The kinds of judgment to be

passed during the course of an evaluation must be identified, and provision made for skilled judgments in these areas.

Finally, the problem of instrumentation arises. There is no point here in going into all the philosophical implications of constructs such as reliability and validity, or into the logic of experimental design. But as a general problem they are vital. How much effort do we need to put into obtaining highly sensitive tests to differentiate individuals when we are assessing the impact of curricular materials? Is it better (and it probably is) to use multivariate approaches than univariate approaches in order to obtain differences in comparative experiments? Are our methods having too much of an interactive effect? Are we operating on the assumption of certain underlying descriptions of characteristics that are totally unreasonable?

The very word "evaluate" implies a comparison. Objectives are patently of no importance unless they occur in a describable context. But simply to describe is not enough (as we said right at the beginning). To say that an objective is a good one, that a course is desirable or useful is—at the very least—to make an implied comparison. So we are confronted with experimental design problems for obtaining controls, for producing double-blind situations.

Perhaps we have gone too fast in our evaluation activities by concerning ourselves unduly with obtaining statements and measures of inputs and outcomes. Evaluators have tended to work alone, or in teams that have a certain bias toward the psychometric. Before we go too far, before we start to work within a set methodological framework, it would seem to be desirable to include more ways of looking at the meaning of goals, the semantics of objectives, the appropriateness of our measures and our judgments, and the evoking of value-biases.

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The Impact of Evaluative Research on Educational Programs for the Poor

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It is frequently pointed out, usually by a superior-sounding researcher, that there is an extensive lag between the time researchers develop some usable information and the time that practitioners incorporate this information into their procedures. The *cultural lag* hypothesis, with its connotation of an inferior, less highly developed society stumbling behind a more sophisticated leader, finds favor with the researchers. There is an *implementation gap* and it is the fault of the implementers.

On the other side of the fence it is not so facetiously said that social scientists are like the weather: if you don't like the things they are offering now, just wait awhile, and they'll change. All points of view are represented at every point in time and most points of view are the dominant position at some point in time.

Both of these notions are, of course, overstatements. Both contain more than just a germ of truth. Together they portray a certain incompatibility. It is an incompatibility that is easily seen and widely noticed.

My paper is going to focus on those forces which make it difficult for top-grade scientific work to be of value in action programs. This is necessary because the impact of research on these programs, which is ostensibly my topic, seems to me to be small, microscopic, infinitesimal; there may be none.

The usual reason that people give for a service not being as effective as desired is that there isn't enough of it. "We need more staff" or "We need more money" are songs heard more frequently than *The Star Spangled Banner*. I had an opportunity this last year to hear a group of middle-level administrators discuss something like a dozen basic problems with which they were confronted. It was an appalling scene to see the representative of this group give a synopsis of the group's recommendations. Every issue was handled with either "That is not our problem" or "Give us more money." Naturally, the last thing that anyone would feel like doing, after hearing the way these administrators would tackle their problems, was to give them more money.

Professor Myers' outspoken article is based on a talk he gave at the American Psychological Association in September, 1966. His description of the infinitesimal impact of scientific research on action programs is certainly as accurate today as when it was first written, as are his pictures of administrators in search of justifications and teachers fearful of evaluations. Research and evaluation have been welcomed, he says, only by those compelled to submit reports to the Feds. If research programs are ever to have local impact, researchers must cease to be outsiders and become involved with the systems they are attempting to serve.

Somehow, you would rather burn it than give it to them, although they seem to be approximately equivalent actions.

It may be true that we need more research; everyone says we do. It is not at all obvious to me, however, that more research would mean more impact. More research obviously means more something—but more what? In order to answer that question we have to look and see what role research plays in this drama called the War on Poverty. Let us begin by looking at the people involved, the administrators and the program people.

Research and the Administration The administrators include the central decision-making authorities like the executive director of the community action program, the superintendent of schools, and their staffs; the middle-management group, like the individual program directors and the principals of schools; and on the periphery in the operational sense, but centrally involved in all important decisions, is the political body.

How does research fit into their lives? (During this discussion, by the way, let's assume that these are capable people trying to do a good job. Let's not write off any shortcomings as representing personal deficiencies.) There is a school of thought which says that good programs are the by-product of good administrative decisions. This is the bureaucratic ethic. It is a point of view which is widely, if not universally, accepted by administrators. The role of research in this scheme is to provide information so that sound decisions can be made. Research is used to remove some of the guesswork from decision making.

As a point of view I suppose it is fine, but it just doesn't describe how administrators behave. I have yet to see an instance of where a researcher has been asked to provide information for a decision. This is not to say that the administrators do not have any information which is relevant to the decision they must make. It simply means that the channels for getting whatever information they do use do not go through researchers. They expect different things from their research capability.

If the researcher is not asked to provide information for a decision, what is he asked to do? Well, he is asked to provide information about things for which decisions have already been made. In short, he is asked to justify the administrators' decisions.

It is not that the administrator looks the researcher in the eye and says, "Justify what I have done." Remember, we are talking about capable people trying to do a good job. The administrator knows quite a bit about the program in question. He probably knows its strengths and weaknesses. If he knows it's a good program, what else is research going to show except that it's a good

program. If it's a poor program, he expects the research to show that. In other words, he anticipates the outcome of the research and, therefore, has no need to rely on the research act itself. What he wants is the respectability of a research report.

This is neither a particularly cynical nor naive assessment. It is quite in keeping with what researchers have given administrators in the past. Most of the outcomes of research projects which they have seen in the past have either been irrelevant or predictable or both. They have been treated, therefore, as being irrelevant and predictable. Unfortunately, imagination-free, trivial research only reinforces this vision of the researcher as a eunuch; he's useful to have around, but he's not one of the boys.*

The Program People The other group of people that presumably could benefit from an evaluation capability would be the people who are actually running the program. Theoretically, research should help them to do their job more effectively. I'm afraid, however, that these are the forgotten people when it comes to putting the research to good use.

There are a variety of reasons why this is so. Let me mention just two. First, they are not so all-fired-up about this idea of research in the first place. They have the appropriate, socially-desirable attitude about research in general: "We need more research; we need to understand more, etc." However, they are not too keen on research in particular when the "in particular" means looking at them.

In one study I did which called, in part, for interviewing teachers, I included a couple of questions about research in the interview schedule. The biggest blank of the year had to be the answer to the question, "What can research do for you?" I have even had teachers tell me that there is nothing that they feel they have to know more about and the only obstacle was the size of the class. From this point of view, money spent in research and evaluation is a waste.

It is obvious that any evaluator, be it a test, a supervisor or a researcher, is a threat. As such, people are on their guard when the researcher is around. Until the research man has had time to demonstrate that he is there to help them and not to rat on them to superiors, he is something to be worried about; he is the inspector-general. If the researcher defines his job to be confined to doing research and writing reports, he will provide justification for this attitude.

This brings us to the second reason why the program people get forgotten. It is not generally considered part of the researcher's responsibility for him to

* I must, in all honesty, report that a colleague in the school system told me that I have had more impact than the comments suggest. I must also report that I think he has overestimated my impact.

be involved with the implementation of his finding. He is not an active agent of social change in either a grand or microscopic way. As a result, the researcher contributes to the impactlessness of his own work. Furthermore, I think it alters his view of what research questions should be asked and that the change is for the worse.

Research and evaluation have been incorporated into the bureaucratic system in such a way that no one is hurt—or even affected by it. On numerous occasions I have been asked by a member of the school system if I had data relevant to a certain issue or program. The reason this person needs the data is because he is writing a report. Frequently the recipient of this report is the local community action agency. The reason they want the report is because they have to report to the funding agencies (e.g., O.E.O.). It is the rule, not the exception, that no decisions are made in this process. These are exercises in report writing.

Evaluating for Washington The intervention of the federal government into this scheme has intensified the difficulty on one hand while ameliorating it on the other. The mania for evaluating federally financed programs has generated a willingness for something called research and evaluation (just as the academicians distinguish between pure and applied research, non-researchers distinguish between research and evaluation). But it has turned the heads of the top administrators towards Washington. I have been asked only once to assist program people in understanding the nature of what they and the program have on school children.

I have had, on the other hand, many requests to evaluate programs because the federal or state government wanted an evaluation report. This is particularly true of those programs dealing with the poor. There seems to be a rather pervasive paranoia that exists in Washington and which is somewhat justified. The Feds, as they are lovingly called, are worried that their money will not be well spent. It is easy to understand and to sympathize with their position. They know that local politicians will substitute federal money for local money if they can get away with it. They know that local educators will repeat many of the old sins if they just give them the money. They are vulnerable to public controversy and criticism. They know they must shoulder the responsibility for mistakes made at the local level which are completely beyond their control. Remember what one dropped postcard in Africa did to Peace Corps officials a few years ago?

Yes, it is easy to understand the problems and tensions that federal administrators and legislators must face. But let's look at what happens at the local level. The federal dollar becomes preeminent. Its local administrators become

super-conscious of satisfying. It changes the function of administrators from being unit leaders to being synapses in a communication link. It becomes their job to report the statistics of their program. That would not necessarily be so bad if somewhere in the process there was some decision making related to all this effort. Unfortunately, it seems to me that report making becomes an end in itself.

The Dangers of Legitimacy But let me make a very important digression here to illustrate the process I'm concerned about. A colleague of mine at the Psych-Educational Clinic at Yale, Dr. Murray Levine, has been doing some historical research on the variety of social service movements that were taking place at the turn of the century. This includes the emergence of social work, visiting teachers, settlement houses, juvenile court and the first psychological and psychiatric clinics. Dr. Levine's work demonstrates a consistent, if not inevitable, trend. These movements were begun in an atmosphere of intellectual reform; their basic characteristic was that they imposed dramatic innovations in the way clients were dealt with and thought about. They were fundamentally radical.

The radical character of these groups began to subside as they became organized and moved towards having a professional legitimacy. The development of professionalism was accompanied by a reduction in their willingness to innovate and the loss of the aura of intellectual reform. Yesterday's radicals had indeed become today's reactionaries. Sadly, the effectiveness of the service suffered with this change.

This is not the time to discuss whether this is an inevitable change or not. It is sufficient to say that the betting odds are that successful community action programs will ultimately become conservative members of the professional and political establishment which will try to inhibit social innovation just as the dominant professional forces today try to inhibit innovation. Saul Alinsky's *Back of the Yards* movement is probably one of the more well-known examples of how a radical movement can go middle class. It is almost naive to doubt that the War on Poverty and the community action programs which form the battle lines will become middle-class programs designed to meet the career needs of middle-class people. The War on Poverty has a fairly unique distinction, by the way, of being indicted on that point from the very beginning. Members of the political left and right have frequently accused the poverty program of being middle class.

This reminds me of the incident where a particular poverty program had both middle- and lower-class persons employed. A reduction in funds required that the program be curtailed somewhat. As a result, the job functions being

fulfilled by the lower-class persons—job functions which were labeled non-professional—were abolished and the lower-class employees were laid off.

Administrative vs. Service If left alone, community action programs will probably follow this trend. From where I sit, federal involvement is acting to hasten the process. It is providing an additional force in the direction of causing an administrative orientation to replace a service orientation.

The recommendations of the House of Representatives' committee dealing with anti-poverty legislation certainly must be viewed as distressing with respect to this, as well as other topics. According to accounts in the popular press, the committee has shown an increased desire to control the local programs by categorizing the way money should be spent. Predictably, the categories which seem most important to the Congressmen are those which are the safest politically.

The role of research in this arrangement is parallel. It is increasingly asked to fulfill the demands of justification. I am prepared to take the strongest possible stand on the value of this type of research. I know there are many who disagree with me violently, but I think that justification research has virtually no positive impact (not value, but impact). Furthermore, it is a brand of tokenism that discourages the development of something more meaningful.

The usual rebuttal to this strong position, which is probably mildly overstated, is that we will never be able to discard ineffective programs if we do not have evaluative systems. There are two major flaws in this argument. First is the conception that the basic unit for study and consideration is the program. Our interest must not be in accepting or rejecting programs in the form in which they exist. This leads to a confusion to which the history of educational research can certainly attest. Since every program that has the same name in different locales is run differently, research on programs with that name is ambiguous. Sometimes it's good and sometimes it's bad. Take the example of homogeneous versus heterogeneous grouping in classrooms; that certainly is clear-cut enough. But after forty years of research on the topic, I doubt that there is a single point on which researchers could reach a consensus.

For my own taste, the basic unit would be the decision that is made about the person being served. In my research in the schools, I have been impressed at how . . . slipshod . . . the decision making of program people is. There are many ways of slicing the pie though and other people will, of course, choose some other basic units.

Phasing Out The second flaw is the notion that programs are discarded because the research indicates they are no good. Programs are initiated and terminated because of the people and ideologies involved. The

amount of emotion that can be aroused by a research effort is almost insignificant compared to enthusiasm or vehemence that an individual can have towards people or a program. A program is "phased out" at this point in the game because people are disgusted with it, not because research shows it to be wanting. Long before a program is dropped *because* the data demonstrate its inadequacies, the people involved will be in the process of diminishing its scope or importance. The research may help them justify their point of view, but it probably isn't going to change their mind in any basic way. On this point I would be interested in knowing the dynamics of why the Higher Horizons project in New York City was dropped. It was a famous program, emulated and described the country over. It also had a fat research report which could be summarized simply with "no measurable gains were found." The fact that it was dropped tells me that people in the system were unhappy with it, and not much more. What role did the evaluation play in the demise of the program? It would be instructive for us to know. In my experience, research does not turn people from being supportive to being antagonistic towards a program, or vice versa. It simply provides ammunition for that camp whose position the findings favored.

This raises immediately a basic difficulty faced by researchers. Every issue, every program has its two camps. There are the supporters and the detractors. There are always, of course, many people in the middle. The researcher can easily be dragged into the fray. He can become a participant, whether he likes it or not, in the internecine struggles. In my own case, I was identified with the central administration staff ("downtown") who has had a running battle with the "old guard" teachers and administrators around the city. In such an atmosphere it must be obvious that objectively done research will not be objectively interpreted, and perhaps more severely, that under this kind of pressure, over time, the researcher might stop being objective. I know I had an instance or two where my own sentiments began, to put it most kindly, to remove the appropriate benefit of doubt from my vision.

The effects of this problem were perhaps best dramatized by one project I did last year. My position as a result of research was:

Everyone in the world agrees that Project A is a good and necessary thing. I feel that Project A is good and necessary for the children in our city. I also feel there are certain shortcomings in the way we are administering Project A; it is inflexible. We must make certain changes.

It was uniformly concluded that I was in favor of removing Project A from the schools. My report was interpreted in terms of an existing struggle rather than by the terms of the content within it.

Researchers as Change Agents It might seem that I am laying the basis for proposing that researchers withdraw completely from internal associations or, even further, that outside researchers be called in. Time doesn't permit me to develop the theme, but I would argue quite strongly that the only way for a research program to have real local impact is for it to be involved with the operational system it serves. Outsiders inevitably get a more superficial account of what is happening. In essence, I feel that there can only be minimal impact as long as research is viewed as an external, threatening face that the program people must contend with. It is not enough that researchers are paid and hold titles within the organization they are servicing, although that seems essential. They must see themselves as agents of social change who are in alliance with the persons running the program. Not threateners, but allies; not aloof, but involved.

I would like to conclude on a poetic note. Kingsley Amis has written a poem, *After Goliath*, which reads as if it were inspired by watching a new, radical innovative program tear into a school system. Goliath, representing the conservative professional establishment, has for his fans:

Aldermen, adjutants, aunts,
Administrators of grants
Assurance-men, actioneers
Advisors about careers

David's supporters include:

Academics, actors who lecture
Apostles of Architecture
...

Angst-pushers, adherents of Zen

The poem concludes with this sobering thought:

... even the straightest
Of issues looks pretty oblique
When a movement turns into a clique,
The conqueror mused, as he stopped
By the sword his opponent had dropped.
Trophy, or means of attack
On the rapturous crowd at his back?
He shrugged and left it, resigned
To a new battle, fought in the mind,
For faith that his quarrel was just,
That the right man lay in the dust.

Three Innovative Teaching Systems: Common Sources of Effectiveness

George L. Geis
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Over the years teachers have suggested, and psychologists (with an embarrassing lack of modesty) have agreed, that education can be markedly improved by communication of the findings from psychological laboratories to those who are engaged in instruction. The fact that until recently almost no changes in education have resulted from such dissemination could be attributed to the psychologist's feeble powers of persuasion or to the perverse rigidity of the teacher. A more likely explanation is that the gap between laboratory and classroom cannot be bridged by talk. Instead, a technology of behavioral modification is needed, analogous in many ways to engineering and medicine. The birthdate of such a technology, spanning the distance between the art of teaching and the science of learning, might be 1954, the year in which B. F. Skinner's *promociamento* was published.¹ Slowly developing since that time has been a set of principles more specific than, but of course not incompatible with, general principles of learning. These engineering principles, if the guidelines for practitioners can be so characterized, are emerging from the applications themselves. To distinguish them from more general and theoretical principles of learning, they might be called principles of teaching. However, *teaching* is usually equated with the activities that teachers traditionally engage in. Those activities represent only a few of the many possible conditions for learning, often the most ineffective ones. The job of those interested in student learning is not to engage in "teaching behaviors" but to develop and manage those sets of conditions which optimize student learning.

It is the purpose of this paper to explicate some instructional engineering principles which emerge from an examination of three teaching or learning

¹ Skinner, B. F. "The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching," *Harvard Educational Review*, 24, 1954, pp. 86-97.

Sections of Dr. Geis' paper have been adapted from an address he delivered to the 22nd Annual Meeting of the American Conference of Academic Deans. His concern is to examine three teaching environments the talking typewriter, the coursewriter, and the SAID system (a speech auto-instructional device). After explaining what each involves and demands, he goes on to explicate the instructional engineering principles common to all three. Evoking the Skinnerians, the writer stresses the effectiveness of the three systems and argues for an informed approach to "planning for, and effective production of, human learning." He wishes to express his appreciation to Drs. Fred S. Keller and Harlan L. Lane for criticism and suggestions. Dr. Geis is now with the Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior at the University of Michigan.

environments. These systems will be described and common characteristics extracted which seem to be basic requirements for effective and efficient teaching.

The Talking Typewriter For several years the psychologist Omar Moore has been interested in formally arranging the environment, its opportunities and its consequences, to produce learning in young children who are average, ultra-rapid, or ultra-slow learners.²

The part of Moore's "responsive environment" to be described is the laboratory, only one element of the whole school environment. The responsive environment, Moore insists, is a social and cultural, as well as mechanical, system—an intricate and carefully planned set of experiences. A child sits in one of the laboratory booths at what is popularly called the "talking typewriter." A booth assistant, at a control panel mounted outside of the booth, controls the presentations of the complicated typewriter output. The mechanical control and recording system involves a computer with multiple memory systems, an audio-recording, a visual, and a logic and control system.

The laboratory buildings are windowless and air conditioned. The rooms or booths allow immediate observation through one-way mirrors; permanent records may be obtained through photographic recordings with cameras placed at special camera ports designed not to intrude upon the child at work.

The new child at school is introduced to the laboratory by another child rather than by an adult. The child-guide explains rules relevant to the laboratory: for example, that the child need not come to the laboratory unless he wants to, that he can leave when he wants to, that he need not explain why he is going, that if he leaves he is allowed to come back the next day. At a child's appointment time each day, the classroom teacher informs him of his opportunity to go a few yards across the playground to the laboratory. The child may accept or reject his turn. Moore remarks that "day-in and day-out, children elect to come to the 'laboratories.' However, it frequently happens that a child does not want to leave when his time is up."

On his first trip to the laboratory after the guided tour, the child is directed to a chair in front of the apparatus by the booth assistant, who leaves after telling the child to enjoy himself and raise his hand if he wants anything. This first phase Moore calls "free exploration." The environment is designed to take the brunt of some aspects of exploration; e.g., the keyboard is able to resist pounding. It responds immediately and sensitively to some other behaviors;

² Omar Khayyam Moore *Autotelic Responsive Environments and Exceptional Children*. Publication of the Responsive Environments Foundation, Inc., 20 August Street, Hamden, Connecticut, September, 1963.

e.g., when a key is struck, the typewriter types the letter in large type and the apparatus pronounces the name of the character. On the other hand, the typewriter will not respond to certain kinds of behavior; e.g., no two keys can be depressed simultaneously. What do these youngsters, many of them below three years of age, do in this environment and in the absence of a human teacher? As the name of the phase suggests, they explore; some of them painstakingly go over the keyboard, pressing each key in turn; others pound randomly on the instrument. After this half-hour session, the child is usually eager to come back.

In the exploring phase, as in all others, the computer records the child's performance in the laboratory; thus, the length of time the child spends in the booth and the number of times he presses each key are recorded. In addition, the booth assistant, who has been observing the child, keeps notes on other behaviors. At daily conferences teachers, attendants, and other professional staff review each child's laboratory performance. The laboratory supervisor decides when the child is ready to move on to the next phase. An important factor in that decision is the child's demonstrated interest; if his interest seems to wane, whether it be after dozens of sessions or only two or three, he is usually advanced to the next level.

Moore's writings describe in detail the sequence of learning that moves the child slowly through "search and match," word construction, and reading and composition. Reports of other applications of this general system are of equal interest and might well be consulted.³ It is sufficient to point out here a few salient features of all phases. For example, the child not only paces the instruction but also contributes to it: his own vocabulary is used to provide interesting, relevant content and to individualize the subject matter as well as the process of instruction.

The almost complete record of the child's daily laboratory activities is supplemented by a comprehensive history of the child, including information on his physical condition and his development history, which has been collected along with intelligence test data before the child enters the laboratory. Daily evaluations of each child can be made on the basis of extensive data. "Evaluation" here is not a means of screening and discarding students. It is a way continually to monitor the student in order to adjust and optimize this learning environment.

Moore has described many individual cases which demonstrate the power and effectiveness of this comprehensive plan to educate the child—a plan based

³ See, for example, Lassar G. Gotkin, "The Machine and the Child," *A-V Communication Review*, 14, Summer 1966, pp. 221-241.

in part upon a complex set of instruments and in part upon a careful analysis of the child, of his educational needs, and of the physical and human resources necessary to meet certain instructional goals.

As a result of being in the learning environment which includes the talking typewriter, first-grade children develop remarkable performances. Many, for instance, achieve at the sixth-grade level on standardized reading tests.

Moore's own definition of the responsive environment summarizes the features being stressed here: "(a) It permits the learner to explore freely, (b) it informs the learner immediately about the consequences of his actions, (c) it is self pacing, (d) it permits the learner to make full use of his capacity for discovering relations of various kinds, and (e) it is so structured that the learner is likely to make a series of interconnected discoveries about the physical, cultural or social world" (p. 2). Some of the features of this learning system characterize another and quite different environment—that of a computer-based instructional system for college level students.

Coursewriter The University of Michigan's Center for Research on Learning and Teaching has been the site of a student station for computer-based instruction.⁴ Roughly 15 such installations are in operation on as many campuses. The apparatus consists, again, of a typewriter at which the student sits and auxiliary equipment (such as a tape recorder and a slide projector and screen) under the control of the computer. The computer keyboard and additional apparatus are connected directly with a controlling system at the I.B.M. Watson Research Center in Yorktown Heights, New York. (The system is called Coursewriter by I.B.M.) Typically, a student identifies by code on the typewriter his selection of a particular piece of teaching material. A wide variety of sample units, developed by members of the faculty and the Center, are available at the University. In addition, the station at Michigan has available materials developed at other universities and at the Watson Center.

Text material is presented, usually in the form of a bit of information typed out by the typewriter, followed by a question which requires the student to type an answer. The answer can be as simple as a choice from a list of alternatives or as complicated as a whole paragraph of text. The sequence, then, is normally a problem followed by an appropriate, probing question requiring active participation by the student before he can advance to the next problem or question. Depending on the student's answer, there are differential conse-

⁴ K. L. Zinn, "An Introduction to IBM's Experimental 7010 Coursewriter System as Used via IBM 1050 Remote Terminals at the University of Michigan," *unpubl. Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, Ann Arbor, July, 1966*.

quences. The student may be told that he was right. If wrong, he may be told merely that he *was* wrong; usually, however, he receives more complicated feedback. For example, he may be told what part of his complex constructed answer was correct. Thus, in a French language program, a student's answer: *le plume de mon aunt* may be returned as: *l plume de m nt*, with the computer retying the correct part of the student's answer. If over a period of time a student has shown a serious lack of understanding, he may be switched to a remedial branch; on the other hand, a student demonstrating advanced skills may be skipped to a later sequence.

Attachments such as tape recorders and slide projectors offer additional means of input to the student. Other accompaniments are possible, and a variety are already in use: for example, in a course in Otology, a model of a human skull is used, and in a course in Physics, an optics laboratory bench.

As in Moore's learning environment, the student is required to respond. In addition, there is provision for feedback to the student about his performance. A third characteristic is the production of a permanent record of that performance. The student goes through a particular instructional sequence, leaving, as it were, a trail of footprints describing his route of learning. These data can be used as more traditional test data are (i.e., to judge the student). They also can be the basis for diagnosing student difficulties and prescribing appropriate remedial work, or for diagnosing the effectiveness of the teaching material itself, with examination of the error data leading to revision of the material. With such a computer system, it is possible to reduce and treat student data so that average error rates, average latencies of response, and the like can readily be obtained after a group of students has gone through an instructional sequence, allowing precise and immediate revision of materials.

The development and operation of such installations (i.e., Coursewriter, the talking typewriter) require not an individual but a team. In this instance, the team includes the faculty author, engineers and experts at the Watson Research Center, and Dr. Karl Zinn and a staff of assistants at CRLT; "team teaching" has taken on another meaning here.

It is with this system and similar installations that we most clearly see the new function that a faculty member assumes when he becomes an author of material to be used in a controlled learning environment. The material is programmed. Programmed instruction, whether in the form of a simple text or in this more elaborate computer-based format, requires the author to do a careful and exacting analysis and description of so-called terminal behaviors—the behavioral changes which he plans to produce in the student. The later design and development of the material itself is a difficult task, but the prerequisite specification of instructional objectives is an even more onerous job.

It is true that teachers, at least in higher education, have traditionally been part-time authors, but their writing has been primarily reportorial, expository, rather than truly pedagogical. The writer of a program, the designer and builder of a learning environment, is in many ways more like the engineer of a bridge than the author of a textbook.

For example, the Coursewriter system demands that the instructional engineer or program author specify precisely the limit of acceptability of any answer. The computer, it is often said, is a slave and, indeed, it *will* do only what it is told to do. It will recognize as correct only those student responses which it has been told to call correct. The author must consider all possible alternatives (synonyms and the like) for complex as well as simple answers and instruct the computer to accept them as he would. He has the further exciting but exacting option of describing to the student the degree of accuracy of a response which misses the bullseye but still lands somewhere on the target.

The I.B.M. Coursewriter system is in some ways quite unlike the talking typewriter and unlike the speech-shaping device to be described later. Its designers did not have a specific instructional aim in mind, nor were they developing a research tool. Rather, a general-purpose system was designed for the widest possible set of users; it is a practical machine for instruction. In some ways it resembles the more traditional ways of teaching: it is limited, in good part, to the textual behavior of student and author; it might be said to incorporate, unlike the other environments discussed here, only the minimal characteristics which psychological research in learning suggests are desirable in such a system. It has, however, proven to be an effective teacher and, not incidentally, a training device for program authors.

The SAID System Another teaching system at the University of Michigan is part of the instrumentation for the Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior. This is the speech auto-instructional device, acronymically: SAID.⁵ Included on the experimenter's side of the system is a computer with a teleprinter output, tape reader input, monitoring equipment, parameter extractors and tape recorder. At present, the equipment has been used solely in studies of prosodic features of speech, such as the stress and duration of speech sounds. Yet it is the model of a device which would allow us to teach various dimensions of spoken language to first and second language learners as well as to speakers in need of remedial work such as stutterers or aphasics.

The equipment provides three significant features which both psychological

⁵ R. Buiten and H. L. Lane, "A Self-Instructional Device for Conditioning Accurate Prosody," *IRAL*, 3, 3, 1965, pp. 205-219.

research and practical experience in second language teaching suggest are necessary in a system designed to teach production of accurate prosody in language. First, the system presents tape recorded pattern sentences or sounds which the student is instructed to imitate. The system then "processes the student's imitation, and instantaneously evaluates its acceptability on the basis of three distinct prosodic features: pitch, loudness, and tempo." This is the *answer-comparator* function mentioned earlier in relation to Coursewriter and which is implicit in the locked keyboard phase of the talking typewriter. Finally, as in the other learning environments examined, the student sees not only whether his imitation is acceptable but, in this particular system, in what direction he should modify an unacceptable imitation in order to meet the requirements.

In the student's cubicle there are loudspeakers for presentation of the pattern sequence and a microphone into which the student speaks his imitation when a light on the left-hand side of the panel is turned on. Lights on the right-hand side indicate the particular mode (i.e., pitch, loudness or tempo) which the student is to attempt to mimic; a dial in the center of the student panel feeds back to the student the degree to which he has undershot or overshot the target sound.

A sample sequence would be this one: The student is seated in the sound insulated booth and listens to a tape-recording pattern. The illuminated pitch light tells him to imitate the pitch of the pattern he will hear. As he mimics the sound, the meter needle swings to one side or the other of the zero center, informing him of the degree and direction of his error, indicating that his pitch was too high or too low to match the sample sound. The consequences which follow can be any of a great variety. Programs can be developed which make the computer respond differentially to correct and incorrect utterances in terms of the sequence of material on the tape, of the criteria which are set for acceptability of a mimicked utterance, etc. For example, the student may be asked to repeat until he has achieved three successful imitations of a given sound or ten acceptable imitations. Review sequences can be set in periodically. Criteria of acceptability can be made more rigid on successive reviews. In short, the instructional designer can explore a great variety of instructional sequences and strategies. The equipment can be extremely sensitive to individual students as well as to different instructors. It can tailor each successive step to the student's momentary competence as indicated by his previous performance.

Several features of the SAID system should be reviewed. First, there is immediate and direct monitoring of the student's performance via the teleprinter output. Secondly, the machine has superhuman discriminative and processing

capacity. It can make discriminations and minute analyses of particular dimensions of the speech sound which are almost impossible for the human teacher to make. Even when the "teacher" is not required to make such fine discriminations, the capacity of the machine to process the student input immediately and reliably and to do something about it (in terms of feeding back specific error) is well beyond that of the human. Truly effective teaching of second languages or effective correction of first language errors may require such a microscopic analysis of the student's production, and systems like SAID are needed for such a task.

The SAID system is unlike the others described in one important respect: it can be used to create entirely new behaviors. The other two systems primarily produce new discriminative controls, bringing already established responses under the control of new stimuli. The SAID system is designed to shape, out of the clay of the existing behavioral repertoire, entirely unique responses. Thus, the student may never have emitted a certain intonation or stress pattern before. By careful, patient guidance, it is possible for the SAID system to establish such articulation in the student's vocal repertoire. SAID allows for automated skill building.

Critical Features The most immediately obvious common feature of these three instructional systems is the sophisticated instrumentation which each of the environments contains. The science and technology of computers is awe inspiring. But a subtler and more impressive science and technology lies behind these learning environments, almost literally behind them: that is the science of behavior and its translation, as in these examples, into a technology of education.

The fact that the three systems discussed all involve computers should be viewed as perhaps indicative but not exclusive. If one were to design optimal environments for learning, it is true that he would probably not produce a classroom. Yet a number of recent non-computer efforts at maximizing the instructional effectiveness of that environment exemplify as well some of the principles enunciated below.⁶

In each of the three cases cited, several important characteristics obtain which might be termed emerging principles of an educational technology.

6 For example, see L. F. Homme, P. C. de Bae, J. V. Devine, R. Steinhorst, and F. J. Rickert, "Use of the Premack Principle in Controlling the Behavior of Nursery School Children," *Journal of Experimental Analysis of Behavior*, 6, 1963, p. 54; E. S. Kehler, "Goodbye Teacher . . ." (mimeo), Invited Address to American Psychological Association, 1967, Washington, D. C.; D. E. P. Smith and J. W. Kellogg, *Manual 4 Program for Teachers* (Michigan Successive Discrimination Language Program), 1964, Ann Arbor Publishers, especially pp. 7-33.

(1) In each case an environment for learning has been consciously and carefully designed using a *system or set of psychological principles* which when compounded should produce effective learning. One or two may serve as examples. The SAID system illustrates the principle of developing new responses by the reinforcement of successive approximations to the criterion behavior. This procedure of moving toward the behavioral goal in small steps is a direct application from laboratory work on both human and infra-human subjects. In addition, all of the systems incorporate the provision for immediate reinforcement, a principle so crucial to learning that it will be elaborated as a separate point later. The environments are not collections of hardware, not the newest models coming off the audio-visual production line; they are systematic applications of basic principles of learning.

(2) In each case, the environment is designed to be *sensitive* to the student's behavior. This is most obvious in the case of the SAID system, where the equipment is able to make extremely fine discriminations. But even in the case of Coursewriter, a well-constructed instructional program could anticipate a great variety of student responses, the programmer having determined, with more thought and perhaps more skill than most teachers, what the limits of allowable answer variation should be in any instance.

(3) Each of the environments provides for continuing *reinforcement* of behavior. The environment is so arranged that a correct response produces a change in the environment which strengthens the behavior that produced the change. The reinforcer may merely be a signal to show the student how he did. In the case of the SAID system, for example, a flickering light on the panel tells the student that he is right. If necessary, that system as well as the others can be adapted to provide other kinds of reinforcers such as trinkets and tokens, including money. In any case, the correct behavior of the student immediately produces reinforcing consequences.

(4) Each of these systems is *adjustive*. It was pointed out that these environments are sensitive to the student. They respond differently to differing inputs; their "receptrors" are acute. They also have differing *outputs*: their "effectors" produce a variety of responses. What happens to a student is determined, for the most part, by the interaction among: what he has just done, where the teacher wants him to go next, and the path that has been planned to get him there. This extensive flexibility, which allows these learning environments to adjust almost infinitely to human variation, challenges the designers of the teaching procedures and materials used in the environments as teachers have never previously been challenged.

(5) Each of these environments *provides information* to both the student and the teacher. Again, taking the SAID system as an example, the student has

immediate feedback to tell him not only whether he is right or wrong but also, at least in gross terms, how far right or wrong he is. (As noted earlier, in many cases such feedback may be considered reinforcing.) The teacher has a permanent record of the student's performance; the permanency and detail of that record is an important feature to note. Not only can the teacher locate a particular student somewhere along the path of learning after each response or after each session but also he is provided with invaluable information about the success or failure of the particular learning sequence. Revision of the instructional materials or programs in each of these environments is not merely possible; it is an integral part of these systems. They have the potential for continued growth and improvement.

(6) In none of the three cases described is the student in a classroom or an environment that resembles a classroom—even the teacher seems to be missing. The student is connected to the teaching program and materials—to the teacher—by a thin electrical umbilical cord. The environments, therefore, have the promise of *mobility*. It is possible or even likely that in a very few years a telephone subscriber will become a student merely by dialing the correct exchange. The symbolically thick, ivy-encrusted walls of the college and university will not be able to contain, literally contain, the knowledge that has traditionally resided therein. Educators have held a banker's view. The college or school has knowledge on deposit and the means of transmitting knowledge and producing skills. The student in order to make a withdrawal must appear in person and remain in residence for a long time. The possibility of opening the vaults, of moving out to the student, comes just at the time when such a change is sorely needed. Continuing education—education as a continuing part of everyday life throughout one's lifetime—is possible on a large scale only when the rigid geographical and temporal limits of current education are removed. A way is suggested in the foregoing examples. Mechanization allows adjustment to individual variations in terms of both time and teaching strategy. In addition, the environments can be mobile, allowing education to travel to the learner, reducing the need for time and geographic constraints.

(7) In each of the environments examined, a *team* of people was involved in the design and the monitoring of the learning environment: teachers, psychologists, engineers. The basic unit of education has traditionally been the teacher located in the traditional environment, the classroom. The untraditional computer-based environment for learning plus a team of specialists and managers represent a new basic unit.

(8) One general point should have emerged from the present discussion probably the best contribution science can make to education is a model or method rather than a specific solution. It is a simple model in which the de-

signer, experimenter, teacher or teaching machine adjusts future actions on the basis of the effects of previous behavior. The laboratory experimenter decides upon future research strategies and upon specific studies to be done as a result of observing the outcome of previous studies he has conducted. This *closed-loop model* also characterizes each of the learning environments discussed in this paper. In this model, the teacher is placed primarily under the control of the student. The teacher's behavior adjusts moment by moment as a function of the success or failure of his actions in producing the desired changes in the student. This is the crucial aspect of these environments. To the extent that the feedback loop is incomplete, educational changes will continue to be whimsical.

In Conclusion Data are available on each of these systems which indicate their teaching effectiveness. Indeed, it is almost gratuitous to add that they are effective, for, as was just pointed out, each contains provision for self-correction; elements of the learning environment can be continually changed until the environment does what it is designed to do.

Reviewing the attributes of these systems, it is clear that what they have in common are functional, not formal characteristics. Each aims at a different population, provides different modes of instruction, is not unique to a particular content nor to a particular set of behaviors; they do not necessarily exclude nor require a traditional teacher (although it is interesting to note how many human jobs are involved in designing, developing and maintaining these "automated" systems). They provide appropriate conditions not only for the student to learn but also for the instructional engineering team to learn about the student, the instructional sequence, and the system.

Designing, maintaining, and revising such a system—the hardware, the contingencies, the instructional materials—is an infinitely more complex and difficult job than "teaching." Yet so it might be, for when we engage successfully in the task of arranging optimal instructional environments, we are demonstrating one of the few uniquely human abilities: conscious planning for, and effective production of, human learning.

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Instructional Technology and the Teaching Profession

David Selden and Robert Bhaerman
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

In the fall of 1968, I received a call from a representative of the Study of Instructional Technology in Washington, D. C. I was told that SIT would like me to do a paper commenting on teacher attitudes toward the introduction of electronic and other teaching devices. I felt that I would like to write such a paper, but I did not see how I could find the time. Also, I am generally opposed to the practice of ghost writing. By arrangement with SIT, it was agreed that I would collaborate with Dr. Bhaerman.

Dr. Bhaerman and I discussed the general question of teacher attitudes toward technology in education over several lengthy sessions. Then Dr. Bhaerman set out to do the actual writing. While I generally approved of the result, there were points at which I wanted to add comment. Thus, the introduction is written jointly, while the body of the paper is written by Dr. Bhaerman. The material added by me is in italics. (D.S.)

Most teachers tend to regard educational technological devices with deep suspicion and think of education as a more or less personal relationship between them and their students. Programmed materials, canned electronic "lessons," learner-operated machines, and even the older audio-visual aides tend to interfere with the generally parental interest teachers have in the success of their pupils. Hence, resistance to these devices among teachers is high.

A perhaps related reason why teachers are resistant to the new machines is that teaching has a built-in conservative factor. Other professions—medicine, architecture, and various kinds of engineering, for instance—tend to adopt new materials and procedures very soon after they have proved themselves in the laboratory. However, much of the knack of teaching is acquired through observation and imitation, with a heavy emphasis on tradition. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish hard truths about the value of an educational theory or an instructional technique. Thus it takes a long time for a new method to gain acceptance.

Teachers are not to be "blamed" for their slowness in adopting new methods. Many teachers carry on in a persistent aura of near-desperation. They

David Selden is President of the AFT; Robert Bhaerman is its Director of Research. This overview of teacher responses to educational technology is a joint effort, largely written by Dr. Bhaerman but with interspersed commentaries by Mr. Selden. We recommend that attention be paid to what they have to say about the significance of new differentiated staff proposals, the problem of hierarchical structures, and especially the need for flexibility and regard for the individual teacher's autonomy.

are saddled with over-large classes, too many classroom hours a week, a curriculum whose relevance to the life of the student, currently or later on, must largely be taken for granted, and with students whose receptivity to schooling is at a marginal level. In desperate situations, most people cling to the safe and known. Under such circumstances, too, it is hardly surprising that new ideas emanate from supervisors and administrators, the administrative apparatus, rather than the grass roots. Thus new teaching devices have the double drawback of being untried and of being promoted by educational bosses who often lack credibility with teachers.

In assessing the likely effects which the use of instructional technology would have on the teaching profession, we hold that the organized profession is at a point in time where it still can determine the direction of this unresolved issue. Teachers are controlling more and more of their own destiny in matters effecting their economic security and working conditions. They also are securing a greater voice in educational policy, decision making, and goal determination. If teachers can clearly assess the problems and alternatives facing them, they will be able to *determine* the effects of instructional technology rather than assess the situation with analytical hindsight after the fact.

We have identified three major problem areas where distinct alternatives exist. The choices made will determine the future of the teaching profession for many years to come. These three areas are: (1) the question of educational objectives, (2) the question of educational standards, and (3) the question of the structure of the teaching profession. The first two will be examined briefly while the third, because of its major implications, will be explored in greater depth. However, beyond assessing what the potential effects of instructional technology will be, it also will be essential to explore ways to avoid or overcome their possible corrosive effects.

The Question of Educational Objectives The first issue which teachers must face is not particularly difficult to identify nor is it especially unique. The problem of educational objectives—the clarification and priority of ends and means—is a recurring one. Yet, I cannot emphasize strongly enough my conviction that instructional media of whatever kind, new or old, offer only means to ends and are never ends in themselves. Teachers have been presented with new "hardware," new tools, and new instruments. Nevertheless, it is the goals of education which should remain central and which should determine educational programs and methods, not the other way around.

Unfortunately, the use and evaluation of new instructional technology are to some extent inhibited by the distraction of promotional techniques which

often seem more appropriate to Madison Avenue than to education and which imply a rationale which elevates them to the status of ends in themselves. This is not a new problem, for it has arisen in the past with such "older" media as textbooks. It is imperative, therefore, that use of new technological approaches be based upon their contribution to the outcomes of education. The basic question is not how much use can be made of these devices, but how can the objectives of education be achieved most effectively.

While this paper certainly is not the place to become involved in an extensive discourse on philosophical objectives, several theoretical alternatives must be resolved by teachers if they are to avoid placing instructional means at a higher priority than educational ends. Teachers must have clearly in mind not only the most effective ways to utilize instructional tools at their disposal but, even more essential, they first should have resolved a number of elemental but extremely significant questions:

Is knowledge something that can be transmitted, as an object, from one human being to another or is knowledge the residue of one's unique and personal experiences?

Is the goal of teaching the mastery of factual information by means of demonstrations and recitations or is teaching a process of arousing personal response in the learner?

Is the learner conceived as a sensory receiver to be manipulated or is he an active and experiencing person?

Is the teacher conceived as a demonstrator and mental disciplinarian or is he provocator and instigator of activity—mental, emotional and social?

Is the educational process primarily one of absorption or one of self-discovery?

It is my belief that the alternative listed first in each of the five questions might tend to lead teachers toward an overemphasis on technology as an end in itself rather than as one of many methods for achieving educational goals. Conversely, I feel that the second proposition in each case would tend to focus technological devices in proper perspective as a means of achieving desired goals.

What Bhaerman implies is that educational objectives should be determined by representatives of society and that educational methods should serve those ends. There is some danger that education may become McLuhan-ized.

Companies that invest millions of dollars in the development of new educational appliances are certainly doing so with an expectation of profit. Since

many of these appliances not only determine teaching methods but actually are teaching methods, there is considerable danger that needs of society and the needs of the individual child may become secondary to the profit needs of the educational entrepreneur. And it isn't only big business that has this medium-message confusion. Individuals who earn their living advancing a certain point of view or a certain education theory also have a vested interest in a process which could defeat goals. See Bhaerman's paragraphs below.

Teachers have a choice between two predominant philosophies: the philosophy which stresses the daily *filling* of twenty-five to thirty buckets in a classroom [or] the philosophy which stresses the *freeing* of twenty-five to thirty human spirits. Their choice will determine to a large extent how well they use the new instructional devices or, conversely, whether they are *used* by them.

The Question of Educational Standards A sec-

ond problem closely related to the one above was raised recently and perhaps unknowingly by Congressman James H. Scheuer,¹ who pointed out that, as a result of the Educational Television Facilities Act, the federal government was provided the seed money to establish state educational television networks. Scheuer remarked that the results have been phenomenal and that in September of that year (1968) the state of Kentucky turned on eight transmitters all at once. He also stated that virtually all southeastern states are building similar networks. Now this is significant—in a negative kind of way—when one realizes that Kentucky in 1967-68 ranked 45th among the states in the expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance. Not surprisingly, the other southeastern states ranked in significantly low positions on this same scale, e.g., Florida 30th; Georgia 38th; North Carolina 44th; South Carolina 48th; Alabama 49th; Mississippi 50th.²

In light of the relevant analysis of Berkeley's Dr. Martin Trow, the implications of this should not escape us. Professor Trow³ suggests that where educational standards are weak, the new technology will more likely be used only as a supplement for classroom instruction. He quotes a significant item which appeared in the *National Observer* in the early 1960's when it was reported

1 Congressman James H. Scheuer, "The Federal Interest in Education Technology," Speech to the annual meeting of the Council of Educational Facility Planners, Washington, D. C., October 10, 1968.

2 *Ranking of the States, 1968*. Research Report 1968-R 1. Washington: National Education Association, p. 55.

3 Martin Trow, "The New Media in the Evolution of American Education" in Peter H. Rossi and Bruce J. Biddle, *The New Media and Education* Chicago: Aldine Publication Co., p. 347.

that on each day in South Carolina, courses in that state's history, algebra, French, physical science, geometry and electronics are fed in on television to nearly one-third of all the high school students in that state. Thus, what Congressman Scheuer said can be interpreted in another light. Rather than cause for joy, there is cause for alarm. In supporting a relatively untested educational approach, one which has not proven itself yet, the federal government may well be reinforcing the existence of relatively low standards of educational excellence.

Along this same line, educators must take a number of similar precautions in what seems to be overeagerness by some to shift to any new or different technological device, however unproven it may be.

Another way of looking at the problem of goals and methods is to take up some of the observations made by Callahan in his study The Cult of Efficiency in Education (University of Chicago Press, 1962). I cannot completely agree with Callahan's basic plea that the education of children has nothing to do with efficiency. The schools are not located in the big rock candy mountain. The cost factor cannot be omitted from any equation of educational productivity.

On a unit cost basis, the American public schools have been marvelously productive. They have achieved a low unit cost with a relatively high mass production by using low staffing ratios, low standards of teaching certification (cheap labor), and by not educating the roughly 1/3 of the students who are hardest to educate. When our society could absorb large numbers of unskilled workers, and when the fact that the uneducated third had an inversely correlated black racial characteristic was not morally offensive, our mass production educational system was adequate. This is no longer the case.

We could approach the problem of how to educate most of the "lost third" of the incoming population which our schools do not satisfactorily educate now by (a) using more teachers and better physical facilities; (b) new devices which increase the productivity of educational workers, or (c) by using a combination of increased staff, better technology, and better staff utilization.

One observation prompted by the above analysis is that individualized approaches to learning may be required for students in the "lost third." Diagnostic and remedial machines may be particularly helpful here. They almost invariably constitute new methods and they get away from adverse personal factors in the pupil-teacher relationship.

Thus, the new educational technology may provide a means for educating the lost third—but we should not delude ourselves by thinking that education is going to be cheaper as a result. Callahan was therefore right in one sense in

decrying "The Cult of Efficiency" because no completely cost-conscious educational administrator would consider it worthwhile educating these individuals. Educating the lost third—with or without the new technology—is going to cost much more money per child than what it costs per child to educate the two-thirds who "make it."

The current level of education productivity must not only be maintained—it must be improved. Teachers must seek innovative ways to make the process and practice of education more fruitful. Not all teachers are unwilling to experiment with new instructional devices. And I believe that technology, if used as proper means to worthy ends, has the potential for increasing the productivity of our enterprise. However, productivity is being threatened in cases where teaching staffs are reduced, budgets decimated, and qualifications for entry to teaching lowered. Education must become more expansive with greater financial support for our schools, more qualified teachers for our classrooms and, perhaps in some cases, more "hardware," but only when such machines have been tested, certified and empirically validated in terms of being educationally productive.

In a word, standards in such areas as school staffing, class size, teachers' qualifications and instructional budgets must be maintained at levels where they are high and strengthened where they are low. As with educational objectives, high standards are a priority which must be paramount. When quality standards are established first, state-wide television networks will follow in due course as supplements to instruction. But let us not lose sight of quality standards and first priorities any more than we should confuse ends and means.

The Question of Status and Structure The technological revolution in education involves forces working both to raise and to lower the status of teachers. And while it appears that lowering the status of teachers is more likely, this is an issue whose directions also can be determined by the organized teaching profession.

Professors Biddle (of the University of Missouri) and Rossi (of the University of Chicago) state the alternatives facing us in the following terms: Where teachers are in control of the new technology of instruction, teaching will assume more of the status of a profession and the teacher's activities will be governed more by their own determination than by orders from above; by contrast, where the new media supplant rather than come under the authority of the classroom teacher, the teacher will have less and less professional status.

Biddle and Rossi project that the new media will provide a variety of new educational roles for both the teacher and supportive personnel. This, they

foresee, will lead to increased specialization *within* the profession as we know it now and to the appearance of auxiliary positions in the school tables of organization. Some of these projected roles (planner, script writer, etc.) will be ancillary to the more basic job of instruction while others are likely to become separate jobs in and of themselves.

If that is all they lead to; that is, increased specialization and auxiliary positions subordinate to the more basic job of instruction, it would be one thing. The problem, however, goes far beyond this.

I welcome the appearance of auxiliary personnel. As a matter of fact, a major part of the American Federation of Teachers' program is geared to this. In the study, "A 10-year Plan to Save the Schools: Achieving Nationwide Educational Excellence," which Leon H. Keyserling recently prepared for the American Federation of Teachers,⁴ the projection was made that non-teacher instructional staff positions will increase over the next ten-year period from 188,000 to 1,523,000, including 1,100,000 paraprofessionals or one for every two teachers. The implications of the concept of specialization are more complex, however, and provoke a more detailed discussion.

A number of educators, to whom I will refer momentarily, have written and spoken extensively on the effects of increased specialization. In fact, Dr. Carroll V. Newsom,⁵ now the Vice President for Education for R.C.A., has gone so far as to say that the specialized use of faculty personnel *itself* is one of the new instructional technologies.

Professor Trow cogently observed a number of possibilities as a result of the increased specialization of the profession:

The more centralized and extensive the planning of instruction through the new media, the more important will be the planning and administrative staff. These staff people already hold statuses (and earn salaries) higher than those of classroom teachers. The gap will be widened, and the administrative staff will come increasingly to include people directly involved in teaching (as television or "master teachers"), or in developing instructional materials (programmers). But in addition to the widening of status differentials, the rationalization of instruction will centralize power as well. The classroom teacher now has relatively narrow discretion in the shaping of the curriculum and the choice of materials. The new media, if governed from above, will further narrow the scope of his discretion. By thus further reducing the

⁴ Leon H. Keyserling, "A Ten-Year Plan to Save the Schools," *Changing Education*, Summer-Fall, 1968, p. 21.

⁵ Carroll V. Newsom, "Technology as it Affects Educational Planning." Speech to the annual meeting of the Council of Educational Facility Planners, Washington, D. C., October 10, 1968.

calls on him for other than routine skills and custodial functions, the new media will further lower the status of the nonelite teacher.⁶

Trow projects that the consequences of these innovations also are likely to affect the structure of the teaching profession, "replacing a unitary status by a hierarchy of profession and statuses."

Lindley Stiles and B. J. Chandler⁷ make explicit the connection between instructional technology and the development of a hierarchy among teachers:

Urban schools in the future will offer multiple opportunities for professional service, specialization, and advancement. Although it is to be expected that guild organizations* will exert persistent pressures to prevent the professionalization of teaching services in city systems, it is highly probable that differentiations will be developed in the quality and utilization of teaching competence that will permit outstanding teachers to be rewarded for professional competence and contributions. Examples of such recognition of quality teaching are already available in television teachers, instructional team leaders, and specialist teachers in some school systems. In the future, it is likely that the uniform scale salaries that educational guilds defend so vigorously will apply only to the lowest echelon of teaching. Others who prove their professional competence will be able to advance within the function of teaching to higher assignments that carry greater professional responsibility and greater financial rewards. (* I think he is talking about us!) Lastly, Professors Biddle and Rossi offer a number of similar speculations.

They predict that as a result of the new technology and as more avenues of specialization appear,

- the status of the teacher will rise;
- the profession of teaching will appear to be less of a craft;
- the teaching career will not be terminal but will provide many avenues for both horizontal and vertical mobility;
- and the status of the "generalist," the traditional classroom teacher, is likely to continue at a low level.⁸

Now this is surely a mixed bag of speculations. I believe the status of teachers has risen and will continue to rise mainly because of the success of teacher militancy as it is defined in the related concepts of collective bargaining and

6 Trow, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

8 Bruce J. Biddle and Peter H. Rossi, "Educational Media, Education and Society," in Rossi and Biddle, *The New Media and Education*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

collective action. Collective bargaining is an orderly democratic process which permits representatives of teachers to negotiate as equals with representatives of their employers. On the other hand, it is only meaningful if teachers have the option of withholding their services in the event that it is impossible to reach agreement on the terms of the written contract. Rossi and Biddle may have oversimplified the problem; it is difficult to hold to the idea that the status of the teacher will rise because of an increase in the avenues of specialization. The reverse is likely to be true, namely, the person we normally think of as a teacher may be submerged in a hierarchy of levels. (On this score, the first point made by Rossi and Biddle seems to contradict their last point. It is difficult to see how the status of the teacher will rise and the status of the "generalist," the traditional classroom teacher, is likely to continue at a low level.) However, it is not difficult to see what *the real problem* is here, namely, the confusion about the issue of "What is a teacher?" The concept of a teacher needs to be clarified and stabilized. The problem, which I will deal with in the concluding pages, is how these things can be done.

That the profession of teaching, because of increased areas of specialization, will appear to be less of a "craft" appears to be splitting hairs. Is teaching an art or a science? And now, is it a profession or craft? This kind of either/or thinking serves only to cloud the real issues. Lord knows it is difficult to define the teaching process and to reach limited consensus on a definition! (I suppose one could say that teaching is a "professional craft" or perhaps even a "crafty profession"!) The heart of the matter is not so much what you call it, but how you view it and, more importantly, how you treat it. That is to say, teaching will be less of a craft and less of a profession, not because of increased specialization, but less of both if we continue to treat it and support it in the substandard ways to which we have become accustomed.

Also, at the heart of the matter is the question of mobility, horizontal and vertical mobility. The latter form, particularly, adds a number of related problems which must be resolved: differentiated staff levels, ranking, and merit pay. That this problem is already at hand is seen in the position taken recently by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education which during the past year has been reviewing that state's program of teacher certification and preparation.⁹ In the report of the Council a number of statements were made which I find quite shocking. First of all, a hierarchy is identified:

Four levels of licenses are suggested: internship licenses for those in training; associate teacher licenses for beginning teachers; professional licenses

⁹ Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, *Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts. Report Number 1*. Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, June, 1968.

for those who demonstrate ability to handle professional assignments independently of supervision; and educational specialists for *high level* teachers (p. 13-14).

Then, the personnel policies of school districts, that is, collective bargaining contracts, are reconceived:

Policies such as employment qualifications, staffing assignments, salaries, promotion and tenure, should be related to the new differentiated uses of teaching talents. A key objective should be to provide opportunities for appropriate professional contributions, advancement, financial reward and professional prestige within the instructional team (p. 12). School systems should move as rapidly as possible to adapt all personnel policies to the new differentiations of teaching that qualify teachers for higher levels of certification (p. 18).

And lastly, vertical mobility is indeed undertaken:

Failure to maintain the level of performance for licensure could result in non-renewal, thus disqualification. In some instances, however, when the failure is inability to perform at an advanced professional level, such as professional or specialist, it may be decided to reduce the level of license to that of performance capabilities. Thus, a professional teacher who fails to maintain competence to perform independently might be licensed as an associate teacher and permitted to work under supervision (p. 72).

A number of significant educational issues are brought to the surface as a result of these three statements; for example, the evaluation of competencies, the obsolescence of teaching skills, and the renewal of certificates. And while they must be dealt with, the delimitations of time and space and the immediate topic before me force me to withhold discussion of these important issues until another time. The concept of differentiated staff, however, is directly relevant and must be assessed. There are a large variety of differentiated staff models which have been developed over the past few years. All are similar basically to the Temple City model on the next page:

(Note: The October 1968 issue of *Education Recaps!*¹¹ reports that "teaching" salaries up to \$25,000 appear to be a reality in the differentiated teaching staff plan adopted in Temple City. The plan began operating in the fall of 1968 with a single secondary level master teacher in social studies. In three years, the plan calls for the entire 4,500 student district to be on the schedule. At that time there will be six or seven master teachers, and one senior teacher for every eight or ten staff teachers. It is reported that master and senior teachers will be grouped

			NON-TENURE
		Master Teacher	
		Doctorate or Equivalent	
NON-TENURE			
		Senior Teacher M.S. or Equivalent	
TENURE			
		Staff Teacher	
		B.A. Degree and State Credential	
TENURE			
		Associate Teacher	
		A.B. or Intern	
100% Teaching	100% Teaching Responsibilities	3/5's Staff Teaching Responsibilities	2/5's Staff Teaching Responsibilities
1-10 Months	10 Months	10-11 Months	12 Months
Academic Assistants A.A. Degree or Equivalent			
Educational Technicians			
Clerks			

Illustrated here is the Temple City, Calif., model of differentiated staffing. Temple City capitalizes on functions already existing in many schools, but formalizes them into a four-level teacher hierarchy: 1) *The Associate Teacher*, a novice, has a "learning schedule" and less demanding responsibilities; 2) *The Staff Teacher* has a full teaching load, aided by clerks, technicians and paraprofessionals; 3) *The Senior Teacher*, a "learning engineer" or methodological expert in a subject, discipline or skill area, teaches three-fourths of the time; and 4) *The Master Teacher* is a scholar-research specialist who teaches two-fifths of the time, but also has curriculum expertise, translating research theory to classroom possibilities. (From *Florida Schools*, September-October, 1968)

around five disciplines. It is also significant that the editors of *Education Re-caps* enclosed the word "teaching" in quotation marks.)

This scheme illustrated above tells us more clearly than anything most of us can say about the divisiveness which is gradually overtaking what was once considered a cooperative and egalitarian profession. Schemes such as this maintain and extend the disjunction which so often exists between teachers and

administrators. I fear that it will not be long before it is impossible to distinguish between senior teachers, master teachers, and administrators, particularly since the various levels of teachers "teach" for varying periods of the calendar year. Such schemes are easy to develop on paper, which probably accounts for their increasing abundance. But it is another matter to carry them out, if one were prone to do so.

In the diagram above it is not at all clear who is responsible to whom. Are staff teachers or senior teachers or master teachers in the final analysis responsible for the key decisions needed in the educational life of each child? Or is accountability divided on a 2/5 and 3/5 basis too? The model assumes that "staff" teachers are something less than "learning engineers" (good lord!) and experts in subject matter and curriculum. It assumes that "master" teachers are superior in nearly everything and, hence, should be in charge. Such an assumption denies individual differences because most people are not superior in nearly everything! Surely there must be a workable and realistic alternative to this kind of divisive hierarchy arrangement. Such an alternative should be based upon a legitimate differentiation (if *differentiation* is the answer and I am not at all sure it is.) Would not it make more sense to try to build a horizontal arrangement based upon differentiated *assignments and tasks*? While this has not been done to any wide extent, at least it would not tend toward divisiveness as does the hierachial arrangement. In an alternative model teachers would be considered on the same level even though they may be performing individualized tasks. While the following diagram is only illustrative of one horizontal model, similar ones can be devised.

Para-professionals				Professionals			
Clerks	Technicians	Assistants	Interns	t e a c h e r s			
#1	#2	#3	#4				
a media specialist	a specialist in diagnosing	a specialist in instructional techniques	a good old fashioned "generalist" type, the kind we need more of				

Bhaerman does a good job, I think, in pointing out the impact of new differentiated staff proposals on the status of teachers. A point that is not sufficiently stressed, however, is the fact that much of the new educational tech-

nology—that is, the appliances—cannot be used in the traditional school organization. Diagnostic machines which can pinpoint why a fourth-grade pupil hasn't yet learned to read cannot be used by the fourth-grade teacher because they require large amounts of individualized attention, for instance. Programmed materials for older students, while useful for average and above average readers, cannot be used by below average readers without a great deal of help from a teacher or someone who is familiar with the materials being used. Thus, added staff will be necessary in spite of ingenious schemes to make small group instruction possible by accepting very large group instruction for part of the time, or by self-directed (teacherless) study. The added personnel required for use of the new technology will raise unit cost, unless varying pay grades for staff members are employed. This, in turn, as Bhaerman points out, introduces the hierarchy concept.

At the present time, almost universally throughout the United States, eighth-grade students spend five classroom hours a week learning "American History." If, in a class of 30 pupils, six must be sent to a tutor, the cost of teaching that class American History is increased by the salary of the tutor plus the cost and maintenance of whatever technological appliances are used. Thus, a powerful force is generated toward paying the tutor considerably less than the eighth-grade Social Studies teacher. At the other end of the scale will be a "specialist"—a quasi-administrator—who teaches less and is paid more than the Social Studies teacher. An even more ominous pressure will be generated to give the general teacher more pupils at a time to compensate for the costs of the specialists and the machines.

Finally a point that Bhaerman does not make enough of, I think, is that the use of differentiated staff requires a large increase in the amount of supervisory cost per teacher. A favorite remark of school principals when confronted by demands for faculty control is, "You cannot run a school by committee." While it might be a good idea to experiment with communal administration, I doubt that it is practical to teach eighth-grade American History that way. Somebody must be in charge, like it or not, and I would make the further surmise that Parkinson's law will operate with tidal force to bring about bureaucratic proliferation, with the wind deadening effect.

To make a general rule, teachers will probably not be resistant to the new technology as such. To the extent that it can be shown that new educational appliances will make them more productive, teachers will actually welcome the added equipment. However, teacher resistance will increase as it becomes apparent that use of new technological devices require changes in staff structure, or are paid for with money which seems to come out of working conditions and teachers' pockets.

The length of time one teaches should be determined by contractual arrangement. However, the professional teachers should probably not teach 100% of the time since we should not ignore time needed for on-the-job training and for planning periods. Undoubtedly, some teachers should be specialists and some generalists. Nevertheless, all should be expert in their "subject, discipline or skill area." And, it seems to me, that with the aid of competent supervisors, teachers should be able to some degree to translate "theory to classroom possibilities." After all, it is the teacher who is *in* the classroom; hence, it is *he who must translate theory into practice*, not the scholar-research specialist who may be too far removed from the real concerns of a classroom. Just as the schools emphasize or claim to emphasize individual differences among students, the alternative should recognize individual differences in the faculty.

One final but significant point—the relationship of salary to the levels of teaching. It probably would be ideal if we had the omnipotent wisdom to be able to distinguish degrees of effectiveness among teachers—and pay accordingly. But the millennium is a long way off and the chances are we will not be around to see it. So we are left with a choice: to pay teachers according to the role they play (but who can judge priorities here?) or to pay teachers according to the level of their academic degree and years of experience (realizing the inequities that often exist here). Until we have found a workable and justifiable alternative, the salary schedule concept as we know it now is the only meaningful choice we have.

I trust the problem is now in clear focus: the duties of teachers need to be stabilized along lines similar to this horizontal continuum in order to differentiate him from his supervisors and from other adults who play important supportive roles. Even those teachers who train in areas of specialization need not be ranked at higher levels. Specialists are needed in this day and age, but so are generalists who can see more than one side of a problem. Who is to say which is the more significant role? Both should be remunerated according to their level of education and experience, not by their role performance. Remove even one brick from the base of a structure and it will collapse. Likewise, to a large degree, teaching is a cooperative and communal effort and so it should remain. Nothing must be injected to create divisiveness . . . not even new instructional technology. While we *can use* the new media, when proven that it effectively can meet our goals, let not the new media *use us*.

In short, we should attack the problem at the source. If the majority of teachers are not the most able or skillful, let us get to the root of the problem by identifying, recruiting and further developing the "raw material" into truly

first class teachers who *are* able. Instead we concoct a hierarchy of levels and rewards, thus creating new and even more serious problems.

Conclusion As I stated at the outset of this paper, I would deal not only with the potential corrosive effects of instructional technology on the teaching profession but also with ways in which I feel that the corrosive effects could be mitigated. I have attempted to suggest ways in which the concepts of the "teacher" could be stabilized. Let me conclude by offering two positive prerequisites which I feel will be necessary for this stabilization:

1. A reinforcement of our professional (or verbalized) attitude that teaching is a cooperative and fraternal effort, one which calls for centralizing the values of solidarity and unity among the teaching profession. While teachers may perform different roles, their unified force should be directed toward improving the status of children's learning and of the profession's well-being.
2. A demonstration of courage on the part of both teachers and administrators is necessary in order to encounter such schemes as the vertical hierarchy in the Massachusetts certification plan and the vertical differentiation in the Temple City plan.

Those two plans offered a thesis. We reject them and offer in its place a concrete plan of our own to complement the two attitudinal requirements stated above. Therefore, two specific programs are needed in order to stabilize the status and structure of the profession:

1. A teacher certification arrangement in which the state would require superior college-level preparation for certification, provide for expert supervision of beginning teachers for a period of at least three years, and then remove itself from further certification activity. In turn, local school systems would provide the stimulus, where needed, to encourage teachers to continue their education for improved competence. Presently, in many states teachers must secure additional college credit in order to continue the initial teaching certificate in force or to make it "permanent." This practice involves a type of coercion that does not lead to professional responsibility. The stamina and the dedication to complete three or four years of successful teaching, plus the optimum collegiate preparation necessary for regular initial certification, should be sufficient grounds for extending a certificate. Rather than the multi-levels of certification we offer the concept of certification as a dual-step process

with continuing certification granted after a three- or four-year probationary period.

2. An in-service education arrangement in which specialization can be obtained by those who wish it and continued professional growth can be achieved by all. However, in-service approaches must not be more of the same old things. They must be meaningful and significant and, to a complete degree as possible, they must be personalized and individualized. It is trite to say that teachers must be continuously alert to the many new insights into educational theory, the learning process and, yes, instructional technology. Teachers obviously must never stop growing or they are dead. A way must be found to assure this growth. The question is not whether they do or whether they do not. It is: What is the fairest, most mature, and most professional way to insure professional growth? Obsolescence of skills can be overcome without the restrictions imposed by rigid certification levels and forced renewal. But the way will not be easy; nothing worthwhile ever is. Courage by teachers and administrators alike is needed.

Brave words! But how to make them a reality? One approach might be to encourage the development of jointly controlled teacher-administration research and development funds through more imaginative collective bargaining. As things now stand, R & D is carried on by colleges, grant farmers, and institutional research departments. Working teachers are not involved. Perhaps two or three percent of the operating budget of every school district could be set aside for research by teachers on a released time basis. Such research would have much more credibility and could command much more support from teachers than ideas which come "from the outside."

In dealing with the possible effects of instructional technology upon the teaching profession, it has been necessary to go beyond the initial elaboration and prediction of those effects. To reiterate, I believe the effects of technology are still being determined. The main alternative appears to be a choice between a hierachial structure of the profession and a flexible, less rigid, and less divisive structure. I trust I have offered a workable guideline in order to achieve the latter goal.*

* An elaboration and clarification of a number of the issues raised in this article can be found in the new AFT QuEST (Quality Educational Standards in Teaching) Series of Occasional Papers, available through the AFT.

Experimentalism and Learning Theory

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In adopting a psychology of learning, an educator has at least three possible choices. He may conform rigidly to one systematic psychology; he may borrow eclectically from various psychological outlooks and arrange his ideas into a patchwork mosaic that is available for him to draw upon as need arises; or he may develop an ideological, emergent synthesis. In the sense it is used here, an emergent synthesis is a new outlook which benefits from knowledge of previously developed psychological systems but is not an eclectic compromise among them.

Eclecticism has its own strengths. However, its basic weakness is that one who is dedicated to it has no defensible systematic basis for knowing when to use discrete aspects of respective positions. Thus, the choice of outlook and method for each psychological situation largely is a matter of chance.

Within the course of history of experimentalism, all three general psychological approaches have been advocated and used. In fact, different schools within experimentalism may be identified upon the basis of the ways in which adherents of each school have approached the psychology of learning. However, it is high time that experimentalists clarify their position concerning the nature of the learning process, and that they develop a distinctive experimentalist's model or paradigm for the study of human learning. Today's experimentalist embraces either some form of behaviorism or some form of cognitive-field theory or a compromise between the two, probably garnished with a modicum of mental discipline and apperception. Now, how do these and other paradigmatic approaches emerge?

Thomas S. Kuhn¹ concentrates his approach to the development of each scientific area upon the meaning and emergence of paradigms. He defines a paradigm as a universally recognized scientific achievement that for a time

¹ Thomas S. Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Volume II, Number 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Dr. Bigge is Professor of Educational Foundations at Fresno State. Here, seeking a theoretical basis for reflective teaching, he examines some of the paradigms which have emerged in the development of a science of learning. The behaviorists, he believes, have never moved far enough beyond the S-R approach with its presumption of a passive, reactive learner. Drawing his conception of reflective teaching from Deweyan experimentalism, Professor Bigge concludes that cognitive-field learning theory provides a paradigm most suggestive for "problem-centered, exploratory teaching."

provides model problems and types of solutions for a community of scientific practitioners. He tells us that, in the very early stage of a science, there are about as many views about the nature of the subject as there are experimenters. Then later, several competing paradigms emerge for the study of a scientific area. This constitutes a middle stage in the development of scientific thought. Still later, a mature area of science with one basic paradigm, around which scientists in that field cluster their thought, comes to be recognized by people competent in the field. Then, within a mature "normal science"—a science clustered around one prevailing paradigm—most scientists concentrate their endeavors upon solving the "puzzles" which appear within that paradigmatic approach. Thus, most scientists engage in a "mopping up" enterprise within which, in the interest of elegance, any anomalies which might appear are quietly ignored or perhaps merely mentioned in passing. An anomaly, to Kuhn, is nature's violation of a paradigm-induced expectation. This process of bypassing anomalies continues until a few scientists in a given area concentrate their attentions on the anomalies instead of the paradigm and thereby give birth to a new paradigm which in turn becomes the pivotal design for further "normal science."

Now, let us apply Kuhn's hypothesis to the historical development of psychologies of learning. Theories of learning, for example, mental discipline, apperception, behaviorism, and Gestalt theory are some of the competing paradigms of the middle stage in the development of a science of learning. Logical empiricists in philosophy and their intellectual counterparts, S-R associationists in psychology, are wont to think that psychology, and more specifically learning theory, has achieved a common basic paradigm for a mature science of psychology. This paradigm centers upon a mechanistic, deterministic, and reductionistic behaviorism which is an extension of biological science. However, this psychological paradigm has been, and still is, too burdened with anomalies to be accepted as anything more than one of the competing paradigms of the middle stage of a developing science.

Behaviorist Paradigms Behaviorists have devised numerous modifications of their position in order to eliminate its apparent inadequacies, and they have used their own paradigm to argue in that paradigm's defense. However, the anomalies and inadequacies are merely glossed over, not eliminated. Accordingly, the field is still open. Several paradigms continue to be in open competition and the winner, the paradigm of a mature learning theory, is yet to be structured. To quote Kuhn, "when . . . the profession can no longer evade anomalies that subvert the existing tradition of scientific practice—then begin the extraordinary investigations

that lead the profession at last to a new set of commitments, a new basis for the practice of science."²

Although psychology should be in the forefront in the movement toward a more adequate conception of scientific knowledge, it continues to be hamstrung in an inadequate "Newtonian" approach. To quote Sigmund Koch, "Psychology is thus in the unenviable position of standing on philosophical foundations which began to be vacated by philosophy almost as soon as the former had borrowed them. The paradox is now compounded: philosophy and, more generally, the methodology of science are beginning to stand on foundations that only psychology could render secure."³

Many behavioristic psychologists have advanced multistage models of learning far beyond the single-stage models such as those developed by Thorndike and Watson. Their multistage or mediational models often imply, as stated by Gagné, that: "The learner supplies something himself out of his own previous experience," that ". . . the learner does something to those units before they are stored . . . the units stored in memory are first coded," and that ". . . the conception of learning as a 'stimulus-response association' is already an anachronism."⁴ However, even the most advanced of the behaviorists persist in thinking of the mediation process as occurring serially *between* the stimulus and the response and its coming mechanistically from the memory storage of the individual's nervous system. Thus, whereas many behaviorists recognize that learning occurs "inside the learner," they seldom develop the full implications of this recognition. For example, they fail to view man as a genuinely purposive person interacting with his psychological or perceived environment.

Within the philosophic paradigm, experimentalism, a cognitive-field theory merits, at the least, a place along side the behaviorisms as a middle-stage paradigm for learning theory. In contrast with the views of behaviorists, cognitive-field theorists' image of man is not that of a passive, reactive recipient of stimuli and emitter of responses. But, neither is the image of an active, autonomous being which engages in thinking completely independent of his environment. Instead, the proposed image is that of a purposive person interacting with his unique psychological environment. In a life space, the basic concepts of cognitive-field psychology, person and environment, are

2 *Ibid.* p. 6.

3 Sigmund Koch, "Psychology and Emerging Conceptions of Knowledge as Unitary," in T. W. Wann, *Behaviorism and Phenomenology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

4 Robert M. Gagné, "Learning Research and Its Implications for Independent Learning," in Gerald F. Gleason, Ed., *The Theory and Nature of Independent Learning*. Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1967.

not mutually exclusive; however, they do function as subwholes of a psychological field. Thus, they are in simultaneous mutual interaction and are mutually interdependent. Each depends upon the other for its nature and functions; it is impossible to treat one adequately without also treating the other.

Experimentalist Theory John Dewey repeatedly called our attention to the fact that prevalent psychologies of learning were inadequate paradigms for human learning. At times, he provided hints concerning what he thought an adequate theory would be like. But, since he thought of himself primarily as a philosopher, he did not develop an experimentalist's theory of learning as such. In his "Rejoinder" of 1939, Dewey laid a foundation for a cognitive-field psychology with his statement ". . . I have held that the relative defects of both the idealistic and realistic epistemologies is a result of their failure to set knowing in this context of problematic situations . . ."⁵ He thought that, even though it had not been carefully delineated, a systematic psychology was implicit within his philosophy. Accordingly, he wrote, ". . . although I have said that I regard psychology as indispensable for sound philosophizing at the present juncture, I have failed to develop in a systematic way my underlying psychological principles."

For experimentalists, learning involves persons' development of more adequate insights or understandings, their extension of knowledge and discovery, their fashioning of artistic creations, their furtherance of ties that hold people together in mutual aid and affection, and their expansion of areas of common goals and purposes through harmonization of their individual thoughts and interests. Through learning, so construed, knowledge becomes a power which may be used experimentally for the benefit of individual selves and all mankind. Thus, by the development and use of knowledge, man can change himself, transform his habits, broaden his life activity, and give his perspective a wider scope.

Within the perceptual process as viewed by experimentalists, a person is neither active nor passive nor a combination of the two. Instead he is *interactive*. His being interactive means that, in a perceptual or psychological situation, a person acts in relation to his psychological environment and simultaneously realizes the consequences of so doing. As Dewey put it, "An organism does not live in an environment; it lives by means of an environment."⁶

⁵ John Dewey, "Experience, Knowledge and Value A Rejoinder," in Paul Arthur Schilpp, Ed., *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, Northwestern University, Evanston *The Library of Living Philosophers*, 1939.

⁶ John Dewey, *Logic The Theory of Inquiry* New York Henry Holt and Company, 1938.

When one interacts with an object or activity; he sizes it up. Thus, a person's environment—what he gains from "what is out there"—is viewed as fluid and dynamic, not changeless and static.

Life Space Cognitive-field theorists, who see perception as an interactive, not alternatingly reactive, process of person and environment, use *life space* as a model, paradigm, or root metaphor which enables them to take into consideration the total contemporaneous life situation of an individual. Such a contemporaneous situation or life space includes the person, his psychological environment, his insights, and his goals. Consequently, the object of study, when applied to man, is a unit which can best be described as a-discerning-person-in-interaction-with-his-psychological environment; this is a *life space*.

Within cognitive-field theory, learning, briefly defined, is a relativistic—non-mechanistic—process within which a person develops new insights or changes old ones. In no sense is it an associationistic process of connecting stimuli which impinge upon and responses which are evoked or emitted from a biological organism. Nor is it a deterministic operation within which responses of an organism are made more probable or frequent.

The critical issue between cognitive-field psychology and the behaviorisms is not molarity versus atomism, but *purposiveness* and *contemporaneity* versus *mechanistic determinism and serial cause and effect*. Today, many behaviorists have adopted a molar approach to behavior. Thus, they often refer to the organism as a whole and to the total environment, but psychological purposiveness and contemporaneity still remain outside their life spaces. Accordingly, they continue to think mechanistically in terms of a time lapse between stimuli and responses. To quote Hebb, "Temporarily integrated behavior, extended over a period of time, is treated as a series of reactions to a series of stimulations. . . . Stimulus followed directly by response is the archetype of behavior. . . ."⁷

Within cognitive-field psychology it is assumed that, as Dewey stated, "Every intelligent act involves selection of certain things as means to other things as their consequences."⁸ Furthermore, the *purposiveness* of cognitive-field psychology is *immanent*, not *transcendental* to the world of experience; it prevails in workaday life situations. Accordingly, adherents of this position postulate that men exercise choice, but they neither assert nor imply identification with either side of the metaphysical free will-determinism antinomy.

⁷ Donald Olding Hebb. *A Textbook of Psychology*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1958.

⁸ Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, op. cit.

Behaviorists and cognitive-field psychologists agree that there is little basis for assertion of future cause of events. However, cognitive-field psychologists differ sharply from behaviorists in their insistence that derivation of behavior from the past is equally metaphysical and thus beyond the realm of science. Psychologically, "Since neither the past nor the future [as such] exists at the present moment, it cannot have effects, at the present."⁹ This statement by Kurt Lewin implies that any psychological past or psychological future is a simultaneous part of a person's contemporaneous field. Thus, this psychological paradigm is centered, not upon either original or final goals or purposes in any metaphysical sense, but on contemporary human situations with their existent goals.

Cognitive-field, as well as behavioristic psychology, establishes order but it goes about it in a different way. Along with benefiting from the experimentation done under other banners, it develops its own unique type of scientific research. Experimentation within cognitive-field psychology involves the study of such matters as cognitive processes, the recall of uncompleted tasks, the relationship of levels of achievement and levels of aspiration, psychological ecology, group dynamics, action research, concepts of self, personality rigidity, individual and social perception, and reflective teaching. It is in its development of a theoretical basis for reflective teaching that cognitive-field learning theory probably makes its greatest contribution to the science and art of education.

Reflective teaching is problem centered, exploratory teaching. It is based on the conviction that a student studies and learns best when he seeks the relevance of his learning to what he intelligently needs. Reflective teaching involves problem raising and problem solving. In its process, teachers constantly persuade and induce students to reconstruct, reorganize, and reinterpret their own experiences. When reflective teaching is successful students become perplexed just short of frustration, and they emerge with an enlarged store of generalized insights and an enhanced ability and desire to develop and solve problems on their own.

⁹ Kurt Lewin, *Principles of Topological Psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

Some Philosophical Reflections on Teaching and Learning

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What constitutes effective teaching and learning in such disciplines as history, literature and philosophy? What must a person do in order to teach another? What kind of authority should the teacher exert? An attempt will be made here to illustrate the dignity of the work of teaching and to draw some practical conclusions for teachers. Certain philosophical presuppositions, however, are required for this approach, fundamental principles which cannot be fully analyzed within the scope of this paper. Implicit is a particular view of the nature of reality and man's ability to know that reality—a vision derived primarily from what might be called classical realism.

Few activities are more common than teaching and learning; yet it is difficult to find a precise and clear explanation of the nature of these endeavors. Common sense (plus some philosophical judgments) indicates that teaching is to cause another human being to change in a certain way, and that learning is the effect of that causality. But what is the nature of such a causality? What changes are effected? What changes ought to be effected? How are they wrought?

A person may learn with or without the aid of another person. When one discovers knowledge for himself, he is not being taught in the strict sense of the word. On the other hand, when one learns from another—in person or through a book—the learning is a true effect of causality placed by the other. This other is the teacher and the causality (whatever it is) exerted is teaching. Properly speaking, when one learns by himself, he has no teacher; he doesn't teach himself, he merely learns. The first essential characteristic of the teaching-learning situation is clear: there must be a personal relationship between two distinct human beings.¹ Further analysis is induced by the question, what kind of relationship obtains between teacher and student? Since laws of nature differ in respect to human nature and purely physical nature, social science

1 Étienne Gilson, "The Eminence of Teaching," in A. C. Pegis, Ed., *A Gilson Reader*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Image Books, 1957.

THE RECORD has seldom, in recent years, published articles dealing with teaching and learning from the classical realist point of view; and we have found this one, building on the thought of Étienne Gilson, to be of particular interest. Professor Collins, who specializes in philosophy of education, emphasizes the personal relationship involved in teaching and learning, the importance of authority and the conception of an active learner. The purpose of teaching, he writes, is to cause "a personal discovery"; and he reviews several methods for achieving that end, with a special focus on the teacher's own rethinking of what he is communicating to his students.

differs from natural science and the rapport of teacher and learner cannot be reduced to a scientific formula. Because the human person is a complex organism composed of material and non-material elements (including emotions), a specific outcome of teaching cannot be predicted with certainty. In summarizing an Aristotelian doctrine and applying it to education, Brumbaugh states that "social science, in the sense in which we have natural science, is impossible."² Therefore, teaching is an art which demands the instrumentality of personality. This is our second characteristic of teaching and is aptly described by Highet: "Teaching is not like inducing a chemical reaction: it is much more like painting a picture or making a piece of music, or on a lower level like planting a garden or writing a friendly letter. You must throw your heart into it, you must realize that it cannot all be done by formulas, or you will spoil your work, and your pupils, and yourself."³

Authority and Action Thirdly, the teacher-learner relation implies the notion of authority. This is evident from an analysis of causation. A cause possesses a capacity to act upon another (for example, a carpenter who is to form a log into a canoe), or else it could not be a cause; and an effect must not already possess that by which it becomes an effect of this cause. The fact of inequality between cause and effect, thus between teacher and pupil, is evident. The inequality does not lie in nature, nor necessarily in intellectual ability, nor even in general knowledge, but at least in this particular knowledge to be communicated. If this were not true, then the person designated as teacher would have nothing to teach and, in this instance, would not be a teacher at all. Due to this kind of priority the teacher possesses authority and has a responsibility to use it.

A fourth essential principle is this: the student is an active, cognitive being. Therefore, teaching another human being cannot properly be compared to lighting a stick of wood (or forming a log into a canoe). Implications of this fact are highly significant. First of all, the learner possesses a power of knowing which is an active function as natural to the human being as eating, sleeping, breathing and walking. If this knowing process is so natural to a human being, one might well wonder why children frequently appear indisposed to being taught. Two reasons may be adduced: 1) perhaps the teaching, as a matter of fact, is not what it should be; and 2) the development of powers of apprehen-

² Robert B. Brumbaugh and Nathaniel M. Lawrence. *Philosophers on Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963. Also, cf. Robert G. Olson, "Science and Existentialism," cited in Van Cleve Morris, *Existentialism in Education*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p. 67.

³ Gilbert Highet. *The Art of Teaching*. New York: Random House, Inc., Vintage Books, 1950.

sion, abstract reasoning, and judgment, as well as the function of attaching intrinsically unrelated symbols to ideas, are themselves very difficult and highly demanding (which does not make them unnatural, however).⁴ These two factors lead to a second implication of the learner's active cognition: a prime responsibility of the teacher lies in motivating students to want to learn. For if they have no intellectual curiosity, which might well be a more comfortable position, they will learn nothing. This curiosity, though natural to man, must be provoked.⁵ How is the teacher to do it? Ultimately through his or her personality in responding to the particular student or group of students. But are there any general rules? Certainly interest must hold the first place, and that can be obtained in many cases through a clear analysis of a problem and demonstration of its relevance and importance for the students personally. Now this relevance delineated for students should be intrinsic—from the nature of the subject matter at hand. For example, a teacher of philosophy can explain the importance of the question of an openness to God in terms of the infinite difference that it makes regarding the nature of man, and then how that concept—of man—affects man's approach to reality, and how that approach affects the actual rearrangement of the world. If demonstrating this kind of usefulness, as well as the inherent worth of knowing for the sake of humanization, as such, fails to impel students to learn, one must turn to the practical (rather than the useful)⁶—for example, learning philosophy in order to become a teacher and earn a living (or, studying in order to graduate in order to get a job in order to make a living). The particular mode of stimulating students to learn is determined by the personality of the teacher and other immediate circumstances. The importance and necessity of accomplishing it somehow is evident. Gilson's comment is apropos: ". . . to obtain from the pupil this effort upon himself which he can see no reason to give, except the words we say, is the highest and noblest part of the work of the teacher."⁷

The fifth principle underlying the art of teaching is actually a corollary of the fourth: no man can understand anything for another. Recall that the student's power of knowing is an active one; the student must learn for himself, which means that the work of the teacher is to promote the student's self-learning. The proper effect, then, of teaching is the causation of a personal discovery in the mind of the learner. A discovery of what? Of principles in their proper order. This is what the teacher communicates, but he communi-

4 H. Stanley Carroll, "The Art of Teaching: Its Philosophical Basis," *The Philosophy of Christian Education*. Proceedings of the Western Division of the ACPA, 1941.

5 Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Cf. also Brumbaugh and Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

6 Gilson, "Education and Higher Learning," *A Gilson Reader*. The term "practical" here refers to extrinsic relevance, "useful" to intrinsic relevance.

7 Gilson, "The Eminence of Teaching," p. 303.

cates not in the sense of giving his own principles but in the sense of causing the student to discover for himself. If a teacher does not do this, in a sense he accomplishes nothing, for "no master can take his own knowledge out of his own mind and put it in the heads of his pupils. The only thing he can do is to help them to put it themselves into their own minds."⁸

Teaching Methods The question of teaching methods arises: how does one communicate this order of principles? This is usually attempted in one of two ways (or a combination of them): lecture and dialog. Before commenting on either of these means, one should mention a few pedagogical considerations relevant to both. The purposes (specific outcomes to be pursued) and the scope of the plan for the entire course should be clearly explained.⁹ Each part must be carefully related to the whole explicitly and constantly. And each class, each section of the matter, and the course itself should be carefully summarized and concluded. According to Higett:

To undertake to teach a complex subject without organizing one's treatment of it so as to bring out its structure, and to discuss an artistic subject without giving, in one's own teaching, a semblance of the order and harmony which are essential attributes of art, is to neglect an important opportunity of teaching something greater and more important than any set of facts, to discourage one's pupils, and to falsify one's own true appreciation of the subject.¹⁰

The student must understand individual principles and ideas, but unless he can relate them to other principles and ideas in the same field—as well as to those of other branches of knowledge—he has not truly learned. So the teacher must not only communicate the order of his own course and branch of knowledge, but must also relate that to other methods of knowing and kinds of knowledge. (For example, it must be demonstrated by a teacher of philosophy that the philosophical method differs in nature from the scientific, and that the kinds of conclusions reached by each method vary qualitatively.)

The aim and essence of the activity of teaching are not altered by the method used. The question as to which method is best is very easy to answer: neither. It is this writer's opinion that with its proper variations, each has a place and should be used according to circumstances. Two objections are sometimes posed by students. First, they claim that reading can and should

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-06.

⁹ Higett, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

replace classes because much less time would be wasted. This may be true, depending upon particular teachers and classes; however, we are concerned here with ideals of teaching, not particular persons or instances. Reading and listening to a lecture amount to essentially the same thing. Yet a major difference is seen in that in the one case an inert object acts as the instrument, whereas in the other a live person (hopefully!) performs the function. Since no book can react to the reader's objections and comments, the teacher has something more to offer. There is no substitution for person-to-person contact in teaching and learning. The living, spoken word, emitted in an atmosphere of trust and confidence, is almost infinitely more potent for communicating ideas than the printed word. Regardless of numerous disappointments at the hands of fellow human beings, a person instinctively feels closer to man than to inert materials. Nevertheless, lectures should not replace reading—both are necessary. The teacher, in this respect, serves to guide the student in his choice of reading.

A second objection hinges on the authority of the teacher and the freedom of the learner. Some claim that, in lecturing, a person is not really teaching. The class, in order to effect true learning, must be carried on by means of questions and answers, or discussion in some form. This objection seems to be based upon a faulty notion of what a lecture is, and perhaps of what teaching itself is. Let us turn, with an eye to justifying the validity of both methods, to the essence of teaching as such.

Essence of Teaching

The immediate purpose of teaching has been discussed—to cause a personal discovery in the mind of the learner. We have adverted to different methods of realizing this end. The question now is, what is common to any method of teaching? Upon what, precisely, does the teacher's success depend? Gilson puts it very bluntly: "In order to cause his pupil to invent learning, he himself must invent again what he is teaching, or, rather, he must go again, before his pupils, through the whole process, now familiar to him, of the invention of each and every truth."¹¹ In order to teach his students how to think, the teacher must be actually thinking, much as he did in grasping the subject matter for the first time. The student learns how to think, not from summaries, reports of facts, and digests, but from thinking *with* a living being (teacher) who knows how to think and is *here and now* doing so. An understanding of this situation helps one to grasp the postulate that teaching and learning are essentially the same function; they differ only in that the former is re-learning and is done publicly (in the presence of at least one other). The teaching of the teacher is precisely his living re-

¹¹ Gilson, "The Eminence of Teaching," p. 306.

learning in communion with another. The explanation of Pegis is particularly noteworthy:

. . . the teacher of ideas cannot merely summarize or report what he has learned from others or discovered for himself. If he is to teach here and now, he must relive here and now the very process that he followed or that was necessary to his own learning, and he must relive his learning in the presence of his students. To be sure, this does not mean that a teacher must re-enact his own personal history in order to communicate what he has learned. But he must relive the intellectual process that was necessary to his own learning and that is now necessary to the learning of others. For it is this intellectual re-learning, relived and re-experienced, present, active and fresh, that is at the beginning of the learning of the student. A student can learn only from and in the living process of learning; he cannot learn from summaries and reports and digests, however objective. This living process of learning is the life of the teacher at the moment of teaching. In teaching, the teacher shares this living process with his students, not indeed in the sense of giving it to them, since this he cannot do, but so that, by living within the intelligible world that is the active relearning contained in the teaching of the teacher, the student may be directed and awakened to learn for himself.¹²

When this occurs in a classroom, meaningful conclusions arise spontaneously; students not only know, they know why, and they tend to remember—especially if the whole process is introduced in terms of a problem or question which is made relevant to their lives.

Two of several implications of this view of teaching demand brief comment. First of all, we must return to the concept of authority and distinguish between the teacher's authority with respect to teaching and with respect to the truth (keeping constantly in mind that a particular view of the nature of man and of truth underlies these remarks). In regard to the latter, the teacher stands as an equal with his students; he has no more authority than they to dictate or designate or supply the truth. The truth is not had because the teacher says so, but because through his reason, he has discovered where it lies and what it means. And the student, possessing the same faculties, is capable of, and responsible for, doing the same. This fact elaborated provides the philosophical basis for the idea of "community of scholars" so widely desired, yet infrequently found, on college and university campuses. In matters of truth

¹² Anton C. Pegis, "Teaching and the Freedom to Learn," in Anton C. Pegis, Ed., *Truth and the Philosophy of Teaching*. West Hartford, Connecticut: St. Joseph College, 1954.

itself the criterion is evidence, which is to be presented for appropriation by students; the teacher may appeal to his greater experience and background in learning, but ultimately the truths he presents have no more validity than the evidence he brings to bear. Concerning the communicability of the truth, on the other hand, the teacher must take the initiative and exert his authority; he must assume responsibility for saying and doing that which will initiate and/or continue the learning of the student. For example, the teacher is responsible for certain decisions to be made in determining the course content, specific requirements of the course, dates of quizzes and exams, etc. In these matters the final criterion is the (reasonable) will of the teacher; he may and must exercise some authority directly.

The second implication concerns the application of these ideas to different branches of knowledge and at varying levels of learning. It seems sound and necessary to say at least that the principles do apply to the teaching of all disciplines (branches of knowledge) at all levels in some way. Bruner emphasizes this in saying that ". . . the foundations of any subject may be taught to anybody at any age in some form" and that "intellectual activity anywhere is the same, whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third-grade classroom."¹³ All students in all courses (with some allowance made for the "skill" subjects) should be taught how to think. And, as we have seen, this demands that teachers *think* in the process of teaching—which implies that they *think* in preparing their classes. The subject matter must be thought out in terms of presenting it to this particular person or group of persons.

Also relevant to this perspective on the essence of teaching is the distinction between the only two possible kinds of lives—the contemplative and the active. Since teaching consists in "communicating to others a truth meditated beforehand,"¹⁴ the teacher partakes of both worlds. He must contemplate the truth and then communicate it. In this instance, the two aspects of life are continuous and unified rather than disjointed because the activity is merely an extension and fulfillment of the contemplation. And in true teaching, contemplation is sometimes not only continued, but also enhanced—the teacher might better understand a truth by means of his own re-thinking or as a result of suggestions and questions of his students.

Conclusion As we have seen, to teach is to cause another to learn. Allowing for differing applications in various situations, "to learn" means to learn how to think. This should be a prime outcome of the educational process as such—the thinking man. In this essay the writer has at-

13 Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education*, New York: Random House, Inc., 1960.

14 Gilson, "The Christian Teacher," *A Gilson Reader*, p. 224.

tempted to delineate some of the theoretical and practical principles which promote this end.

In considering how to teach your own discipline, it seems that three elements must be constantly considered: 1) first principles, 2) methods of thought, and 3) conclusions. The first principles represent a starting point and frame of reference from which the method is launched. Conclusions are simply the results. Two points must be underlined. First, conclusions are not the most significant aspect of a discipline. And in themselves they are insignificant, in a sense. By this I intend that students who are taught merely conclusions are not taught at all. The aim of a teacher must be to free the student from dependence upon him; to the extent that the student learns only conclusions, he will have to keep returning to the teacher to have his conclusions reviewed and replenished. On the other hand, if students are made aware of the importance and relevance of problems, then stimulated to discover the ground for evidence and to utilize the appropriate methods, they are able to draw their own conclusions, and with sufficient guidance and persistence, to one day do so without the help of the teacher. This is the way scholars are formed. The second point is this: the fundamental principles and methods of each science are peculiar to that science. The same is true of the conclusions. So the various disciplines in the schools, colleges, and universities must be taught by persons who possess the *habit* of their specialty and the know-how needed for communicating the order of dependence and development among ideas.

The result of this kind of effort, as has been indicated, is a person able to learn independently (that is, competent to discover and discern truth for himself).¹⁵ To learn is to be original, at least in the sense that one must appropriate for himself conclusions rendered intelligible by means of a method of thought exercised here and now.

It is hoped that the reader will see in these remarks at least a partial answer to the frequent objection that teaching (especially lecturing) is a presentation of cut-and-dried absolute truths. The objection may fit a particular past instance; but must that be so? No. In fact, one who is interested in teaching the truth can never convey the impression that he has the answers once and for all (at least in attempts to explain reality). Teaching must be question-oriented. We can and do find truth, but the search must be constant. The human condition demands it.¹⁶

Another hope is cherished—that the reader will view the concept of authority explicated above not as conducing to the restriction of learning, but to

15 Cf. Etienne Gilson *History of Philosophy and Philosophical Education*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1948.

16 Cf. Josef Pieper, *The Science of St. Thomas*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1957.

the freeing of learning. An abuse of authority (authoritarianism) warps young (and old) minds; proper use of authority makes possible true thought and the humanization of the world.

Finally, one might object to the risk incurred in true learning. That is a noteworthy complaint. In thinking one does risk—himself as well as his friends and the whole world, perhaps. However, when the risk is weighed against the loss of the possibility of becoming truly human, one should choose the former.

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The Educators Speak—I

Reconnection for Relevance: A Proposed New High School Curriculum

James L. Fenner
Brooklyn, New York

Before high school can make real sense to teenagers, we have to change it in important ways. We have to find administrators who will be more responsive to students than to bureaucratic higherups. We have to decompartmentalize course work, not by dismantling traditional departments of English, secretarial studies, science, and so forth, but instead by offering additional nondepartmental and interdisciplinary courses as electives. We have to tune the high school experience in on the real concerns of young people: self-realization, money, power, the future, sex. And most important, we have to try to relate what we teach in high school to the other things adolescents are learning and to those other sources of experience, information, and understanding that teach them so much so indelibly today.

Any meaningful proposed connection between high school studies and out-of-school learning taking place in our society must presuppose an analysis of just what this out-of-school learning really consists of, what it means to young people, what changes can be made in the schools to relate it to the curriculum, and what effects can be expected to flow from these changes. Fearing¹ has

¹ Franklin Fearing, "Social Impact of the Mass Media of Communication," in N. B. Henry, Ed., *Mass Media and Education*. NSSE Yearbook. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Mr. Fenner, a man obviously "connected" to the forms and processes of contemporary life, is concerned about the fundamental irrelevance of the high school curriculum for young people needing to know how to make sense of the real world, how to find their way through its labyrinths, how to effect controls. Acknowledging the value of traditional studies for those who are interested, he proposes a series of elective courses aimed at relating the school to out-of-school interests. The program of electives he devises is unusually diverse and imaginative, ranging from a course in moral issues to one on local politics, from futurology to car repair. Unlike other writers for this issue of the RECORD, Mr. Fenner concentrates on content rather than method or technology; but the technologists, like the curriculum-makers, would be well advised to pay heed.

described the great impact and power of the mass media, and Gans² has explored the similarities and differences between school and the media as regards their structure, functions, problems, content, and policies. And Newcomb³ has indicated how tenaciously attitudes formed out of school stick with us (where favorable reinforcements exist) long after their formation.

Extra-School Learnings TV is certainly the most productive non-school source of learning today. Even though, as Maccoby⁴ reveals, high school students watch less TV than younger kids do, they still spend more time in front of the bug-box than they do in school and pay closer attention to what it offers than to the school's intellectual menu. Unlike school, TV gives them a sense of involvement which McLuhan⁵ has shown to be all the more intense because it is so sketchy, so "cool." It brings them the most expensive and fashionable entertainment talent in the world, "live" from wherever. Witty⁶ insists that TV has value: it brings youngsters open-ended talk programs which, with seeming authority, touch upon the most important issues of the day; and it brings documentaries more informative—and certainly more stylish—than anything in their textbooks. With TV, it seems, they live; by comparison, their textbooks seem dead.

Radio is far from dead in the world of today's teenagers. Rock 'n Roll and folk-rock are adolescent-aimed industries now, and they add up to a vast segment of our economy. The "love now" and "student power" action fashions of the day are fed and fertilized by the fare radio purveys: protest lyrics, psychedelic songs, red-hot news, uninhibited talk, and millions of commercial messages that do for the transistorized corner boys what the bugbox does for the stay-at-homes. Rock groups like the Beatles, the Jefferson Airplane, the Mamas and the Papas, and Vanilla Fudge; oddballs like Tiny Tim; folk artists like Odetta and Joan Baez; and folk-rock performers like Bob Dylan and Simon and Garfunkel are true folk heroes among young Americans from 13 to 30.

Film is a rich world for teen-agers, and not just because of its role as a medium of individual and social recreation. It is contemporary, style-setting,

2 Herbert Gans, "The Mass Media as an Educational Institution," *The Urban Review*, February, 1967.

3 Theodore M. Newcomb, "Persistence and Regression of Changed Attitudes: Long-Range Studies," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 19, 1963.

4 Eleanor Maccoby, "Effects of Mass Media," in M. C. Hoffman and Lois W. Hoffman, Eds., *Review of Child Development Research*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.

5 Marshall McLuhan *Understanding Media*, New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1964.

6 Paul Witty, "Effects of TV on Attitudes and Behavior," *Education*, October, 1964.

camp, kitsch, social comment, sex education, philosophical orientation, and escape, all rolled into one, and its appeal is as intense as it is multifarious. Sitting back in the welcoming dark of the movie theater, the youngster learns about love, country, heroism, alienation, politics, business, adulthood, and tragedy. And in the realms of personal appearance, manner, talk, action, gesture, and (especially) motivation, he learns about style.

Students learn more than we sometimes realize from non-verbal sources. Interpersonal distance and the meaning of spatial and kinesthetic relationships between individuals have been explored by Hall⁷ and shown to convey important meanings. The symbolism of static visual messages is equally important,⁸ especially in such areas as advertising, architecture, and interior decoration. High school teachers have long known the strength of latent messages that seating arrangements convey, and how much more conducive to free discussion some such set-ups are than others. Human spaces and non-verbal communication are consciously and unconsciously used, abused, and learned from, everywhere.

World events teach a youngster much. It hardly matters whether he gets his information from a newspaper, radio, TV, newsweekly, or hearsay: ultimately it comes from the media one way or another. Ellul⁹ has shown how much propaganda affects the attitudes of citizens—even young citizens—in a technological society, and how pervasive and powerful they must of necessity be. And today's teenager knows, as perhaps his father never knew, the extent to which events concern him directly: the war, the riots, the black power movement, the draft, the campus protests, the peace marches, the French general strike, the assassinations—everything.

The job market teaches adolescents a great deal. If they work, they learn how the great world works. They learn how to present themselves, how to "make it" with the company, how to play adult, how to save and spend money. If they don't work, they learn about unemployment, about leisure, about discouragement, about job requirements, screening practices, interviews, and questionnaires. They learn about taxes, budgets, the cost of self-support, the difficulty of saving something extra. Or if they don't learn these things, then they learn about poverty, indignity, idleness, despair, impotence, and futility.

Personal enjoyments teach kids tremendously important learnings. Social and physical relationships with the opposite sex teach them the meaning of love, pleasure, commitment, manipulation, cynicism, and faith in their deal-

7 Edward T. Hall. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1966.

8 Jürgen Ruesch and Weldon Kees. *Non-Verbal Communication*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956.

9 Jacques Ellul. *Propaganda*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

ings with others. Cars and drugs provide vehicles for literal and figurative trips away from the confines of home, family, school, neighborhood, or boss, and into a world of adventure and self-discovery. Fashion is a universe of self-expression, originality, conformity, timeliness, self-image-adjustment, consumerism, and self-acceptance.

Finally, society's formal, hierarchical structure of power and influence reinforce much that school teaches and provide learnings that go far beyond what school attempts. The changes that Pearl¹⁰ and Bundy¹¹ propose are intended to be as beneficial to the kids as they are for the adult poor. On the other hand, student power is one thing; civil disorders in the streets are another. Deans of discipline are one thing; police with nightsticks are another. The cop who doesn't see the pusher, the cop who uses tear gas, the cop who accepts a small bribe not to give a ticket for a moving violation, the window clerk at the Bureau of Motor Vehicles who won't lift a finger to help, the bureaucratic supervisor who won't do anything about it—all these represent evils of a credential-ridden and bureaucratic society that a young person finds particularly insufferable. And to him, the flag-wavers that brag about America and seem blind to its emptiness seem contemptible.

What Do Non-School Learnings Mean? School learnings connect students with the world of the past, with the textbook world of the received wisdom and knowledge of the ages. Non-school learnings connect them with the present and future world around them. Where school shows them how they must see each new ephemeral and maybe "tasteless" fad in the perspective of a stable tradition, the media show them how necessary it is to change with the changing world in order to be with it, to be in, to swing. Where the former teaches them how to live in the status-ridden world of the "real" power structure, the latter teaches them how to live in whatever enticing dream-world they desire. Where school teaches them required roles, out-of-school experience shows them congenial new ones to try. Where the one gives them information about set subjects, about set authority, about set regulations, etc., the other gives information about new politics, new style, new entertainment, and new issues. Where the one provides inculcation in traditional values, in conservatism, in playing the game, the other propagandizes for current values.

The middle class has found, both in and out of school, an array of indispensable guides of self-realization. The media have given them consumer expertise,

¹⁰ Arthur Pearl, "New Careers and the Manpower Crisis in Education," Mimeo, 1968.

¹¹ McGeorge Bundy, et al *Reconnection for Learning*, Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, New York, 1967.

a feel for making it, a style for advancement, a fistful of job skills: reading, writing, accounting, organization, and so on. Goodman¹² and Friedenberg¹³ demonstrate the extent to which the schools and the media have neglected the potentially-fulfilling road to honest spiritual development in favor of the emptier and more convenient middle-class personal-management skills of thrift, investment, diligence, respect, gratification-postponement, and other forms of hoop-jumping.

For the poor, both school and the media have been powerful inducements to self-hatred and self-contempt. The advertising media have made them hunger for consumer goodies they can never legitimately afford. While Nat Hentoff¹⁴ and Jonathan Kozol¹⁵ on the one hand have shown vividly how they have suffered alienation from self, from middle-class values they don't espouse, from school routines, regulations, and, worst of all, irrelevancies, Martin Deutsch¹⁶ and Frank Riessman¹⁷ have outlined not only their deprivations but their resources as well. The schools have yet to institutionalize ways of capitalizing on these.

Roads to Relevancy There is, of course, more than one road to relevancy in schooling. What is relevant to one aspect of our many-faceted civilization is unrelated to another. What helps one person get a job or get into this or that college prevents someone else from getting anything at all worth knowing out of school. The first attempt to solve this question came in the 1930's after it became apparent that the compulsory education laws were filling up the high schools with students to whom the traditional "academic" course of study—classical and modern languages, mathematics, science, literature, and history—meant little, and who weren't willing or able to get all that stuff into their heads. When these "new" high-school youngsters arrived on the scene and proceeded to fail the traditional courses in droves, to express their hostility at great cost to their teachers' peace of mind, to prevent the "good" students from learning by their disruptions, and to wreak havoc upon the schools' educational statistics, the "general" course was created for them. Because these students were the dumb ones, or "slow" or "disadvantaged," or whatever fashionable euphemism you choose, the "general" course was simply designed as a reduction of the standard course. If the dumb ones couldn't learn as much, then give them less. If some subjects were too hard,

12 Paul Goodman. *Compulsory Mis-education*. New York: Horizon Press, 1964.

13 Edgar Z. Friedenberg. *The Vanishing Adolescent*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

14 Nat Hentoff. *Our Children Are Dying*. New York: Viking Press, 1966.

15 Jonathan Kozol. *Death at an Early Age*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Inc., 1967.

16 Martin Deutsch, Ed. *The Disadvantaged Child*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.

17 Frank Riessman. *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

then substitute easier ones. So they got—and are getting—a simplified curriculum. However inadequate the traditional courses were in dealing with the problems of the twentieth century, the "general" courses were worse. The high schools had one inadequate (difficult, but outdated) curriculum for the "good" students, and another worse one (empty and outdated) for the "dumb" ones.

In as varied a society as ours, it would be just plain silly to condemn every traditional subject as irrelevant. Some of the old academic and commercial standbys have great value for certain students. One need not be either an adherent of the Bestor-Rickover¹⁸ thesis or an enemy of John Holt¹⁹ to see value in foreign languages, mathematics, science, social studies, literature, music, shop, bookkeeping, stenography, typing, and many other job-oriented, or college-oriented or recreation-oriented or broadening or "skill" subjects—for some students. Certainly these should be retained in the high schools, whether as required courses for specialized curricula or as electives for anyone who might be interested. But one need not hark back to the days of Jane Addams and yearn to see the school as a glorified settlement house to know that these old standard traditional courses are not enough today. They are not enough for the college-bound youngster, and they are not enough for the job-bound. They are not enough for the middle class, and they are not enough for the poor. Other subjects—ones that deal with contemporary life and that make use of contemporary issues and media—are required if any youngster is to gain from high school some sense of what his world is like and where it's at and how it hangs together. Probably the naive faith expressed in George S. Counts' *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*²⁰ is out of place among today's complexities, but certainly reality and and reconnection (to borrow a term current in another context) cannot hurt.

The following proposed elective courses for high school are intended to fulfill this requirement. They are intended as electives because I believe students—at least some students—would find them—at least some of them—intrinsically interesting enough to make them want to take them. This alone would relate them, as far as the nature of their appeal went, to out-of-school interests. They are intended as courses for everybody; and that means a heterogeneous student body. This too would relate them, if only superficially on an organizational basis, to life outside the school. And, most important, they are

¹⁸ See Arthur Bestor *Educational Wastelands* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, and Hyman G. Rickover *Education and Freedom* New York: Dutton and Co., 1960.

¹⁹ John Holt *How Children Fail* New York: Pitman and Co., 1964.

²⁰ George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Change the Social Order?* New York: John Day, 1932.

intended to cut across interdisciplinary boundaries, to bridge some of the gaps between subject and subject or between school and the "real" world, to combine and recombine the world, the media, the person, and the school in new and significant configurations, so that adolescence need not be the nightmare that Jules Henry,²¹ John Holt, Paul Goodman, and Edgar Z. Friedenberg assert it to be. It is this feature of the proposals that, I hope, would make these courses valuable for the society (because its youngsters would be able to experience some sense of synthesis), for the school (because students might not feel so hostile to an institution that is giving them an education with a little life in it), and for the young people themselves (because they would be able to see some purpose, some pattern of interrelationships, some relevance to reality, in what the school is offering them). Here are the proposed electives, with brief descriptions of each:

1. *ENTERTAINMENT* This course would deal with current films, with TV, with radio (very much a source of adolescent entertainment today: "We're portable!" as the "good guys" put it), records, with the theater, and with the entertainment aspects of the mass-circulation magazines. Sebastian De Grazia²² underlines the hollowness of our leisure. A course like this one wouldn't cure the malaise he describes, but it might be a start, and it would surely be popular. Its purpose would not be primarily to entertain the students; it would be aimed at helping them to understand and assess and respond knowingly to what the entertainment media offer. Materials would be plentiful; they constitute a major part of the out-of-school life of youngsters already, and in class they could be analyzed as to their methods, their craftsmanship, their social implications, their psychological impact, and their visual, verbal, rhetorical, sensory, and kinesthetic structures.

2. *PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS* This subject would explore the many levels and values in personal relationships. Carl Rogers²³ insists upon the essential importance of self-discovery. "Psychology" would have been the traditional name for a course like this, and there would still be that aspect to it, but in addition it would deal with the style and content of relationships within the family and the peer-group, and with personal concerns such as love, sex, friendship, ambition, the draft, and perhaps it would touch upon the philosophical as well as the psychological aspects of such matters. Here too, the content of the course would be life as students actually and personally live it outside of school. Although it would deal with these situations in general and in principle instead of attempting to guide pupils in their personal lives directly, it most certainly would bear a direct and magnetic relationship to the reality with which they are in daily contact.

3. *MORAL ISSUES* This would be a study of ethics as exemplified by the personal relationships of the previous course, or by political questions, or by school or business problems. The course would aim to present issues and analyze them with

21 Jules Henry. *Culture Against Man*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

22 Sebastian De Grazia. *Of Time, Work, and Leisure*. Twentieth Century Fund, 1962.

23 Carl Rogers. *On Becoming a Person*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Inc., 1961.

penetration and clarity rather than to present solutions. Any kind of written or other material could provide the basis for a sequence of discussions: magazine articles, news items, TV, radio, or film shows, excerpts from philosophical writings, the Bible—whatever. These would be grouped into "topics" representing different kinds of ethical issues, and presented in discussion as they relate to adolescent concerns both immediate and future. Here the ethics of business, politics, international affairs, child-rearing, sex, and school could be subjected to the kind of analysis that might make even school look relevant.

4. *WASHINGTON POLITICS TODAY* This would combine the current events that the media inundate us with, the national aspects of what used to be called "Civics", political theory, debates on national programs and/or bills before Congress, biographical and/or political studies of national figures, a little history as the need for it arose in discussion of the day's issues, and perhaps some class predictions of future political developments. The text for the course would be the daily paper, the newsmagazines, the radio, TV, and perhaps some traditional textbook material on the structure of the Federal government.

5. *LOCAL POLITICS TODAY* The emphasis here would be on state and municipal politics, including education, the police, welfare, the courts, and the tax structure. City and neighborhood newspapers would provide the texts. TV and radio coverage of local events would be monitored daily. Local politicians might be asked to address the students. Jury duty would be discussed, possibly in connection with the film *Twelve Angry Men*. Magazine articles on such topics as corruption in politics would certainly be of value and interest. An aspect of such a course that would capture the interest of young people and seem relevant to their real concerns and out-of-school experience is the discovery and discussion of ways of "fighting city hall" effectively: how to mount an effective campaign, when to write letters, when to obstruct, when to visit whom—how, in other words, to make one's weight felt as a citizen.

6. *INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TODAY* All the media would provide material for this course. Propaganda analysis would form a considerable part of the subject-matter, as would the metaphors of international discourse. The foreign press could be studied for alternative points of view. WNYC has an interesting supertime "Foreign Press Review" several times a week. The course would not try merely to acquaint students with international events, it would seek to help them understand the rivalries, pressures, aspirations, and other motivations that they reflect. And it would undertake some evaluation of the thoroughness, effectiveness, objectivity, and reliability of the media's presentations of international news.

7. *HOW TO THINK STRAIGHT* The traditional name for this course is "Logic," but here a commonsense rather than a technical approach would be stressed. Books like Stuart Chase's *Guides to Straight Thinking*²⁴ or Robert Thomless' *How to Think Straight*²⁵ could be used as texts, and issues and examples for analysis could be found in every news presentation or public document, whether political,

24 Stuart Chase, *Guides to Straight Thinking*, New York: Harper and Row, 1956.

25 Robert H. Thomless, *How to Think Straight*, New York: Harr Publishing Company, 1939.

social, religious, or whatever, published in America. The popularizers of Korzybski²⁶ have provided interesting case studies in straight and crooked thinking. In this kind of course, the "purely" intellectual enterprise of thinking accurately could be given a contemporary applicability to social and personal issues that vitally concern young people, thus serving to help integrate in-school and out-of-school learning and experience.

8. *THE FUTURE* Nothing concerns teenagers more than the future; probably not even the present. This course, cutting across many subject-matter boundaries, would explore and speculate about the future of technology, or politics, or school, of personal relationships, of sports, of communications, of America, of the Negro, of practically everything. It would draw upon the present as depicted in the media, upon the past as researched out of books for this or that investigation, upon logic, experience, and intention. It might help pupils to feel that they have some realistic possibility of contributing to the shaping of their own futures if they understood more fully the processes and probabilities in accordance with which the future tends to unfold.

9. *OUTER AND INNER SPACE: A SCIENCE SURVEY* In descriptive rather than technical terms, the principles, discoveries, and chief theories of the social and natural sciences would be presented and discussed here. The course, while relying to a degree on historical material about previous discoveries and innovations in the sciences, would be kept rigorously up-to-the-minute via regular scrutiny of current material presented in the media. Thus, new advances in the technology of space exploration, communications, computerization, automation, or even recent re-evaluations of theoretical systems could be made a part of the course. Biology, psychology, sociology, and anthropology might justify the "inner" part of the title; mechanics, chemistry, sub-atomic physics, and astronomy would be the "outer" space. The point of the course would be not to introduce the technical aspects of the sciences, but to give some pupils some familiarity with underlying concepts of scientific understanding, such as the "reflective thinking" of Dewey²⁷, so that they will be better able to follow and comprehend the technological society in which they live.

10. *HOW TO USE FIGURES* The computational problems of everyday existence stump many pupils because they have learned in school to fear and hate quantitative subject-matter. But computational math and useful arithmetic, if presented afresh in the guise of "tricks" or "speed math" or "mental arithmetic" or "short cuts to accuracy," might grab youngsters and sustain their interest. The Trachtenberg System and other computational devices could be made the basis of a truly useful arithmetic course that would be of value to academic, commercial, vocational, and "general" students. For some, its value would be vocational; for

26 See Alfred Korzybski. *Science and Sanity*. Lakeville, Conn.: Institute of General Semantics, 1958, and the following: Wendell Johnson. *People in Quandaries*. New York: Harper and Row, 1946, Stuart Chase. *The Power of Words*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1954, Hugh R. Walpole. *Semantics*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1942, S. I. Hayakawa. *Language in Thought and Action*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964.

27 John Dewey. *How We Think*. Boston. D. C. Heath, 1933.

others, academic; for still others, perhaps just recreational or curiosity-satisfying. Certainly it would help relate school to actual student needs.

11. LOCAL RESOURCES: INFORMATION, RECREATION, SERVICE The aim here would be to engage directly in the task of acquainting students with what is real in their surroundings. Particularly among the poor, many students have had limited experiences outside their immediate neighborhoods. In this class, they would have a chance to take the trips their elementary-school teachers never took them on: walking tours through their city's neighborhoods, to the underground cinema, night court, domestic court, the Chinese New Year celebration (if there are such), and scores of others. It would acquaint them with where and what the tourist attractions are; it would take them to the airport; it would show them how to file for services when they need them; it would give them a sense of their city. Here they would find out how to call an ambulance, how to get psychiatric emergency service, how to apply for these or those benefits, whom to complain to about this or that: the Better Business Bureau, the Rent Control Office, the District Attorney's office, and so on. It would acquaint them with the services offered by the Housing Authority, the Board of Health, adult education programs, the Legal Aid Society, private and public family service organizations, the Department of Hospitals, the Civil Liberties Union, out-patient clinics, the Visiting Nurses' Association.

12. ADVERTISING AND PROPAGANDA Here students would practice analyzing and interpreting the political and economic persuasions that flow around them incessantly. They would deal with local and international propaganda pitches, with the relationship, as Ellul²⁸ describes it, between technological progress and propaganda, with advertising's protean forms: radio and TV commercials, printed ads, direct mail, billboards, packaging and point-of-sale promotions. They would practice reading between the lines, understanding what is *not* said, understanding the purposes of the message-originator, understanding the weaknesses of the receiver. Students would consider the interrelationships inherent in the multiple appeals of advertising: visual, verbal, auditory, etc. A course like this is bound to have practical value and intense interest for adolescents. Chase's *The Power of Words* and Hayakawa's *Language in Thought and Action* might be used as texts with average classes. Even as demanding a work as Ellul's *Propaganda* might be used with superior groups.

13. CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY PSYCHOLOGY Here girls would study family resources, sources of outside help on personal and family problems (medical and psychiatric clinics, marriage counseling, etc.), principles of child development, cause of family friction, etc. As texts, the class could use not only popular books like Spock's *Baby and Child Care*²⁹ and Gesell and Ilg's *Child Development*,³⁰ and the U.S. Government pamphlets, but they could also study popular presentations in the magazines, papers, and on TV to evaluate their worth and seriousness.

²⁸ Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society*. New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

²⁹ Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care*. New York Pocket Books, 1946.

³⁰ Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *Child Development*. New York Harper and Row, 1949.

14. DO-IT-YOURSELF HOUSEHOLD REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

This would deal with strictly practical matters that any boy who's going to be a tenant or homeowner would want to know: wiring and rewiring, fuses, circuits, over-loading, circuit-breakers, types of cables and their uses, plumbing, changing washers, fixing valves, carpentry, plastering, painting various types of surfaces for various purposes with various types of paint, waterproofing, insulating, weather-stripping, caulking, air conditioning, fans, circulation, ventilation, floors and their care, fire-hazards and how to prevent them, and appliance repairs. Especially now that the so-called "comprehensive high school" looks as though it is to become a reality in most places, a course like this could well satisfy the requirements of a quite heterogeneous group of boys, including many who might not be interested in any of the regular vocational shop courses.

15. CAR REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS This would not be a course in auto mechanics. Instead it would provide theory and practice in "little" jobs like polishing, washing, tuneups, tires, minor adjustments, gasolines, oils, checking and replacement of parts, customizing, accessories and their usefulness, sources of supply and advice, how not to get cheated at the service station, how to check things for yourself, and how to judge a used car. Texts might include repair manuals, *Consumer Reports* (the annual car issue), and hot rod and custom car magazines. Or all this material might be incorporated into an expanded "driver education" course.

16. MEDICAL SCIENCE This would be designed to acquaint the layman with modern principles and concepts related to medicine and human health. It might include discussion of matters such as sex: its psychology, physiology, and mores; medical hygiene; preventive medicine; medical practices (what to expect your doctor to do for you); sanitation; medical research and recent discoveries; health emergencies and what to do about them; danger signals and symptoms; where and how to get help and treatment. In addition to current medical columns purveyed by the various periodicals, students might study a popular medical "encyclopedia" or the Consumer's Union manual, *The Medicine Show*. Here again, an elective course in school would capitalize on a significant out-of-school interest and use it to convey a useful body of integrated and current information and a sensible set of attitudes.

17. CONSUMER AND LEISURE ENGLISH Students would discuss and practice how to read labels and other "fine print" intelligently; how to read and understand applications for loans, charge accounts, subscriptions, book clubs, and similar promotional programs; writing letters of inquiry and complaint; reading advertisements between the lines; understanding and appraising TV and radio commercials; getting reliable information on quality and prices; entering promotional "contests"; writing last lines for jingles, figuring out rebuses, or telling "Why I like Gilppo in 25 words or less"; doing crossword puzzles; learning teenage etiquette. As texts, the class could use magazines, catalogs, newspapers, and similar materials.

18. GETTING YOUR MONEY'S WORTH The emphasis here would be on such concerns as comparing supermarket prices (on a cost-per-unit basis, for example), family and personal budgeting; home rents and purchases; charge accounts and their "real" cost, installment purchases and their cost; insurance of various kinds, liability, health, straight life, term, hospitalization, etc.; savings and investment media, where to get reliable information on products and prices; how to save

on taxes and compute returns. The thesis expressed by David K. Gast in his article, "Consumer Education and the Madison Avenue Morality,"³¹ would be part of the course; major materials would include *Consumer Reports*, *Changing Times*, advertisements, and application blanks.

19. HOW TO GET A JOB AND GET AHEAD This course would survey job resources and requirements in service, communications, manufacturing, white-collar, retail, professional, armed-forces, civil-service, and other lines of work. As a career survey, it could be adapted to the "level" and needs of any class. It would acquaint students with job resource manuals available in the library, with job-getting services like the commercial employment agencies and the state employment service, and other similar matters.

20. EVERYDAY LAW This would be a little like the conventional "business law" courses widely offered in commercial curricula today, but it would not be restricted to commercial applications. In addition to these, it would familiarize students with the ins and outs of negligence suits, leases, contracts, citizens' rights and duties both in court and vis-a-vis the police, and it would acquaint them with the nature of civil suits, family court, small claims court, etc. Trips to the various types of courts would supplement a simple law text. Class discussions would be based on hypothetical and even actual cases representing real situations.

21. PART-TIME AND SUMMER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP This would be an exploration of job possibilities; instruction in job requirements and duties; a survey of retail, camp, resort, civil-service, library, dining-room, Park Department, ice-cream, post-office, even baby-sitting opportunities, and how to get and make the most of them. The mechanics and legalities of working papers and other school and governmental requirements would be touched upon. Students would be acquainted with school programs such as STEP (School To Employment Program), the Job Corps, co-op educational programs, and others.

22. HOME DECORATION This would combine features of traditional courses touching upon this area that are currently offered by art, home economics, shop, and merchandising departments. For interior decoration, it would cover color, texture, shape, size, line, pattern, fabric, furniture, accessories, utility, quality, sources, costs. For exterior decoration, topics would include painting, gardening, outdoor design, patios, porches, grills, houseplants, flower-cutting and arranging, landscaping, and bug and pest control.

23. DESIGN CRAFTS This would correlate art and shop and perhaps even sewing in providing introduction to and practice in the creative crafts of jewelry-making, block printing, ceramics, fabric printing, weaving, knitting, crocheting, gros-point and petit-point embroidery, rug braiding and hooking, quilt-making, sculpture, wall decorations, gift wrapping, toy making, and making ornaments and artificial flowers.

24. MOVIE, TV, AND STILL PHOTOGRAPHY Going beyond the typical art department course in still photography, this would include color, black and

³¹ David K. Gast, "Consumer Education and the Madison Avenue Morality," *Pbi Delta*, *Kappan*, June 1967.

white, film types, film speeds, camera types, shutter speeds and lens openings, camera accessories, filters, darkroom chemicals, processing, and manipulations. In addition, using movie and TV equipment (cameras, sound equipment, monitoring screens, TV tape recorder, etc.) it would correlate the arts of improvisation, acting, dramatic writing, continuity, sound background, advertising psychology, and others, in providing students with an opportunity to create commercial and artistic work of all kinds for film and TV. Kohl in *36 Children*³² has written of how successful ordinary creative writing can be in capable and imaginative hands. A course in creative photography might be even more exciting to adolescents.

25. *NUTRITION, DIET, AND PARTYMAKING* This course would cover nutrients and what they do, calorie counting and special diets, expensive vs. inexpensive foods, economy in shopping, planning ahead for meals, budgeting food purchases. In addition, it would deal with problems of entertaining, such as providing hors d'oeuvres, beverages, dinners, after-dinner noshes, table settings, etc.

26. *THE STOCK MARKET* Any student, rich or poor, might experience an interest in mediums of investment and speculation. This course could introduce such matters as the mechanics of financial transactions, the stock exchanges, round-lot and odd-lot trading, commissions, margin, analysis of individual companies and industries, sources of information and advice, "technical" (chart) analysis, fundamental economic influences, and other investment and speculative vehicles like bonds, puts and calls, mutual funds, rights, and commodities. Popular and technical publications that could supplement the *Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* as test materials are plentiful.

27. *SONGWRITING* This course would be taught jointly by a music teacher and an English teacher and would be open to would-be lyricists, tunesmiths, and arrangers. As an elective, it would have appeal for many youngsters because of its concern with the here-and-now world of fads and fashions in popular music. As education, it would make sense because it would help transform a largely passive interest into something approaching craftsmanship and creativity.

28. *INTERMEDIA* Here students interested in creative enterprises like the theater, film, dance, "happenings," painting, sculpture, or just plain self-expression could experiment with new kinds and combinations of art productions. Some of this material could be developed and polished for public presentation in auditorium or library, or coordinated with the school's regular extracurricular activities, such as the school play or "sing." Combinations of media, like lighting, color, sound, shape, depth, movement, and texture would be organized into new and experimental artforms.

29. *CHOREOGRAPHY* Open to students interested in dance, this elective would give them an opportunity for creative self-expression, for coping with the problems of organizing movement interestingly and effectively, of filling the stage, of achieving audience involvement, of building a climax, of coordinating and unifying diverse kinds of movement into a viable whole, etc. The class would involve itself in public performance within and outside the school, both at recital form and as participants in many school theatrical presentations.

30. **PROTEST LITERATURE** Taught by an English-Social Studies team, this elective would acquaint students with major works of protest literature, from Aristophanes through Swift to the present day. Masterpieces, as well as current ephemera, would be studied both as metaphors of the human condition and as effective reflections of their times and places of origin.

31. **SPEED READING** Open to any student who wants to increase his reading power, this course would appeal, I believe, primarily to the college-bound or commercial student. The many books available today on better and faster reading, along with tachistoscopic exercises, would provide ample materials for a truly challenging and effective course.

32. **SPEEDWRITING** As an alternative to standard courses in stenography, an elective in speedwriting might have appeal for students who want a system of fast note-taking for personal use rather than a commercially salable skill. Students might well be attracted by the possibility of mastering a high-speed writing method based on the familiar longhand symbols and therefore more accessible from the start and easier to practice at any time, even when incompletely learned.

33. **MEMORY TRAINING** Self-help books on this subject are numerous and interesting, but they cannot provide the stimulus or supervisions that a teacher and a course can give. Aside from the trivial and superficial appeals that may inhere in this kind of skill-subject, in today's increasingly non-“linear” world it may be more and more important for students to develop methods (even gimmicky ones) for remembering what they see and hear.

34. **ROCK AND FOLK SURVEY** The history and current state of the rock'n'roll and folk music industries would be the subject matter here. Recordings and dittoed lyrics would be the text. Student research, presentations, symposia, TV tapes, audio tapes, visits to recording and broadcasting studios, and many other activities could form the methodology.

35. **INDEPENDENT STUDY** With the approval of the appropriate faculty member, a student wanting to pursue studies along lines dictated by his own interests would have the opportunity to consult on the preparation of a study program consisting, perhaps, of suggested readings and an appropriate time schedule. Whether the subject were statistics or psychological novels, the student could proceed at his own pace, consult when necessary with his adviser, and reap the private benefit of having explored a subject himself.

36. **WORLD RELIGIONS** Comparative study of religious beliefs and practices would acquaint students with the traditions, rituals, and dogmas of the great religions of the East and West. In an age of ecumenism, this kind of factual study would be of interest and of value to students. Parents would approve of it and religious organizations would cooperate in planning and executing it.

37. **THE ARTS TODAY** A study of the avant-garde in painting, sculpture, film, architecture, multimedia, happenings, dance, theater, poetry, the novel, etc., would capitalize on everything that is happening in the world of the creative arts concurrently with the course. Students would see actual productions and exhibitions throughout the semester and read current materials such as exhibition catalogs, magazines and newspaper criticism, and the Sunday *Times*. Interrelationships be-

tween the various art forms and the milieux in which they occur, taboos and conventions observed and broken, and the implications of what a medium is *not* attempting would comprise the substance of the course.

38. *VARIETY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY* This survey of American sociology would explore varying traditions and customs among segments of America's population drawn from diverse ethnic groups, national origins, ages, socioeconomic classes, and parts of the country. Emphasis would be not on a mere anecdotal account of other groups' funny customs, but on how traditions interact with social, political, ethnic, economic, and geographical background factors as well as with the future. One possible text resource for such a course would be the magazine *Transaction*.

39. *EMCEEING, NEWSCASTING AND DISK JOCKEYING* This speech elective would give showbiz-minded students a chance to study and practice the techniques required in the entertainment industry: gagwriting, timing, introducing guests, interviewing, introducing songs, reading commercials, newscasting. Video tape and audio tape would be the standard performance media for classroom sessions. These could culminate in weekly or monthly assembly or P-A system entertainment and public service programs featuring the work of the class.

40. *COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY* As an elective course this could appeal to a heterogeneous group including those with a philosophical interest in works such as those by Ellul and Weiner, those with a mathematical bent and a possible career interest in programming, and those commercial students who want to learn key punch operation in a realistic setting.

Conclusion: So What?

The foregoing has dealt almost exclusively with the content—as opposed to the methods and hardware—of the relevant high school curriculum. Naturally, much must be done to make the manner as strongly integrative as the matter. TV tapes, programmed texts, team-teaching arrangements, individual language-lab style modules, multimedia materials, and the actual commercial media of newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, and film all would play a more prominent role in the new curriculum than they typically do today. The reason for this would be partly that such a school would probably be more interested in relevant methodology by virtue of its commitment to relevant content, and partly because many of the above courses would necessitate the use of out-of-school learnings, both as to substance and as to vehicle. The point here is that although this paper has stressed substance, there can be no doubt that an immensely important feature of the relevant high school will be its style.

A panacea? Hardly, because the out-of-school learnings will stem from the same society that supports the schools, with all its weakness, contradiction, corruption, vulgarity, and short-sightedness. But at least the school will stand a chance of playing an integrative rather than an alienating role. At least it may help students not to ignore the realities around them while they are in

school, but actually to deal with them. At least it may acquaint them with ways in which their surroundings can be useful, threatening, amusing, significant. At least it may help them to find resources within themselves that they can exercise with pride and pleasure. At least it will help them feel that school is for real, that school is "with it," that school is aware that electronic and social revolutions are transforming America. At least it will give them an awareness that controversy can be a source of revelation and illumination, not just repression and discomfort. At least the pupils—even the poor—can feel that school is giving them experiences that count, that they want, that they value, and that connect them with the world instead of isolating them from it. And at least there would be less reason to think of the dropouts as being the smart ones.

How to overcome the inertia and conservatism that paralyze big-system schools, or the local pressures that hound decentralized systems, remains unsolved. But if the problem can be solved, and if the above courses and others like them can be instituted as the elective half of a youngster's high school experience, then adolescence might finally make more sense to kids.

The Educators Speak—II

The Readiness Issue Today

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For over forty years controversy has existed over the timing of instruction. Should Suzy start piano lessons at age 6, 10, or 15? Should kindergarteners be taught the alphabet and the number system up to ten? Should hard-cover readers be introduced before the last half of the first grade?

An even larger, related question has received considerable attention: if children should enter school in nursery school, kindergarten, or first grade. Quite recently, the directors of the prestigious Gesell Institute expressed alarm over the vast numbers of children who are in the wrong grade in school by virtue of having

The more we know about diverse children, the more complex becomes the problem of readiness. Here Professor Brandt reviews relevant research and proposes a number of suggestive new guidelines. The aim of the pre-school classroom, he writes, should be readiness for regular school instruction. For this aim to be realized, however, the teacher must be unusually attentive to individual differences, sensitive to the necessity for adequate record-keeping, and competent enough to provide a variety of learning opportunities. Dr. Brandt's guidelines for the determination of readiness, therefore, become guidelines for effective teaching in pre-school situations; and a number of possibilities are opened to educators willing to rethink the readiness problem once more.

started school too early. They stated most emphatically their opinion of the importance of the timing question and a readiness answer:

Possibly the greatest single contribution which can be made toward guaranteeing that each child will get the most possible out of his school experience is to make certain that he starts that school experience at what is for him the "right time." This should be the time when he is truly ready and not merely some time arbitrarily decided upon by custom or by the law.¹

Surprisingly, today's answers to such questions are as debatable and short of research backing as ever. They are seldom as simple or unequivocal as they might seem. Now is the time, therefore, to review the evidence and determine what factors should be considered in making decisions about the timing of instruction. Unfortunately many ill-informed people are currently exerting pressure to change educational patterns, especially at the preschool level. In order to combat this pressure effectively and exert appropriate leadership, teachers must know the issues, the relevant research, and the most

¹ Frances L. Ilg and Louise B. Ames, *School Readiness: Behavior Tests Used at the Gesell Institute*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

promising answers to the readiness questions.

What Is Readiness?

The term "readiness" is used in many ways. Generally it refers to the capability for meeting successfully certain expectancies or for achieving particular levels of performance. Some uses of the term, however, imply an even broader definition. In such instances readiness is viewed not merely as *capability* but *likelihood* of response as well. Motivational and perceptual factors are thus included. A child is not only *able* to sing a song; but he *wants* to do so, and he *views* a given time and place as appropriate for doing so.

Even if we think of it only as capability, at least three different, though interrelated, kinds of readiness stand out as especially important. One is *physical maturity*, which has long been recognized as a precursor to jumping, skipping, bicycling, and other gross motor activities of early childhood. It accounts for girls' earlier average accomplishment of such tasks and the wide range of individual performance among both boys and girls. It shows up also in handwriting, coloring, drawing, cutting, and other fine motor tasks. Perhaps less widely recognized is the fact that physical maturity is also related to various intellectual activities and school accomplishments. Substantial evidence has been found, for example, that first-grade children who mature early physically are likely to be significantly more advanced in reading than children who mature late.²

² Lillian L. Gore, "A Study of Certain Factors of Growth and the Reading Ability of First Grade Children."

A second kind of readiness is *socio-emotional*, having to do with developing personality qualities and the strides already taken toward independence. Kindergarteners who are relatively outgoing, self-assured, and perhaps even a bit aggressive are apt to find the school world exciting, eye-opening, and enjoyable. For them the horizons of life are expanded extensively through the widespread interpersonal contacts, the broad activities program, and the confrontation with institutional mores which the school presents. The dependent, withdrawn, hesitant youngster, on the other hand, is at a different stage of development and needs first the warm assurance and helping hand which good schools offer before other horizons can be fully appreciated.

Nor is difference in personal-social-emotional adjustment superficial and easily overcome. Even children's physiological functioning is affected. In one study, a high relationship was found between kindergarteners' adjustment during the beginning weeks of school, as rated by their teachers, and the amount of "stress-hormones" which their adrenal glands produced. A similar pattern emerged after the two-week Christmas holiday with the same children who had difficulty leaving home for school in the fall having trouble again.³

dren." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1954; M. D. Simon, "Body Configuration and School Readiness," *Child Development*, 30, 1959, pp. 493-512.

³ Cobert D. LeMunyan, "The Relationship Between 17-OH-CS Level and Rated Adjustment of School Children." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1961.

The importance of this second kind of readiness does not depend solely on its contribution to the child's mental health. Future intellectual progress is in part a function of personality makeup at the time a child enters school. One of the most extensive long-term studies of children's intelligence shows the IQ to be much more variable than we used to think possible, with an average change from ages 3 to 10 of about 18 points. Some children, of course, change much more: e.g., 30 or even 40 points. By comparing personality and behavioral measures during kindergarten of children whose IQ's increased the most with those whose IQ's decreased the most, the investigators found significant personality and adjustment differences of the kind indicated in previous paragraphs.⁴

The third kind of readiness might be labeled *intellectual-educational*, referring to the fact that during the first years of life children have already had many experiences that shape their thinking and fill their minds. By age 6 their vocabulary averages well over 2500 words, although children from low income families may know only half this many.

Variations and Differences

Concepts have accumulated by the hundreds, depending in part on the richness and variety of background experiences. Considerable variation exists, of course, in the latter. It is not at all difficult to find within an

hour's drive of Washington, New York, or Los Angeles many first-grade children who have yet to go inside a modern supermarket or department store. Within many homes there is no running water or electricity to help youngsters learn the meaning of terms like faucet, dishwasher, vacuum cleaner, and refrigerator. Poverty is real not only in lack of living comfort but in missing intellectual stimulation.

Middle- and upper-class children are barraged with stimuli of all sorts in the form of clothes, toys, furnishings, and food of various sizes, shapes, colors, and amounts. These varying stimuli all force children in a very natural way to discriminate and classify. The latter are basic processes in the shaping of concepts. Labels must be learned, furthermore, including comparative adjectives and adverbs, if wants are to be communicated from amidst a vast array of possibilities. Lower-class children, however, are not faced with such problems. Their alternatives are few and their need to discriminate much less. They get what they want by pointing, taking, and often acting out. Words needed are relatively few and the precise terminology mentioned above is generally unnecessary.

Not all of the factors making up *intellectual-educational* readiness are so obvious. Subtle but important differences exist in sensory discrimination processes and cognitive style. Some children seem able to take in the world through visual stimuli, but lack tactal and auditory sensitivity. Some children receive information better through other means. There are wide sensitivity differences among children in each sensory area which will affect how well they re-

4 L. W. Sontag, C. T. Baher, and V. L. Nelson, "Mental Health and Personality Development: A Longitudinal Study." Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, No. 68, 1958.

spond in seeing, listening, and touching situations.

Even within a sensitivity area cognitive differences exist. Some children typically classify objects together on the basis of general themes or stories; e.g. a *man* took his *dog* hunting. Other children break up stimulus objects and classify them together according to the similarity of their parts, e.g. the *dog's tail* is bent and the *man's arm* is broken. Still others classify objects together on the basis of some abstract category, e.g. a man and a dog are both animals.⁵

Not only do children classify objects differently, but they respond in varying ways to problems in which one figure is to be matched with one out of a large number of alternatives. Some children are typically very impulsive, choosing almost the first alternative they see. Others are more reflective and make a rather deliberate and accurate choice.⁶ Apparently there is an optimum response-timing tendency for solid intellectual attainment. Children who cannot inhibit the tendency to make an immediate response to an intellectual problem long enough to weigh the possibilities in it are not ready for many school tasks. The subtle intellectual qualities discussed

⁵ J. Kagan, H. A. Moss, and I. E. Sigel, "The Psychological Significance of Styles of Conceptualization," in J. F. Wright and J. Kagan, Eds. *Proceedings of Conference on Cognitive Processes*. Monograph of Society for Research in Child Development, 1962.

⁶ Jerome Kagan, "Impulsive and Reflective Children: The Significance of Conceptual Tempo," in J. D. Krumboltz, Ed., *Learning and the Educational Process*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

above represent important aspects of readiness that only recently have received research attention.

Our concept of readiness has become rather complicated. The capabilities necessary for success in school are numerous, partly because the human being is wonderfully complex; his potential accomplishments truly miraculous. Our past views of both readiness and learning have been overly simple.

When to Start School?

To the question of when Suzy should start school the answer must be, it depends. It depends on Suzy's readiness; and it depends also on what the school expects her to do when she arrives. If she is expected along with everyone in her class or even a subgroup of her class to know certain specific things—e.g. how to count, how to recognize and sound out vowels, or how to read a particular book by the time December arrives—whether or not she is ready is an important question. On the other hand if the school is less schedule-bound and the instruction is tailor-made for each child, so that she proceeds at a pace that suits what she can do, the question becomes academic. In the latter instance her teacher determines her readiness for specific learning tasks throughout the year. She provides a sufficiently broad spectrum of materials and activities. She makes it easy for Suzy to drop tasks that are momentarily too hard and proceed to ones that are just challenging enough. If her first class is inappropriate in the above respects, it is probable that Suzy will be shifted to another that may fit her developmental level better.

Theoretically the emergence of the non-graded primary school makes it easier to teach Suzy optimally and gear the instruction to her specific levels of readiness. For many reasons, however, not all schools which claim non-graded organizational patterns are so flexible and individualized in practice. The most telling test of how flexible and individualized a particular school program really is lies in the daily success-failure ratio for each child. If the program were truly individualized, all children would be equally successful whether one were judging success and failure by the number of commendations the child received in relation to reprimands, the proportion of right to wrong marks on papers, or through some other system for measuring children's success-failure rate. Of course no such test is ever made because of the sheer complexity of its full implementation. The idea behind this test is to suggest that in actual practice many schools fall far short of the individualized program alluded to above.

In actuality, therefore, the question of when children start to school becomes significant. Its importance increases, furthermore, to the extent that school programs are characterized by formal teaching procedures, group instructional patterns, common learning expectancies, and grade-level standards.

The Age Criterion

Historically and even currently, the main criterion used in admitting children to school has been chronological age. As everyone knows this term is defined as the number of times the Earth has revolved around the sun since Suzy was born. It has

relatively little relationship with what the child can and cannot do. There is a spread of at least four or five years in developmental status for any randomly chosen group of 30 children regardless of the characteristic in question, e.g., grip strength, dentition, mental age, or social maturity. Despite this variation chronological age remains as the sole determiner in most communities of when children enter school because of its objectivity. Birth is a matter of record, and an admission policy based on it alone is easy to enforce.

Based solely on child development probabilities, an equally objective but better policy would permit girls to enter school twelve to eighteen months earlier than boys. This represents the average lag in physical and many other developmental qualities as children proceed through schools. Under such a policy when the ninth grade had a dance ninth-grade boys would be as interested in attending as ninth-grade girls.

Having a different admissions age for boys and girls is a rare policy, though it has been tried in a few communities, solely because tradition has deep roots. Boys and girls have always entered school at the same time. Family plans, furthermore, are often based in part on when children will start school. To change a tradition is likely to evoke the wrath of the community unless citizens thoroughly understand and accept the reasons for the change.

Actually either policy based solely on age does some injustice to children. With expanding interest in preschool education, moreover, and a recent spurt in the number of school systems conducting kindergarten programs (54 per cent of

five-year-olds attended kindergarten in 1963 compared with only 34 per cent in 1950), now may be the time to consider other possible criteria.

New Criteria

In the recent past a few bold school systems have made exceptions to the admission-by-age-alone policy usually by allowing children to enter school early if they achieved a given IQ on an individually administered intelligence test. To administer such a program on any mass basis would be prohibitive cost-wise and difficult to staff in view of the number of specially trained school psychologists it would require. The relative instability of the IQ at this age argues against the use of less valid group intelligence tests. Mental age has been shown in a number of studies to be a rather poor predictor of school success.

Despite the impracticality of the IQ criterion, the possibility exists that a combination of reading readiness tests, cognitive measures, and checklists of what children do on ordinary kindergarten tasks would succeed. Judgments of children's reading readiness by kindergarten and first-grade teachers have already been shown to be quite accurate. As subjective judgments, however, they cannot carry much weight in such important decisions as when specific children are permitted to enter formal schooling. However, utilizing systematically obtained objective data covering a wide variety of gross and fine motor tasks, intellectual accomplishments, and social skills, kindergarten teachers could perform a most useful and vital assessment function. If teachers merely kept records of which children can

and cannot tie their shoes, button their jackets, hop frontwards and backwards, write their names, listen to stories, recognize letters, put various puzzles together, cut on a straight line, etc., they would gradually be building their own assessment battery. The least accomplished children would be the poorest risks for the formal instruction found in many first-grade classrooms. Even without official admissions policies being changed, much could be accomplished in reducing the failure rate under formal schooling merely by a solid parent counseling program regarding when Suzy is ready to enter school.

Several promising measures of developmental status have been forthcoming in recent years.⁷ Many of these emphasize visual-perceptual tasks that call for children to copy a triangle, square or some other figure; trace between parallel lines without hitting the sides; or draw a man, an animal, or a house so that the complexity, proportions, and accuracy of detail can be scored. As school systems investigate and then adopt some of the more useful as-

⁷ See Anton Brenner, *The Anton Brenner Developmental Gestalt Test of School Readiness*, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Western Psychological Services, 1964; M. Frostig, D. W. Lefever, and J. Whittlesey, "The Marianne Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Perception," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 19, 1964, pp. 463-99; K. Hirsch, J. J. Jansky and W. S. Langford, *Predicting Reading Failure*, New York: Harper and Row, 1966; Frances L. Ilg and Louise B. Ames, *op. cit.*; Newell C. Kephart, *The Slow Learner in the Classroom*, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1966.

essment tools, it may be quite possible in the near future to set up solid guidelines for selecting the kind of school program Suzy should enter. The inadequacy of past criteria can be judged by the vast numbers of children doomed to school failure and discouragement. If such failure and discouragement can be predicted from readiness measures so that preventive steps can be taken early, such as proper placement, great educational progress will have been achieved. That such prediction is possible with the right selection of readiness indicators is supported by the fact that one promising kindergarten readiness battery predicted two-and-a-half years earlier ten out of eleven children who were to fail reading or spelling tests at the end of the second grade.⁸

Can Readiness be Taught?

One of the major educational issues through the years has centered around the question of what to do when children are not ready to learn. During the 30's and 40's the answer was often given, "Wait until they are older. The body needs more time to mature, and teaching will be so much easier if you wait a bit longer." Today educators are more uncertain of this doctrine of postponement as they hear about experiments in which four-year-olds learn to read from specially designed typewriters and they see books describing how babies can be taught to read. Even outstanding psychologists state that most anything can be taught to young children in some respectable form.

⁸ K. Hirsch, J. J. Jansky, and W. S. Langford, *op. cit.*

In the ferment over how early various knowledge and skills can be taught, the spotlight has suddenly been turned on the preschool child. Gaps in our knowledge about child development, especially of his intellectual makeup, are clearly visible. Suddenly the world has become aware of the fact that the first years of life may truly be those when learning is greatest. Yet these are also the years before formal instruction when traditionally the child has been left, for the most part, to his own devices. These have been regarded as *play* not *study* years. Even nursery schools and kindergartens have stressed informal play activities, arguing that play is the child's form of work. They have emphasized socio-emotional development, though not downgrading intellectual development as some critics have charged. Now the full value claimed for play is being questioned as it is contrasted with direct attempts to teach Suzy to read, write and count sooner than before.

Before settling this ferment several questions need to be asked, lest educators give up worrying about readiness and swing to the other extreme of starting all types of instruction earlier and earlier. First is the question of long-term effectiveness of early instruction. Several studies have shown that children with earlier environmental stimulation were ahead of comparable children without it for a year or so but not permanently. Children coming from homes with television for instance were a year ahead in vocabulary development of comparable children from homes without television when they entered school, but the latter

caught up by the sixth grade.⁹ In an early study children who did not start formal arithmetic until third grade were equal by the end of that grade to children who had been taught regular arithmetic lessons since their first year in school.¹⁰

Even if the evidence mounts that earlier teaching of many skills is effective, the question of desirability remains. Substantial evidence exists, for example, that reading can be taught successfully to many children at an early age. A crucial question is, "Should it?" The presumed advantage of long-term improvement because of the early start must be weighed against the possibly bad side effects of resentment and lowered incentive from too much pressure and slow tedious progress. The sense of failure that often accompanies children's attempts at tasks for which they are not ready can have lasting effects on their budding self-concepts; so that later on when they are more ready in other respects, they lack the confidence to try.

Another basic question to be asked is to what extent readiness can be taught. It is only logical to assume that for learnings that depend extensively on physical maturity as a pre-

condition to their mastery, there is little that can be done but wait for the body to unfold. But what specifically are these skills? Roller skating, bicycle riding, handwriting, and drawing most likely; reading and arithmetic, perhaps. There is little doubt that physical immaturity handicaps a child in many tasks that more mature age-mates can do. It is certainly not the only factor determining success.

What Guidelines are Promising?

To the extent that school tasks are linked to other factors than those influenced heavily by heredity, such as physical maturity, readiness can probably be developed. In fact one of the most promising avenues for improving children's overall learning is in strengthening their readiness undergirdings. The early childhood period is one in which sensorimotor and conceptual learnings of vast magnitude and variety are occurring. All told, these naturally occurring learnings represent the basic foundation blocks on which later school learnings must rest. The great hope in improved techniques for assessing readiness is that, by identifying weakened or missing intellectual understructure early, preventive measures can be taken during the informal stages of education and before failure becomes too obvious.

Until research resolves some of the issues surrounding early childhood education today, a synthesis of present argumentation over the various questions raised above suggests the following guidelines:

1. Continue to stress, though not exclusively, the informal, self-selecting type of activities that have char-

9 Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, "Children's Learning from Television." In Edward C. Uliassi, Ed., *Studies in Public Communication*, Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

10 Carleton W. Washburne, "The Work of the Committee of Seven on Grade Placement in Arithmetic." In *Child Development and the Curriculum*. Thirty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

acterized most kindergartens in the past.

There is much still to be said for the value of play in the presence of and in cooperation with other children. The quality of interchange that occurs when children are reasonably free to move in a stimulating, well equipped kindergarten setting, and to inspect and discuss each others' activities and accomplishments, is hard to improve on as a builder of concepts and teacher of discriminations. Informal, semi-structured programs are safer places for children to try out new-found skills and perceptions, because they can enter into and retreat from activities readily without the obvious comparisons inherent in more formal classrooms.

2. Consider the kindergarten primarily as a readiness rather than an instructional center.

Fill children with rich backlogs of direct experience with all sorts of materials, objects, and persons. The curriculum might well be thought of as a wide variety of sounds, sights, touches, and smells or as the equally great repertoire of motor responses that children are permitted and encouraged to make: running, hopping, skipping, and throwing; cutting, coloring, pasting, and drawing; talking, singing, listening, and watching. As the full breadth of stimuli are responded to in various ways over and over again, the child's cognitive structure emerges more and more ready for the tasks of formal learning.

3. Provide frequent opportunities for children to share the residue of their experiences with others, both formally in groups where they can

be talked about and reflected upon and informally through spontaneous contacts with classmates and teachers.

Reflective thought, extended meaning, expressive vocabulary, and many other aspects of language development are forthcoming from such exchange.

4. Maintain a solid, consistent mixture of warmth and nurturance on the one hand and pleasant firmness over necessary rules and regulations on the other.

The timid child especially needs the former and the overly active youngster the latter. All children bloom with support, understanding, and the feeling of being appreciated.

5. Keep expectancies flexible and tailored, if possible, to what each child can do.

This means constant assessment of readiness through formal tests and checklists of the types currently emerging. It means close informal observation of each child's accomplishments and failures. Some children need more structure and order in their lives; others need less. Each must be taken into account in the good kindergarten.

6. Plan and conduct excursions, games, discussions, songs, stories, and other activities designed specifically to strengthen experience background, auditory discrimination, visual discrimination, word usage, body coordination, listening habits, and other particular areas that may indicate readiness weaknesses.

Some schools have introduced various gross motor activities, e.g., balancing boards on which children

walk forward and backward, on the principle that improved body control will lead to improved school achievement of other sorts.¹¹ Other schools are introducing transition classes between kindergarten and first grade for children who need more readiness training on conceptual deficits, verbal communication, etc.

7. Keep ongoing objective records of class activities, and of children's participations and performances, for later evaluative and planning purposes.

Although writing daily lesson plans has long been traditional among nursery and kindergarten teachers, keeping ongoing logs of activities and performances as they occur also is most useful. Many times plans go astray more than we realize. Many times outstanding events and particularly active children keep us from remembering accurately what has happened and how each child has participated in various events.

The staff of the Baltimore Early Admissions Project, for example, recognized the need for such a record. A single sheet log form was constructed which teachers or teacher aids checked throughout the day as activities were changed. Filling this form out required only a momentary recollection, a noting of the time spent in the latest activity, and four to six checkmarks to indicate the major characteristics of that activity. The major dimensions which were chosen to characterize the activities

were intimately related to the qualities of readiness previously discussed, namely:

- a) Motor (*Gross* motor activity like walking; *Small* motor activity like cutting and drawing; and *Stationary* activity which was primarily sitting and watching or listening behavior)
- b) Grouping (*Total* class together, a *split* class with an adult leader in charge of each group, *small groups* without direct adult moment-by-moment supervision, and *individualized* with each child on his own)
- c) Selection (*Teacher determined*, even with the child's best interests in mind; *partly teacher selected* with the main idea of the activity selected by the teacher but the precise manner in which it was carried out being left to the children; and *pupil selected*, where both what is done and how it is to be done is left to the child's determination)
- d) Content (*Pupil behavior* represents the main expectancy or teaching focus, such as during snack periods; or *intellectually oriented* activities where talking, thinking or listening to stories represents the main thrust of the activity)

In addition the log sheet provided a place for role-playing and verbalizing to be checked, if an activity included these subactivities, according

* Note: more complete instructions than these are in the unpublished Manual for the Class Activity Log by the author.

¹¹ George D. Spache, et al., "A Study of Longitudinal First Grade Reading Readiness Program." U. S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Project, No. 2742, 1966.

to the number of children who had taken part. One teacher made her record even more precise by tallying the appropriate place on her class list each time a specific child verbalized.

Although the keeping of such a log sounds complicated, it can become a rather simple routine once instructions for categorizing are standardized and memorized. It took us only a few seconds several times a day to place the checkmarks and about five minutes at the end of the day to total the several columns and reflect on what they indicated. The teachers involved in this project found that it not only provided a permanent record of school life but that it helped them remain aware of how much attention they were devoting to certain aspects of the curriculum, perhaps at the expense of others. It is from this kind of an ongoing record, of what school actually consists and how children participate, that improved programs will come.

9. Expect children from impoverished and under-stimulating homes and neighborhoods to gain the most from good preschool programs.

Reports of even academically oriented pre-school programs for such children indicate substantial intellectual progress.¹²

10. Do not expect to eliminate or even minimize the range of individual differences in talent, aptitude, or behavior.

12 Carl Bereiter, et al., "An Academically Oriented Pre-School for Culturally Deprived Children." In Fred M. Hechinger, Ed. *Pre-School Education Today*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966.

Excellent preschool and kindergarten programs do much to bring out the best in all children and improve the performance averages substantially, but there will always be great variation among children. As culturally disadvantaged or slow learning youngsters show progress in various skills and knowledge, so should the advantaged and fast learners. Although there may be more relative gain from a group which is catching up from limitations resulting from environmental deficiencies, a full spread of performance and abilities should continue to be found among such groups or any other unselected groups of children.

Many parents live under the delusion that with the right kind of teaching their children can all excel in almost any area. Such a state might possibly exist, assuming sufficient inheritance to begin with, *only if* many other children do not have the right kind of teaching. In this sense children are born unequal and optimal environmental conditions will continue to keep them unequal, though not necessarily with the same ranking throughout life. We should both accept and cultivate a wide range of differences among children.

A complex and sometimes ambiguous concept, readiness for regular school instruction might well be considered an overarching aim of pre-school education. As such it demands of teachers careful cultivation and Jobian patience.

Its utility as a construct depends on comprehensive discernment of current status. Its promise is the prediction of future accomplishment. Its hope is that early discernment and prediction will lead to improved instruction and optimal development.

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The Educators Speak—III

Can Disadvantaged Parents Motivate Children for Reading?

Adeline W. Gomberg
Beaver College

Can parents, as their children's initial teachers, help prevent failure in schools? Can they be taught the developmental process of reading and help their children learn to read? On June 27, 1967, an experiment was undertaken under the auspices of the School District of Philadelphia to determine whether or not disadvantaged parents could be taught to prepare their children for reading in the schools.

We were aware of the faulty assumptions underlying the thinking of many educators: that all children entering school have had learning experiences and expect "school" to be one more place for asking questions and learning; that all children will attend to what their teachers say in-

Professor Gomberg is Director of the Reading Clinic at Beaver College. She sketches here the story of a Philadelphia experiment in which workshops were organized for teaching the parents of Head Start pupils how to teach their children to learn. The larger questions could not be answered in one summer's experience; but Dr. Gomberg does indicate that disadvantaged parents, when made sufficiently aware of the learning opportunity being offered to them, can achieve a good deal of learning themselves as they find out about teaching their children to read.

stead of "tuning out"; that all children will respond immediately to the tasks at hand; that all children will fully understand what is expected of them; that all anticipate success. By now most teachers are familiar with the absurdity of assuming that every student has been reared by parents who have inculcated good habits of work and questioning, a sense of purpose, and an awareness of the importance of maintaining academic standards. They know they can no longer take for granted parents' understanding that they are participants in a cooperative educational venture. Nor can they take it for granted that their pupils' parents have been engaging in oral communication with the children—acquainting them with formal language patterns, complex phrases, descriptive words, and the multiple meanings and understandings symbolic discourse makes possible.

Like teachers throughout the country, those involved in the Philadelphia experiment were reevaluating what might be done through working with parents to prevent the academic failure that is due to deprivation in the early years. They embarked, in time, on an experimental program of teaching parents to teach their children to learn. A workshop for parents was established in June, 1967 for the parents of thirty

children who had been accepted in the Pennell Elementary School's summer Head Start program. It was assumed that thirty would attend the workshop sessions; but *not one parent* came to the room assigned when the workshop was scheduled to begin. After investigation, we discovered that they had not been asked to commit themselves firmly; and telephone calls were made in the attempt to assemble a group. The next day, three parents arrived, staying only long enough to explain why they could not come. They might come, they said, if we met once a week, or perhaps twice a week. One hour daily? They would have, they said, to think about it. "Why," each one wanted to know, "should I come?" We began selling the program, using the argument that we—parents and teachers—were partners in helping children to learn better. Parents, we said, had much to tell the teachers; and we were willing to listen and to learn from them. "Oh yeah?" "Definitely, yeah!" We asked them to try it and see.

We got busy writing letters which we pinned on each child whether or not he was in the Head Start program, opening the workshop to any interested parent. On June 29, the third day, four parents arrived. They agreed *really* to start after the 4th of July. One parent remained for more than an hour, testing our willingness to listen to him talk about raising a child whom "nobody wanted or loved." On July 5, six parents arrived at 8:45 a.m., and the workshop started. (Forty-seven parents answered our letters and expressed interest.) The first hours were spent in sharing opinions about the nature of learning, ways of learning, styles of thinking and remembering. Since

our questioning focused on the children and not upon adults, parents did not seem to feel threatened. For example (after we introduced ourselves around the tables), the writer started out by identifying herself as a mother of two children, and the foster mother of two others. She then briefly explained how she first became aware that one of her children was *learning something*. (In response to her calling her three-month-old son, he had turned his head towards her and smiled. When she moved in back of him, he had turned his head to follow her voice. He was learning to recognize her and to respond to her voice.) When questioned about the earliest age at which they remembered their own children noticing or remembering, each parent was eager to talk. Once recollections were shared, we listed all the elements that had been a part of this elementary initial learning process. This was followed by a game to tease listening, recall, and memory: "Please go to the door, open it, look outside to the right, then to the left, close the door, return to your chair, sit down and say, 'That was easy.' Mrs. So-and-So." Using their names at the end of the directions caught the non-listeners. Two parents laughingly "failed" and openly approved the father who had been more alert. Parents took turns leading the game and gave amusing directions.

Two important decisions were made by the parents:

1. To test each activity or game with their children at home and to report on success or failure.
2. That a "one-shot-deal" (to use a father's phrase) wasn't worth the effort. A game, to be valuable, had to permit "variations-on-a-theme."

To illustrate: once the sessions were underway, a few parents decided that they would construct alphabet cards as a reading readiness activity. They asked for a lesson on manuscript writing, assembled oaktag, cut out squares, and printed the letters. Some began to think of possible ways in which these cards could be most effectively used. They ruled out using them as flash cards—"Too much like school." Putting them in alphabetical sequence was a "one-shot-deal." With some help, after they were "stuck," they thought of playing "Concentration" with them. This led to making another set, since they needed pairs.

In testing their "game," their own confusion became apparent: two parents could not "read," others weren't sure about the "m" or the "w," the "p" or the "q," the "b" or the "d." The impact of careful seeing, left-to-right direction, became more than a phrase to them. They put in dots under the "m" and "w" to give them better cues, and a stroke on the "q" to differentiate it from the "p." As they played, some decided to keep score since they too wanted to "win." One parent began to shuffle the letters around and began to construct words. This led to a new game using the same cards. The added realization of the importance of the vowels led them to constructing a minimum of five pairs of each vowel. And, so, the words began to form. Parent vied against parent, first constructing three letter words, then four, then five. Dictionaries were needed, since some parents refused to yield on a meaningless word when challenged. Each session led to other equally meaningful activities as the parents learned the various aspects of a developmental reading program.

The importance of naming common words proved sufficiently important to the parents for them to spend a full week constructing bingo charts. They hunted through magazines and assembled pictures to illustrate objects that fly and move, wearing apparel, trees and flowers, foods, neighborhood stores, etc. For each picture used, a second identical picture was pasted on another card.

Two parents made picture alphabet booklets for children too young to attend "Head Start." Others made consumable booklets in which their children could trace manuscript letters. Two parents decided to make alphabet cards with a picture on each one to use as display at home. One constructed an alphabetical mobile. These became their personal gifts, and they ruled out the "one-shot" concept.

Some sessions were given over to a discussion of books children enjoy; the school library was utilized, and parents browsed. Collections were brought in and shared as parents took turns reading some pages aloud. One parent clipped pages from *Ebony* magazine and wrote her own story about "My Family." Others followed her lead, and all experienced a sense of budding creative pride as their efforts were praised.

Only nine parents were able to keep to a pattern of work and daily adherence to a schedule. Only nine became committed to learning. More than forty-seven parents expressed interest, yet only nine attended daily. Attendance over all ranged from twenty-one to nine. On the sixth and final week, new faces were constantly seen. Parents newly arrived expressed annoyance that they had not fully understood what was being offered.

A better method of attracting parents and informing them about a workshop has still to be found. Announcements during Home and School Meetings might be followed by the ringing of doorbells. A "Block Leader" plan might be attempted.

Parents actively learning were better able to involve their children. In response to a questionnaire evaluating the effect of the workshop, a parent wrote:

In the few weeks we were together I really learned how to help my children to concentrate. My youngest could not sit still long enough; but when we play the games at home he is really interested in what is going on. In bingo he knows he must learn all the words to be the caller. Now he takes the cards and reads them on his own. He plays with the neighbors on the patio in bingo and concentration. At this time I would like to thank you very much. . . .

Another response read as follows:

It was the most wonderful thing that has happened to me since becoming a mother. I have always tried to help and spend as much time with my children as possible. . . . I have learned how simple it is to play so many different games while learning and everyone has fun. . . . If only the classes could be all year. . . .

The activities involving reading which the parents preferred were: scrabble, alphabet concentration, homonym cards, and linguistic bingo games. These activities were most successfully used at home with children ranging in age from five to

twelve years. Both child and parent welcomed "games." Workshops of this nature do help to uncover parents' learning disabilities. Two parents actually began to read.

Many came for two or three sessions. For some, the writer believed, the situation proved "threatening." Two parents seemed wholly unable to communicate. They listened, yawned, conformed to any activity done, and left as quickly as possible. At least eleven parents explained why they could not attend daily. A majority of women were working and could come only during their vacations. One woman, anxious not to miss the program, had her husband take her place. "At least he'll tell me what happens when I come home at night." And so he did, for the three weeks he was on vacation!

Parents became more aware of the importance of being active thinkers and learners. Any game constructed was unacceptable unless it could be used in more than one way. Like their children, parents enjoyed competing with one another. In the excitement of competition, many sessions ran over the hour.

Our conclusion, at the end of the experiment, was that parents are interested—or can be made interested. Also, many parents can function effectively as teachers, once they understand the developmental steps in helping prepare children to learn, to think, to see, to hear, to talk, and to read. We recommend similar workshops on a year-round basis for all schools, but particularly those in poverty areas, with afternoon and evening sessions. Our initial question has not been finally answered, but at least we know that parents can be taught to teach.

The Educators Speak—IV

Movement: A Window on the World

Geraldine Dimondstein

University of California, Los Angeles

In the literal sense, a window is a means by which we see ourselves reflected. But a window does not exist independently of a frame. In the imaginal sense, this frame becomes the subjective structure by which we judge, feel, and respond to that which we perceive in the external world. Seen in this way, movement becomes one significant frame of reference through which we perceive, feel, and express, and wherein meanings emerge and expand both our subjective and objective vision.

"Movement," as a generic term, encompasses all of human behavior;

Creative rhythmic movement, as Dr. Dimondstein sees it, may be conceived to be an art form with particular relevance for young children. She believes that children ought to be enabled to engage in movement experiences of the kind which permit them to conceptualize space, time, and force in relation to their own bodies. The capacity to conceptualize in this way may lead, she says, to imaginative control of space-time-force elements and, in consequence, the imposition of order upon the environment—much like the virtual form achieved by the artist in non-discursive communication. Dr. Dimondstein is an instructor in UCLA's Daytime Programs and Special Projects and the author of a forthcoming book, Children Dance in the Classroom (Macmillan).

movement is inherent in all human activity. Significantly enough, it is also an essential component of all of the arts. We are seeking in this paper, those qualitative aspects of movement which uniquely relate to creative expression. In order to pursue these specific qualities, we shall consider them apart from other types of movement, like those which fall within the realm of ballet, modern dance, or athletics.

For young children, especially in early childhood or elementary schooling, I prefer the designation of *creative rhythmic movement*, for it eliminates the notion of dance as a choreographed entity. This is not to say that there are not elements of choreography involved; but they are, for the most part, fragmentary and transitory. By way of definition, creative rhythmic movement is "the interpretation of a child's ideas, feelings and sensory impressions expressed through his unique use of body movement."¹ It has as its purpose communication to self and others; and gestures are its means. As

¹ Geraldine Dimondstein, "A Conceptual Model of the Arts as Sensuous Expressions in the Education of Young Children." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California at Los Angeles, 1967.

an art form, it is the "virtual" rather than the "real" or "actual" gesture which gives it strength and excitement.*

While creative rhythmic movement deals with elements of dance, within the school setting, it is not our intent to produce professional dancers. On the contrary, I feel strongly that young children are in the exploratory stages of discovering the plasticity and potential of their bodies, and should not be led prematurely into a dance expertness of movement, which might place undue emphasis upon technique. My experience sustains my belief that young children need to experience a variety and range of movements before they are required to move in specific and particularized ways. Fundamentally, I believe that each child needs to develop a movement vocabulary which is wide and rich, meaningful and flexible, and which bears his own imprint.

Expressive Movement

In creative rhythmic movement we are concerned with expressive movement—with the control of the body in order to use the language of movement expressively and creatively. Experiences in rhythmic movement are fundamental and available to all children, because a child's body and his expression are one. The body has been likened to an instrument; but, unlike other arts which require the use of external media, the body is not a "thing" that a child uses. It is his very self; psychologically and

kinesthetically, it is a direct agent of his feelings. It is controlled by a child through his need for expression, not as an instrument which is foreign or outside of himself. For this reason, I suggest that rhythmic movement is the simplest and most immediate of any of the art forms we can provide for a child.

Since movement is non-verbal communication, the body speaks through gesture. And it is "virtual" or created gesture which distinguishes this type of movement from real-life movement. While all gesture is important, in that it reflects personal experience, temperament, and emotion, all gesture is not creative expression. In everyday activity, gestures function as signs or symbols to convey intentions, desires, and expectations. In this country, for example, a wave of the hand is conventionally understood as a sign of "good-bye," just as a yawn indicates fatigue. These types of gestures fall under what Langer calls self-expression"—i.e., as immediately symptomatic of a feeling or emotion, but which are not in themselves an aesthetic form.

In creative rhythmic movement, gesture becomes a symbolic form of feeling only when it is expressed apart from the momentary situation or emotional state which prompted it. In children's terms, it is not a "pretend" feeling that inspires movement; it is a state of being. It is unlikely, for example, that a child who is in a fit of rage or is desolate and lonely could express these feelings objectively in movement terms. In the first instance, he might stamp his feet and make slashing motions with his arms, but this is self-expression, not creative movement.

* I am indebted to Suzanne Langer for the formulation of these concepts as the distinguishing characteristics of a piece of art work.

Gesture, in the symbolic sense, is an abstraction and as such, takes two forms: (1) *the forms of actual feeling*, which are abstracted from everyday behavior in order to be created and presented symbolically, and (2) *the gestures* which are abstracted from everyday expressive content. In observing and guiding the work of children, we see that both of these abstractions aim toward the realization of a single, symbolic form, because they occur simultaneously.

Conceiving Movement

Let us assume that thus far we are in general agreement that movement is of vital importance to children. And let us assume further that given a proper degree of willingness and sensibility, any classroom teacher can provide experiences in creative movement, since I believe that this is not an area which should be limited to specialists. Given these beliefs, however, why is it that rhythmic movement, which is closest to the child in that his own body becomes the medium of expression, is the least experienced of the arts forms in the school?

It seems simple enough to say that to begin is to move. But to return to the context of this discussion, we may ask, but from what frame of reference? Are there basic concepts about the "stuff" of movement which need to be understood in the same way that concepts in math and social studies must be understood? There are indeed. The difference, however, is that creative rhythmic movement is not subject-matter in the conventional sense: there is not one mass of material to be learned; one set of learnings does not necessarily lead

sequentially to another; and evaluations of what has been learned demand different criteria.

Perhaps a beginning lies in the recognition that the arts, and specifically movement, represent a way of knowing, as well as a way of feeling. Like any field of knowledge, therefore, movement requires first, a definition and description so that we may understand what it is, as well as what it is not; second, the distinguishing characteristics which are inherent to this form; third, a unique experiential approach; and finally, the particular elements or media through which each child's expression is given form. These features I offer as a conceptual framework in which to consider movement.

At the outset, however, let me make the point that the world of movement resides within a larger construct—that of space-time-force, all of which enter as conceptual and perceptual components of movement: perceptual elements which function on the level of sensation and emotion, and as conventional metrical standards. Both are inherent in all human behavior, but they differ in quality and form according to how and what we wish to express.

An understanding of these concepts makes it possible for us to weave notions of space-time-force into the fabric of a meaningful, functional vocabulary for children, as well as for ourselves. The value of such a vocabulary is that it provides a language for teachers to define those qualities which are usually assigned to the ephemeral. And it offers children a viable means of understanding how the elements with which they are directly involved take on a subjective, aesthetic form.

Objective and Perceptual Elements

Let me set these components up in opposition so that we can see the difference between the objective and the perceptual, or the "real" world and the "feeling" world. *On a conceptual level*, space is represented and exists in the physical world; it involves ideas about one's body in space, objects in space, and the spatial relationships within an environment. *Spatial perception*, however, begins with the body and involves two concepts: (1) that the body is the center of reference which determines the way a child uses space, and (2) that movement is the essential ingredient of space perception. We know that, as a child becomes increasingly aware of the dimensions of his body, he also becomes aware of the dimensions of other objects, and people in the environment. But the use of space to create an aesthetic form is not rational or logical—it is expressionist and sensuous. The body, therefore, becomes the relative point of spatial orientation toward the world, and by the same process, a child's perception of space is a source for the psychological attitudes which permit him to uniquely set limits and grasp space in any creative effort.

On a conceptual level, time includes both a sense of clock and calendar intervals; it is perceived as units which are formally arranged in an order of before and after (sequence), and the contrasts they present are the measure of change. *Time perceived as experience* is directly related to the rhythm of movement and finds its source in the rhythms of the body and its world. Just as the space of experience is not the space of geometry, so per-

ceived time is not established by clocks. In the exploration of movement, a child creates his own sense of duration or transience, which may be compressed or extended, according to the quality of feeling he is able to express. A unit of time may be great or small, long or short, past or present, but it is, in any case, a self-contained temporal order imposed by the child.

A concept of force involves a sense of weight, gravity, energies in motion, tension, and relationships in space. *A sense of force* is experienced as tension or stress in a movement, expressed as an output of energy. The quality of a movement is determined by the flow and control of energy, for it will significantly alter its time-space pattern, and will directly affect its meaning. By varying the amount of energy expended, and by releasing energy in different ways, a child achieves different qualities of movement. Hawkins describes this kinesthetic feeling of force in behavioral terms as an "awareness of movement tension,"² by which she means to feel it kinesthetically is more effective than to know it in words.

We must heighten our sensitivity therefore, to children's needs to symbolize their feelings and ideas through movement, and, in so doing, to translate these objective components into aesthetic stimuli. If we accept the concept that space-time-force function in the service of perception, we cannot regard them as tools or techniques, anymore than we can look upon creative rhythmic movement as a skill. I think this be-

² Alma Hawkins. *Creating Through Dance*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964.

comes apparent when we realize, for example, that being able to analyze a gesture in movement, a line in painting, or a shape in sculpture in terms of objective or "scientific" criteria is neither an indication nor a guarantee that we understand them inwardly, nor that we have learned to respond to them with any degree of aesthetic sensitivity.

Seeking Awareness

What we are seeking, even with young children, is an awareness of space-time-force elements—as the qualities of immediate experience involved in the expression of a sensuous response. By a sensuous response, I mean the interrelationship of perception and feeling expressed through a symbolic form. It is this response which separates movement, as creative expression, from all other human responses, since all behavior reflects the interrelationship of perception and feeling. I think it is important to differentiate the sensuous response from random emotional responses, as an organized aesthetic effort. I do not mean that children should be expected to function on the level of adult art, but simply to suggest that the sensuous response must be distinguished from self-expression. Langer offers an amusing example. "Self-expression," she writes, "does not require composition or lucidity; a screaming baby gives his feeling more release than any musician, but we don't go to a concert hall to hear a baby scream; in fact if that baby is brought in, we are likely to go out."³

³ Suzanne K. Langer. *Problems of Art*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957.

Now let's turn from this broader vision to the four features which describe the frame of our window on the world. First, by way of definition, I have suggested that creative rhythmic movement is the interpretation of a child's ideas, feelings, and sensory impressions expressed through his unique use of body movement. Second, its distinguishing characteristics, as we have observed, are those which separate real-life movements from gestures which are expressed symbolically as non-verbal communication. It is distinguished from other arts in that all of the components of space-time-force are essential in forming the dynamic image.

Thirdly, then, what is the nature of the experience? Whatever a child creates as a dynamic, expressive form, he is involved both physically and emotionally in the total act. While a movement may appear as a motion of one part of the body, it is rooted or supported by a movement impulse through the entire body. Although a child's understanding of these basic concepts may exist at different levels, he is experiencing them all at once, as what Sheets calls "the moving center of a moving form."⁴

Through consciously guided experiences, however, a child becomes aware of the totality of body movement by exploring his needs for expression, as he uses space-time-force in different intensities. He discovers, for example, that the whole feeling associated with running changes when runs become leaps, and he senses the need for changes in the use of space and time.

⁴ Maxine Sheets. *The Phenomenology of Dance*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

Kinesthetic Perception

The essence of the experience in creative rhythmic movement is that a child becomes aware of still another way of knowing and feeling himself—i.e., through *kinesthetic perception*. This means, simply, that bodily movements are the result of muscular activity, and that a child begins to understand and appreciate these movements by developing a "muscle sense." I would draw the analogy with other arts of a "visual sense" in painting, a "haptic sense" in sculpture, and a "metaphoric sense" in poetry, meaning that each art form evokes a different area of a child's consciousness.

The space-time-form of movements are transmitted through this muscle sense, but the degree of kinesthetic sensitivity is dependent upon the emotions which stimulate the initial movement. In a strict sense, kinesthetic perception comes with an awareness of sensory data, and the muscular system acts as an integrating instrument by which a child learns to orient himself in space-time. In a broader sense, the ability to move with fluency depends upon a child's feeling of "rightness" or "wrongness" in relation to how he can control and adjust his own body parts. If movement is to be of most value to a child, it must be in expressing his unique way of moving, of feeling, of being, and must therefore always be right for him. If we understand the process of kinesthetic perception as a combination of awareness and control, we can offer to a child the freedom and fearlessness to move as he feels "moved" to move.

Finally, it is the teacher as well as the child who must be aware, and

this comes with knowledge of the elements or structural components from which movement develops. And this brings us to the fourth facet of the conceptual framework. I am speaking again of space-force-time, but in this context, as the elements inherent in movement. The body moves in and through *space*, which requires *time*, and since movement functions in reference to gravity, it involves body weight or *force*. Movement thus takes shape by the space which it describes, the rate of speed which it uses, and the intensity or variability of its execution.

Space—It always comes as a revelation to a child to learn that he himself is three-dimensional and has limitless ways in which he can move. He needs to be made aware, for example, that when he occupies a place on the floor, standing or sitting, he defines that space by his very presence. Beyond this, it is the space between the child and the perimeters of the room, or between him and other children or objects that he must define. For further definition, the illusion of more or less space can be created as we explore changes in *direction*, *level*, and *range*. These dimensions become meaningful as concepts which can be used with young children to be incorporated as a working language into their movement vocabulary.

Time—Just as space cannot be understood as an endless void, so time must be defined in terms of a child's inherent rhythmic function. It is interesting to note the tempo level of an individual child by observing him walk across the floor. It is likely that the beat which he establishes will relate to his own heart-beat or energy organization. A child's response to

rhythm, therefore, is both a kinesthetic awareness of his underlying pulse, and as a force-time phenomenon. Rhythmic factors are concerned primarily with *tempo*, *duration*, and *accent*, each of which may be expressed subjectively, whether or not a child is responding to musical or percussive accompaniment. It is exciting to observe that a child's own movement inventions have a unique rhythmic structure, and when he is made aware of it, it too becomes part of his movement vocabulary.

Force—The force of a movement is felt in the body by the flow and control of energy. As a child expends and releases energy in different ways, he senses that the whole quality of a movement changes. There are many ways in which we can increase the "feel" or awareness of tension. Most basic perhaps, is an awareness of what happens to the center of gravity with the transference of body weight. This seems to be one of the most difficult aspects of kinesthetic perception for children to acquire. Since each individual varies in body structure, it is not possible to identify a specific point, but each child can locate his "middle" or center when his body is in complete alignment. At the moment in which he moves from this center, either by making a movement with any part of his body or in taking a step, he is involved in changing body weight. We can see, therefore, that body weight and balance are closely connected.

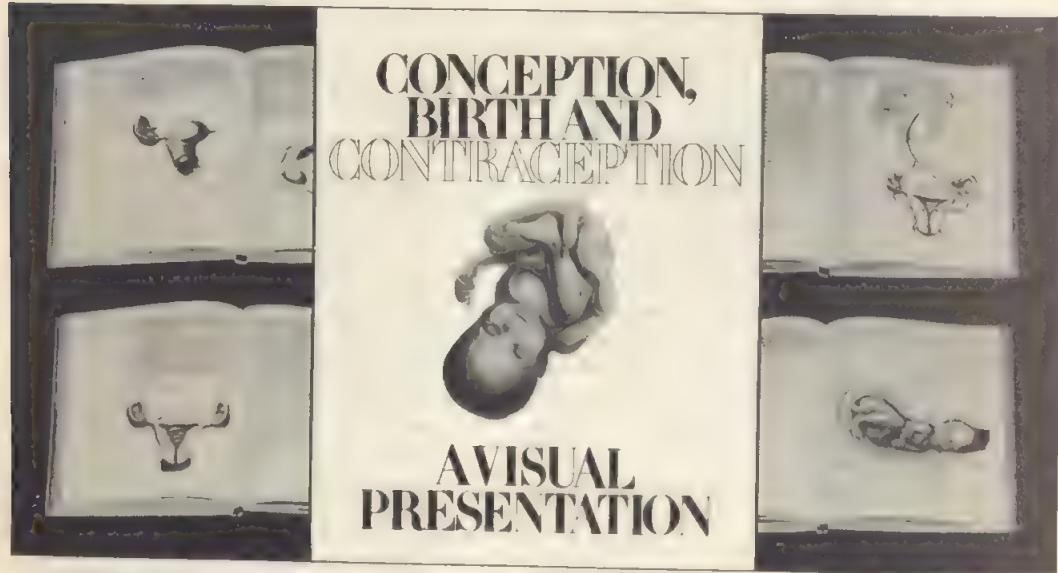
Children can sense this relationship as it functions in different time-space patterns, by exploring changes in *dynamics*—i.e., high-low, heavy-light, fast-slow. Whether in response

to verbal similes such as, "move loud as a . . .," "small as a . . .," "quiet as a . . .," in response to dramatic imagery taken from folk songs or stories, or to musical or percussive accompaniment, children become aware of the unique power of their own bodies.

An aesthetic awareness of movement requires a kind of sensitivity that develops gradually from experiencing and feeling. Through the infinite uses of space-time-force, children come to realize that hands, feet, and head are capable of moving at different speeds and with different intensity, that the torso can show heavy and light movement, and that their whole body can speak for them as an expressive medium. And just as no two children talk in the same way, with the same inflection, intonation, or use of language, so no two children move alike. Although creative rhythmic movement is an art form through which quality may be achieved equally well through group participation as by working alone, the success of a movement experience depends upon a child's unique ability to conceive of space-time-force in relation to his own body, and to control these elements imaginatively.

In so doing, he becomes aware that the gestures we use to communicate ideas and emotions are not the same as commonplace gestures, for they demand new dimensions and a new frame of reference. He learns that he can impose an order upon his environment, and that he can speak through emotions which assume a form that has a larger scope than self-expression.

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The Educators Speak—V

Art and the Search for Identity

Tom Hamil
University of Washington

Each man must scratch his mark. Public monuments and facilities bear the graffiti of those who have had to reveal their names, loves, or sordid fantasies to posterity. And when we look at statues scarred with the messages of love or defiance, we must wonder if the motives of the hero, the cited donors, the signed sculptor, and the young man with the eight-penny nail were not the same. For we extend ourselves, in part, through our marks. An infant's scribbles give him the satisfaction of recorded movement. The painting is the artist's push into the future, his enduring movement.

The mark is a lasting indication of our unique presence. It extends our identity into time.

For man must extend. He must reach out into his environment, not only in the sense of acquisition, the territoriality and domain that Lor-

Mr. Hamil, a graduate student at the University of Washington, here discusses how artists and children seek out forms through which to express their experiences and how symbolization makes such expression possible. Focusing particularly on visual symbols, he opens vistas on the kind of environments which "respect the expression of the learner." As he sees it, respect of this kind springs from regard for the "worthy existence" of every living child.

enz¹ discusses, but also as a fellow who seeks and shares. Domination is an effort of negative identification; the comparison of oneself to a debased other. Identity is found in the appropriation of the environment into the self and the influence of the self on the environment. Extension is through opening oneself to experience, not by conquest and containment. As Buber teaches us, it is the I-thou relationship which is rich with meaning. The I-it relationship is barren.²

The mode of interaction of self and environment is symbolization. Cassirer has called us the symbol-making animals.³ The internalization of environment through symbols is the means to self-structure. The self is composed of the countless images of moment-by-moment awareness structured into satisfying relationships. Sullivan conjectured that there are three stages of development in the awareness of environment. The first, the prototaxic stage, is the reception of undifferentiated impressions. Then, symbols are formed which have a "magical" relationship to each other. That is,

- 1 Konrad Lorenz. *On Aggression*. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.
- 2 Martin Buber. *I and Thou*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.
- 3 Ernst Cassirer. *Essay on Man*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

what occurs simultaneously is considered causal. That is the *parataxic stage*. Finally, a mode of logical interpretation of the environment is attained at the *syntactic stage*.⁴ The chaos of unstructured symbols would be unbearable. We must mature into the more sophisticated stages in order to maintain ourselves in the constantly shifting surroundings. We order the symbols, that is, the appropriated environment, into a symbol-system that provides for the continuity of the self in the integration of new events. The symbol-system also censors or controls the images we take from the environment. As has been shown in many studies,⁵ perception is very selective. In the terms of this paper, we can only see that which we can symbolize.

The Externalized Symbol

Another aspect of this process is the externalized symbol. The symbol is used to communicate with the environment. The symbol is given form and externalized. This form is, in part, a testing of our symbol against the environment. It is a procedure of comparison. The externalized symbol also communicates our internal self-structure to the environment. Self-identity is built by the externalization of symbol.

The degree of agreement between

externalized symbols determines the extent of communication between people and the reception of the selves presented. Language is one of the most powerful symbol systems in our culture. Language enables the communication of certain aspects of the internalized environment and also certain aspects of the self-system. We are aware of the exposure of ourselves in speech and tend to be guarded when speaking with strangers or in situations of jeopardy. Cultures set up patterns of speech for those instances. Sometimes there is a very rigid pattern of formalities to be used with strangers as in diplomatic speech. At other times, the pattern may be less formal but it is nonetheless rigorous. "Small talk" is an example of this. We use patterns of non-threatening speech about inconsequential matters in our introductory conversations. It is startling if a stranger disregards this convention and assumes intimacy.

People lacking verbal communication may still share companionship and respect even though many parts of their experiences remain hidden. Communication, the sharing of existence between the self-system and the environment including other self-systems is possible to the extent the externalized symbol-systems overlap. The commonality of symbols does not have to be in verbal language. Expression, gestures, acts, signals, and all forms of visual expression provide instances of communication. Symbols are not limited to verbal images. They include the multitudinous modes by which external events are internalized. They include also the fewer modes by which internalized events are communicated. As Dewey said,

4 Henry Stack Sullivan. *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1953.

5 Jerome Bruner, "The Cognitive Consequences of Early Sensory Deprivation," in J. L. Frost and G. R. Hawkes, Eds., *The Disadvantaged Child*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.

Communication is the process of creating participation, of making common what has been isolated and singular; and part of the miracle that it achieves is that, being communicated, the conveyance of meaning gives body and definiteness to the experience of the one who utters as well as to that of those who listen.⁶

This is art: the invention of symbolic form that gives meaning to the environment both for the artist and for the viewer. This does not imply that the work of the artist must be readily understood by the viewer. As with other symbol-systems, the work may be in advance of the audience. The artist seeks new symbols with which to structure the environment. He is not content to take those symbols of hackneyed use that are devoid of strong meaning. The audience may be pleased with sentiment, the artist will give them passion.

The Search for Symbols

Herbert Read has written:

. . . perfection of art must arise from its practice—from the discipline of tools and materials, of form and function . . . it is a mistake to define a world of art and set it apart from life . . . it is a mistake to confine the teaching of art to appreciation, for the implied attitude is too detached . . . art must be practiced to be appreciated, and must be taught in intimate apprenticeship . . . For art cannot be learned by precept, by any verbal instruction. It is, properly speaking, a contagion.

⁶ John Dewey. *Art as Experience*. New York: Capricorn Books, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958.

and passes like fire from spirit to spirit.⁷

It is in the practice of art that we gain the symbols of art. The learner behaves as an artist, molding his experience into an expressive form.

Art gives structure to experience. The artist, whether child or master, searches for the forms which express his experiences. The experiences may be in the environment or it may be a reorganization of internal symbols. The invention of symbol makes the expression possible. This is shown by Rhoda Kellogg⁸ when she discusses the development of the symbol from early scribbles that mark the motion of the child through stages to formal shapes. It is interesting to notice that the child does not develop the idea, "man," and then search for the symbol to communicate that idea, but rather the mandala figure is evolved, then used to express the idea. The sequence points out the necessity of allowing the child to develop his own symbols. It is evolutionary. The child extends himself as he gains each new level. To teach the child a pictorial symbol without the antecedent symbols would be confusing. The symbol might have some meaning for the adult introducing it but for the child it would be strange marks that the adult inexplicably called "man."

Arnheim also discusses the child's use of drawing⁹ and conjectures that

⁷ Herbert Read. *The Redemption of the Robot*. New York: Trident Press, 1966.

⁸ Rhoda Kellogg. *What Children Scribble and Why*. Palo Alto: National Press, 1955.

⁹ Rudolf Arnheim. *Art and Visual Perception*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954.

it is not the roundness of an object that the child express in his early shapes but rather the existence. The shape separates the thing from the ground and becomes the symbol for all separated objects. The same shape will be called "mamma," "pappa," "baby," "dog," or anything, for it is *the thing* that may be symbolized in this new manner, not *the specific*.

Each form adds to the repertoire of the child as he develops visual symbols to be used to explore the environment. The forms function as surrogate experience as well as objects in the environment. Thus, the child can enact the unfolding drama of his drawing as he works on it. Sometimes the picture becomes so overladen with action that the original picture is hidden.

The personal quality of the drawing should not be denied to the child. Overzealous or misinformed adults sometimes set models for the child that are beyond his level of development. The child then mimics the adult drawing or gives up the use of visual expression. Too often we see these escapes used. The child precocious in art is often one who has been thwarted in his own development and to gain the approval of adults has adopted facility in place of authenticity. For the authentic work of child or master artist is the expression of his own internalized environment in terms of his own symbol-system.

Visual expression is natural to man. There seem to be no cultures that do not have some form of visual art. The form may be used for magical purposes or decoration but there is some attempt to articulate a surface, to give a surface meaning. The cultures whose art is decorative have

probably discerned the power of the visual image and restricted its use to controlled and stylized forms. The restrictions to geometric and letter symbols in Islamic art are examples of this. Even within cultural limitations, the individual artist will make his unique contribution. In our culture, however, we propose to develop the individual, not restrict him. The use of this natural mode of expression, visual art, is an important adjunct to this development.

Vision is one of the major sources of contact with the environment. As all sensory avenues, vision is subject to mediation by cognition and emotion.¹⁰ We do not all see the same but rather we "see" our own mental constructs or reality. These constructs vary from person to person but there is a general agreement within a culture. An example of these differences is the vision of the hunter. Signs of minute changes in the surroundings have meaning to him. In many instances we exclude from our vision aspects of a scene which are unimportant, distasteful, or worrisome. These are instances of choice, made at a more or less cognitive level of awareness. There are other aspects of the scene which we do not see because for us they do not exist. We have no symbol with which to internalize them.

The limitation of vision is dangerous. We need actual, sensitive contact with our environment instead of accepting the mottoes, signals, stereotypes, and conventions and distorting reality to fit them. Ignorance curtails our existence.

¹⁰ Jerome Bruner and I. Postman, "Emotional Selectivity in Perception and Reaction," *Journal of Personality* 15, 1947, pp. 300-308.

The construction of visual symbols enables us to extend ourselves. It gives us a means to learn. These symbols may be used at any level of skill. Skill gives the user more comfortable and efficient use of a system. It is perfected in use, not by superimposition of technique.

In language, in religion, in art, in science, man can do no more than to build up his own universe—a symbolic universe that enables him to understand and interpret, to articulate and organize, to synthesize and universalize his human experience.¹¹

Skill is the degree of competence in building a particular universe. But the lack of skill or an undeveloped skill does not deny the use of that art. There are few of us with the speaking skill of Charles Laughton or President Kennedy but that does not prevent our talking.

Schools are responsible for encouraging the expansion of individuals through all modes of symbol formation and expression by making available the tools, time, and guidance for pursuing the various modes. The schools have a dual task of presenting the culture and allowing the child to choose those aspects of the culture he would appropriate. This choice implies the responsibility of the child. The child gains his universe through impression and expression. Who would dare choose this for another person?

The choice must be guided, however. The child must be led to the arena in which the choice is made. He must be shown the alternatives. Techniques that expand the learner's

scope in art may be taught. These are best taught by example, not precept. The teacher-artist and the student-artist must work side by side, each searching for the symbols with which to express his unique being and the symbols with which to impress aesthetic form on the chaotic environment.

The imposition of symbols on the learner denies his identity. It puts him in the degraded position of *homo mechanicus*,¹² responding to a world that is not his own.

As an heir, even though he were heir to the treasure of all the world, nevertheless does not possess his property before he comes of age, so even the richest personality is nothing before he has chosen himself, and on the other hand even what one might call the poorest personality is everything when he has chosen himself, for the great thing is not to be this or that but to be oneself.¹³

The use of mimeographed coloring sheets is a horrendous example of the abuse of the individual. Not only is the child denied his own expression and the chance to explore his own symbols but he is presented with the poorest examples of his culture's visual art. This abuse is especially insidious as the examples are presented by significant adults with their apparent approval. The work

12 A. S. Luchin. "Implications of Gestalt Psychology for AV Learning," *AV Communication Review*, 9, April 1961, pp. 7-31.

13 Soren Kierkegaard, quoted in Arthur Jersild, *In Search of Self*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia, 1952.

ceases to be a way to draw and becomes *the* way to draw. Whether the sheets are presented in Art or Reading or Social Studies or Arithmetic does not change their influence on the child's visual expression.

Goodman has postulated that "Fundamentally, there is no right education except growing up in a worthwhile world."¹⁴ This seems especially true to art education. The learner develops his unique expression in an environment that respects visual expression. In our eclectic society, the environment should present the vast heritage of visual art forms, showing them as cherished symbols of man's experience.

To formulate the significance of an experience a man must take into account the experience of others. He must try to find a standpoint which includes the experiences of others as well as his own. Otherwise his communication cannot be understood . . . Aesthetic formulation reveals and enhances the meaning of experiences one already has . . .¹⁵

The environment that respects the expression of others must also respect the expression of the learner. This respect is not to be confused with tolerance that allows the expression knowing it to be immature, uninformed, and subject to the approximation of some standard. It is respect for the child as an individual whose symbols are the externalization of his worthy existence.

¹⁴ Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Mis-education*. New York: Horizon 1964.

¹⁵ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1916.

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Teacher Education and Commitment: The Tolling Bell

"We see now," educational philosopher Philip G. Smith said recently,¹ "that the central purpose of American schooling is dictated by the democratic commitment of our society. The problem of translating this central purpose into objectives for teaching-learning (at the level of skills, habits, understandings, attitudes, and appreciations) calls for a sustained program of complex conceptual analysis and empirical research." He was asking for a stronger educational profession and for increased professional control of the schools. By implication, he was asking that schools and colleges of education focus on analysis and research, on getting our democratic commitment into operational terms. There has been enough public debate and "squabble," he said; we must "get on with society's business, for example, as the medical profession does."

Is it indeed the case that there is sufficient agreement on the value dimension in education for teacher educators to concentrate exclusively on training in expertise? Is it indeed the case that the "central purpose" of American schools requires no

more discussion, even among teachers-to-be? Is it sufficient to declare that "in a free society committed to the principles of a democratic ethic," the commitment of the public schools can be assumed to be to "democratic principles"?

We find it difficult to take refuge in abstractions today, difficult to be sanguine. Vice President Agnew's speeches ring in our ears: the attack on "effete and impudent snobs"; the declaration that the government can afford to separate dissidents "from our society—with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel"; the condemnation of the "instant analysis and querulous criticism" offered by television commentators after President Nixon's November 3rd address. The "silent majority" construct haunts us, as do the conspiracy trials, the massacre in Vietnam, the seemingly endless war, the talk of "law and order" at the Justice Department.² The final report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence lingers in our mind. We need, the Commission said, to reorder our national priorities: "While serious external dangers remain, the graver threats today are internal."³ Poverty, dis-

1 Philip G. Smith, "Objectives for American Education," in Stanley Elam and Gordon I. Swanson, Eds. *Educational Planning in the United States*. Ithaca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1969.

2 See Richard Harris, "Justice," in *The New Yorker*, November 8, 15, 22, 1959.
3 *The New York Times*, December 13, 1969, p. 22.

crimination, overcrowding—these are the threats, and the “high level of violence” resulting “is dangerous to our society.” The report went on:

It is disfiguring our society—making fortresses of portions of our cities and dividing our people into armed camps. It is jeopardizing some of our most precious institutions, among them our schools and universities—poisoning the spirit of trust and cooperation that is essential to their proper functioning. It is corroding the central political processes of our democratic society—substituting force and fear for argument and accommodation.

Democratic commitment? Democratic ethic? It seems to us that, for many people, they have been drained of content and become empty. A democratic commitment is a commitment, after all, to individual fulfillment. “Security,” “prosperity,” “stability,” like social institutions generally, are justified by the degree to which they serve the person and his quest for meanings, his efforts to effect controls over experience in his particular world. The internal threats described by the Commission are largely due to feelings of frustration and desperations, aroused by the inability of this society to satisfy the felt needs of many important individuals, to give them a sense of significance and purpose, or at least some awareness of possibility.

This is not, unhappily, the way the democratic ethic is articulated in what Thomas Green calls “the polity of education.”⁴ There, among

the officials, community representatives, teachers, and administrators through whom power is distributed and choices made, people too frequently pay lip service to individual fulfillment—and, therefore, to “democracy.” Too often their professions of concern for democratic education resemble the “Glorious Loyalty Oath Crusade” in *Catch-22*. As the Captain says in that novel, “It doesn’t matter whether they mean it or not. That’s why they make little kids pledge allegiance even before they know what ‘pledge’ and ‘allegiance’ mean.”⁵

If there were more operational concern with this in schools and colleges of education, we would be more inclined to accept Professor Smith’s view that we can take the prevailing commitment for granted and get on with “society’s business.” An individual here and there may grumble about the “silent majority”; but few people ask themselves what the schools have contributed to such “silence” or (and this is far more important) what can be done in the schools to make possible informed, articulate consent and dissent. Shock is expressed at the news of the massacres in Vietnam; but no one seriously contemplates the fact that, two or three years ago, most of the young men involved were attending public schools. The responsibility for ghetto school deficiencies has only recently been acknowledged by the professionals, as has the responsibility for slanted textbooks and the distortion of American history where black people are concerned. Of course “conceptual analysis and em-

⁴ Thomas F. Green, “Schools and Communities,” *Harvard Educational Review*, Spring 1969.

⁵ Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961.

pirical research" are necessary; but surely "society's business" has not yet been adequately defined. We are reminded, when we read Professor Smith, of Scott Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby and his image of himself: "He was a son of God—a phrase which, if it means anything, means just that—and he must be about His Father's business, the service of a vast, vulgar, and meretricious beauty."⁶ Can people in education simply assume that "society's business" is in some manner sacrosanct because it is named "democratic,"—or must they confront (as Gatsby should have done) the presence of a "foul dust" in the air?

It is a well-known fact that education students tend to be less activist and more complacent than students in other areas, that professional schools have been relatively unaffected by student unrest. We are saddened by the realization that education students have played a smaller part in civil rights actions and peace moratoria than other students, that education faculties have been less inclined than other faculties to take public stands on such issues as the war in Vietnam. We are quite aware that the education profession, like medicine and law, signifies a social role "whose content and significance are defined by norms operative in the society"⁷ and that, in some sense, teachers are not "free" to commit themselves in the way others are free. Nevertheless, we are somehow appalled when educators

6 F. Scott Fitzgerald. *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.

7 Robert Paul Wolff. *The Ideal of the University*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

choose neutrality as their political position, or when they blandly choose not to choose. Teachers, after all, are expected to be uniquely concerned with enabling others to make decisions of principle, to identify and create themselves. It is difficult to understand how those who hesitate to make deeply felt commitments can stimulate others to commit themselves. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, when Marlow is musing about "all the mysterious life of the wilderness," he speaks about how the incomprehensible fascinates some human beings and is detestable to others. "Mind," he says to the retired seamen on the deck of the anchored yacht, "none of us would feel exactly like this. What saves us is efficiency—the devotion to efficiency."⁸ It may be that a similar devotion (what Raymond Callahan once called "the cult of efficiency")⁹ defends many educators—and teacher educators—against involvement and outrage. It may be the "business" image, or what some call the "factory metaphor," which keeps educators' minds focused on the efficiency and the production process in the schools.

Robert Paul Wolff,¹⁰ in reacting to Clark Kerr's defense of the multi-university "as responding to social needs or as satisfying demands made upon it by society," develops a critique that is relevant. He says that no adequate distinction is drawn, in Kerr's argument, between the con-

8 Joseph Conrad. *Heart of Darkness*. New York: Signet Books, 1950.

9 See Raymond E. Callahan. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.

10 Robert Paul Wolff, *The Ideal of the University*, op. cit.

cepts of "effective or market demand" and "human or social need." A need is a lack, an absence of something which, if present, would contribute to "the full and unalienated development of human power. . . ." Market demand means that, in a market economy, there exist a number of buyers prepared to purchase a commodity; but there is never a guarantee that the most potent human desires and needs felt at any given moment are being expressed as market demands. Thomas Green¹¹ is not the first to make the point that the values of managerial education are among the predominant values now shaping the functions of the public school. Managerial education is precisely that kind of education which is intended to satisfy market demand, and it involves evaluations governed by a notion of utility. The schools, in other words, are thought of as producing distinctive products—the workers, technologists, administrators, soldiers, et al. "needed" by society; and school systems are judged by their efficiency in satisfying effective demand. Although in this case, too, significant felt needs may not be finding articulation as market demand, the managerial seems to be the prevailing point of view. Ghetto residents and others who have been educationally short-changed seem, as Professor Green indicates, to espouse it. With certain exceptions, they object chiefly to the inefficiency of the ghetto school in preparing members of minority groups for "making it" in the market economy which exists. The few who are separatists or serious revolutionaries challenge the funda-

mental nature of the economy; but the majority, although they may now deem society inherently inequitable, support Black Studies programs, open enrollment, and other devices with full assimilation in mind, entry into the mainstream of what already is.

This managerial or market orientation does much to explain why protests are infrequently heard in the educational profession. If one is in the business of marketing a commodity and satisfying those who can afford to buy, one is not likely to criticize the buyers' values and way of life. But is this orientation appropriate in teachers' colleges, in schools and departments of education? Is it the kind of orientation which stimulates confrontation of concrete educational problems in the contemporary world? Is it the kind of orientation which permits the teacher-to-be to define a role for himself as a thoughtful practitioner, equipped to teach diverse and particular children in diverse and particular schools?

It seems to us that, at various points in his professional training, a teacher-to-be ought to be given the opportunity to ask himself whether he chooses to be an agent of the technological society, obligated to pursue those behavioral objectives "society's business" appears to demand, or whether he chooses to be an initiator, a crusader against mediocrity, indifference, inequity, "silence." Too seldom are education students permitted to confront the discrepancy between conceived and operative values, between what is sincerely believed to be desirable and what is actually acted upon in the world. It is important for teachers-to-be to know that, as Thomas Green

¹¹ Thomas F. Green, "Schools and Communities," *op. cit.*

puts it, "educators are likely to explain their actions to one another in the terms of humanistic education and to act on values of managerial education. . . ." Humanistic education means the kind of education primarily concerned with the growth of persons and the autonomy of individuals, each one encouraged to discover meanings, to create his own identity in the situations of his life. Much of the talk in teacher education, it is well known, has to do with discovery, pluralism, and what might be called "democratic" education; but this talk too often echoes hollowly when the teacher takes his place in the field without having had an opportunity to come to terms with discrepancy and conflict, without charting his own life-world and deliberating on how to choose for himself.

Speaking at a Symposium at the University of Bristol, W. A. Campbell Stewart raised a question that is suggestive, a question too seldom raised in the terms he used. What, he asked, is the role of the teacher in the advanced society? The advanced society, he explained, "is one in which powerlessness, anomie, relaxation, ignorant acceptance are likely. Sectionalized responsibility and social myopia are to be expected. An advanced society is so difficult to grasp that a constant and exhausting effort to understand is required and difficult to sustain. Here is the crux for the teacher."¹² To ask a question of this

12 W. A. Campbell Stewart, "The Role of the Teacher in Advanced Societies," in *Colston Papers*, No. 20, *Towards a Policy for the Education of Teachers*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1969.

sort is to move away from the abstractness and generality of "democratic principles," from the simplism of "market demand." It is to suggest that the traditional role of the teacher no longer exists and that the teacher is faced with a wide range of alternatives (or ought to be) in deciding what role to play. Schools become more complex; more and more specialization is demanded. The teacher must not only understand his own particular role (as person, professional, specialist, generalist) but something about others' roles, since he can no longer take role reciprocity for granted.¹³ There are more alternatives, when it comes to what he can actually expect to achieve than ever before; but he cannot become fully aware of this unless, in the course of his professional training, he is made aware of the areas open for exploration and of the need to choose his own identity.

No single teacher can cope with the problems of "powerlessness, anomie, relaxation, ignorant acceptance" in general or *in abstracto*. Each individual, attempting to conceive the advanced society and to take his own stance with respect to what he sees, must decide on the action he, as a single one, can reasonably and authentically take; and it does not seem to us that he can make such a choice without a confrontation of the value dimension involved. Generalized prescriptions will no longer work in the identification of his role identity; each teacher-to-be must choose not only a specialty but a specific commitment, a style. Some, for example, may decide to play the enabling, per-

13 Peter S. Burnham, "Commentary," in *Colston Reports*, op. cit.

missivist roles long recommended for the middle-class elementary school. Others, anticipating work with deprived children, will have to think through the tempering of permissivism with deliberate interventions, with the kind of structuring so often required by children who have suffered a lack of sensory stimulation and linguistic experience. Some will be drawn to cognitive emphases and to a continuing concern, not so much with the transmission of knowledge, but with teaching young people to learn how to learn. Others, troubled by overly intellectualist aims, will choose to concern themselves with the expressive and the creative, coping with anomie in that fashion, leaving to others education in "coping" with the changing world.

Most teachers-to-be, no matter what their predilections and styles, are going to face a significant decline in the authority associated with their roles. This means that they will be exposed to a new sense of fallibility as they work with children who are largely resistant to imposed adult codes. No longer considered moral exemplars, no longer considered sages, they will have to be present to their individual students as fallible persons, each one developing—as each student is developing—his own ethical code. In such situations, they are obligated not to announce what is good and right but to communicate a sense of what it is to live by principle, to make decisions of principle, to define adequate reasons for what they choose to do. This seems to us to be still another argument for including in teacher education programs more stress on deliberative thinking where values and ethics are concerned. It is simply

not enough to take "democratic commitment" for granted and concentrate solely on its translation into "operational terms." To do so, again, for all the apparent specificity of Dr. Smith's "skills, habits, understandings, attitudes, and appreciations," may be to cancel out the moral responsibility of the individual teacher at a time when it may be the crucial factor in creating a "democratic" school.

Joseph J. Schwab has been speaking lately of a "commitment to deliberation."¹⁴ He writes:

Deliberation is complex and arduous. It treats both ends and means and must treat them as mutually determining one another. It must try to identify, with respect to both, what facts may be relevant. It must try to ascertain the relevant facts in the concrete case. It must try to identify the desiderata in the case. It must generate alternative solutions. It must make every effort to trace the branching pathways of consequences which may flow from each alternative and affect desiderata. It must then weigh consequences against one another and choose, not the right alternative, for there is no such thing, but the best one.

Reminiscent of John Dewey's work on reflective thinking and intelligent choice, Professor Schwab's views presume (it seems to us) an active, responsible, attentive teacher. He believes that teacher education should be concerned with "the uses and arts of deliberation," and we agree. We agree because what he is saying

¹⁴ Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum," *School Review*, November 1969.

directs attention to diverse and particular classrooms, to subject matters demanding alternative treatments, to the need for what he calls an "eclectic" rather than a rigorous single vision of curriculum and ends. Sceptical of "behavioral objectives" derived from conceptions of the structure of knowledge, he wants to see studies of what is actually going on in the schools; he wants to *hear* what is happening; he wants to find teachers who can generate alternative ways of teaching—"and trace the branching pathways of consequences." The teacher who can do this must, he says, be considered to be "a multitude of probable behaviors which escape the net of personality theories and cognitive scales"; but not every teacher can do all that has to be done, and "appropriate" teachers must be found for specific situations. Nothing could be further from a view of teacher in the abstract, or from a view of teacher as technician, functionary, clerk.

This concern for the "practical arts" supports and indeed depends upon a concern for personally chosen and reflected-upon responsibility. Also, it assumes the existence of specific, concrete situations, the only ones in which individuals can meaningfully identify themselves. We do not anticipate that the social order will be changed by the schools; but we do anticipate the appearance of teachers who can play what David Riesman once called a "countervailing" role. Working in actual classrooms, confronting actual children, imagining a variety of possibilities

(rather than a predefined set of "behavioral objectives"), teachers may be able to combat the managerial values that prevail. Their deliberations may yet incarnate humanistic values at least in their own classrooms, and they may be able to commit themselves to the fulfilling—not of the market's "needs"—but the gradually expanding, "felt" needs of persons eager for sense-making, eager for an enhanced quality of experience.

Only when the teacher-to-be is conceived as an unclassifiable person capable of imagining alternatives, testing them, and choosing among them, will he feel free enough, autonomous enough to move beyond neutrality. And it is time for that. The teacher too is "a piece of the Continent, a part of the maine," not someone to be sealed off by the norms of his profession, by predefined "objectives" and prepackaged "principles," not someone to be limited in his moral responses by the need to satisfy demand. "Perchance he," wrote John Donne, "for whom this Bell tolls, may be so ill, as that he knowes not it tolls for him..." The teacher is ill if he pays no heed to war and massacre and poverty and hatred, if he lives vacantly in a technological world. The "art of deliberation" may heal him once more. At least it may open him to possibility; it may enable him to recall what teachers used to say they knew so well: "And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee."

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Precious Thing Within You

Ten Ashanti
Ten Ashanti goldweight measures . . .
Forged in brass
Brimming with radiance
Lying on black velvet
In a case
In a window
Of a shop
On la rue Guenegaud . . .
They measure history now
If anything—
The dead weight
Of dead dreams
In dead places . . .
But as you pass them
If you are my brother
Or my sister
Or myself, lord!
Dark song
Vibrates the mountain
Or the desert
Where your spent hopes lie
And a meaning
We survive to understand
Blossoms in that place
Making our grim smile
Something grimmer
Making our dim smile
Something gentler and precious . . .
again with life.

Lébert Bethune
Teachers College

I Know You

It is taking time
 Away from me
 My brother
 To have to say
 All this while I am hoeing
 Or cutting cane
 Or giving and getting sweet loving
 And scaling up that long
 Peak of black destiny
 You don't need me to tell you—
 All our ballads say
 How many masks
 We've learned to make—
 But do you believe
 You can hide lightning
 Because you show me
 Groaning thunder
 And tell me brother
 Where you gonna put
 All that rain
 Songs that wing from your mouth
 Like a flock of crazy starlings
 Come from my mothers nest
 I know them

Love you carry like an old shame
 in your belly
 Comes from my father's seed
 I know him...
 Hate you keep sharp
 Under your pillow
 Comes from the same forge
 And that same fire.

You brother hoeing the same row
 You brother scaling the same peak
 You brother carrying that proud wound
 Give me your hand
 I know you...

Clint Kablil Strommen: A Birth Poem

The rain, this nightfall, is gentle
as children's voices in trees
are gentle (raining on faces
wearied by the wind and the wilderness
of the wolf and the bird and the wild bear).

You are welcome, Clint, to these trails
that we have wandered, died on,
your father and I and others,
seeking that sunny meadow you will seek
(where the bear and the wolf never come),
and finding only dapples of sunlight
among the trees of the forest,
and pausing in that light to reflect
on the flight of the hawk
faraway in the free blue sky.

You are welcome, Clint,
to the waterfall and the leaping trout,
to honey-colored afternoons by green pools
when, in the shadows, the women sleep
and even the hawk no longer taunts—
when, drowsing on stones by the water's side,
you breathe a honey-colored breath
and you are the hawk.

The rain is as gentle as children's voices
within a wilderness of trees—
where we, you and I Clint,
wander out from our birth day
to death somewhere along a trail,
beside the carcass of the wolf,
beneath the shadow of the hawk.

Lawrence Welch
Carmel Valley,
California

This We Call Wonder

Night on the sea: the surface disappears
And water merges with transparent air
With no clear line between them. Overhead,
The southern stars blaze brilliant, reflected
Underneath. And yet more lights
Shine from below, creatures too small
To have a shape can glimmer nonetheless.
Small fish flicker like wayward shooting stars,
And just as clouds that drift across the moon,
Great whales are dimly seen that drift below.
Each creature has its sound: a long whale-song,
Winding from low to high and the once more;
Or fishes' splash; or crackling of shrimp.
We wonder that a whale can sing. Yet why
Is birdsong any less a miracle?
Or plankton that a single circling whale
Devours each day a million—is each one
Not a complete thing, a tiny wonder
So prodigally spawned and then destroyed?
A marvel is as thinking makes it so.
To marvel is a natural state of man
As on a boundless sea we are surrounded
By stars and fish and microscopic plants,
By whales and minnows. Dangerously balanced,
Midway between large and small, we teeter
Unsure of where we fit: this we call wonder.

Daniel Martin
University of Michigan

Autumn Poem

To sit and watch the mountain's tints
Of green and darker green
Exchanging subtlety for fire
Is sobering to men
Who trade in nuances of art;
Now that the burning season
Of action follows a placid summer

Of perfect but idle reason.
In coming seasons of the world
The elegance and grace
Of literary games may fall
In an autumnal blaze.

Daniel Martin
University of Michigan

Grim Reapings

Alfonso Wilson has died
He died on the perfect morning
While being born
Under the watchful eye
Of a specialist in such matters.

He died on the perfect morning
Alfonso Wilson has died
While being born
Under the watchful eye
Of a specialist in such matters.

He died on the perfect morning
While being born
Alfonso Wilson has died
Under the watchful eye
Of a specialist in such matters.

While being born
He died on the perfect morning
Under The Watchful Eye
Alfonso Wilson has died
Of a specialist in such matters.

While being born
He died on the perfect morning
Under The Watchful Eye
Of a specialist in such matters
Alfonso Wilson has died.

Abram F. Sloan
Teachers College

In His Place

Free and equal he labors
In sunny cotton fields.
He tills the soil;
He hoes the weeds;
He picks the bolls.

Then he returns to his two-room shack.
He's in his place.

Free and equal he labors
Among the tobacco plants.
Tired machine-man,
Toiling tool-man,
Tool of white man,
He returns to his hungry child
He's in his place.

Free and equal he labors
On derricks greasy with oil.
His back not weak,
His arms not small,
His strength not slight,
He returns to his lonely wife.
He's in his place

Free and equal—
On derricks greasy with oil,
Among the tobacco plants,
In sunny cotton fields—
He labors in his place.

Donald G. Barker
Texas A & M University

Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Triumph, 1942-1945

William M. Tuttle, Jr.
University of Kansas

The United States had been at war seven months. It had been almost six months since the 1,000 college and university presidents at the Baltimore conference had pledged their total resources to the war effort. Yet in mid-1942 there was still no comprehensive program for the utilization of their institutions, and the War Department threatened to block the proposal that had been made by a special committee of the U.S. Office of Education headed by W. H. Cowley.

It became apparent to Cowley in late June and early July that his committee "wouldn't get anywhere." The War Department would not accept its recommendations "concerning the mobilization and utilization of the facilities of higher education for war service training" primarily because they called for federal subsidizing of the education of young men. It had been the "inertia" of the American Council on Education, Cowley later recalled, that had had "a good deal to do with the inability of my little committee to make any progress with the Armed Services." The ACE, he felt, had been established to deal with the federal government during World War I, and it should perform the same function during World War II.¹

President George F. Zook of the ACE had already had similar thoughts of his own, and July 4 he wired educators throughout the country. "Because of important development[s] of last few days, very urgent one-day conference . . . American Council on Education. Imperative you attend." On July 7, nineteen prominent educators filed into the ACE's conference room in Washington. Representing the ACE were Zook, Karl W. Bigelow, Francis J. Brown, and C. S. Marsh. Cowley and his committee members, Francis Bradshaw, W. T. Middlebrook, and J. L. Morrill, were also there, as were Guy E. Snavely, executive director of the Association of American Colleges, George Johnson of the National Catholic Educational Association, Frederick J. Kelly of the U.S. Office of Education, W. A. Lloyd, executive secretary, Association of Land Grant

¹ Cowley to the author, August 3, 1966, December 19, 1967; and Cowley to his mother and sister, July 23, 1942, in Cowley Papers, in Professor Cowley's possession, Palo Alto, California.

This second part of Professor Tuttle's two-part article on the American Council on Education tells of the ACE's emergence as a spokesman for higher education. Part I was published in the December 1969 RECORD.

Colleges and Universities, and Presidents Edmund E. Day of Cornell, Frank Graham of North Carolina, Harry W. Chase of New York University, Raymond Kent of Louisville, Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins, and a representative of James B. Conant of Harvard. One of the most important people there was Purdue's President Edward C. Elliott, who had been designated by Chairman Paul McNutt of the War Manpower Commission to serve as the WMC's liaison between the War and Navy Departments and the Selective Service System in matters relating to higher education. His task was the formidable and so far fruitless one of trying to convince these departments to adopt something resembling Cowley's wartime program for the colleges and universities. Elliott was "pretty much the key to our situation," Zook had noted.²

A crisis in higher education existed, the educators agreed at this meeting, because the draft age would "almost certainly soon be lowered to 18, and under present Army and Navy enlistment plans, college students [would] be given special status not available to other youths of their age group." Higher education would "be accused of endorsing if not having initiated these discriminatory plans." This would be not only "a blow to its effectiveness in the war effort" but would "severely undermine public confidence and support for many years after the war." Higher education thus "must present a united front to the Government and to the public in order (1) to forestall adverse public reaction, and (2) to mobilize the facilities and personnel of higher education for maximum utilization in the war effort." Believing that "a comprehensive, coordinated wartime plan for higher education" was needed immediately, the educators voted to convene another national conference in a week.³

Reacting to the War Gathered in Baltimore on July 15 and 16, the conference of 75 college and university presidents issued an indignant statement deplored "the continuing lack of any adequate, coordinated plan for the most effective utilization of higher education toward the winning of the war." It was imperative, the conferees declared, that "immediate steps be taken to assure effective and continuing cooperation" between higher education and the Departments of War and Navy, the Selective Service System, and the WMC. They recommended, moreover, that "the American Council on Education . . . be recognized as the appropriate nongovernmental agency to take any such steps as may be necessary to implement" a comprehensive, coordi-

² Zook to H. J. Burgstahler, June 26, 1942; Zook to Conant et al., July 4, 1942, undated note "from the desk of Helen Hurley"; Day to Zook, July 5, 1942, minutes of the Committee on the Relationship of Higher Education to the Federal Government (CRHEG), August 31-September 1, 1942, in *ibid.* ACE Papers, Washington, D.C.

³ Minutes of "Meeting of July Seventh," and Zook to 75 college and university presidents, July 8, 1942, in *ibid.*

nated program and "to serve in a continuous capacity for facilitating cooperation between higher education and the government." Having found the Office of Education an unsatisfactory channel to the government, the ACE was now asking for direct access to federal agencies.⁴

The WMC responded favorably to these resolutions by appointing a "special committee" of representatives of the WMC, the War and Navy Departments, the Civil Service Commission, the War Production Board, and the Selective Service System "on the utilization of colleges and universities for the purposes of war." Elliott served as its chairman. Since only this committee had the authority to formulate a comprehensive program, Brown informed Day that there was "little anyone can do at this stage of the game except Dr. Elliott himself." Elliott had warned, in fact, that the discussions were "in such a ticklish diplomatic stage that any action by any group or organization would be unwise." Colleges and universities would be opening their gates for the fall semester in a month; the educators were restive, the ACE was chafing, but all they could do was suspend action awaiting the Elliott committee's report.⁵

A Functional Program The Elliott report, which the WMC approved on August 19 and released to the public a week-and-a-half later, was indeed the concrete foundation upon which educators and government officials could collaborate to construct a functional program. A declaration of general principles rather than a series of specific proposals, "it was at least the first step," Zook noted, "in eliminating the uncertainty that had been hanging over the colleges since the outbreak of the war eight months earlier." "All able-bodied male students," the report declared unequivocally, "are destined for the armed forces." This definitive statement, which Conant, Cowley, Day, Zook, and others had favored for months, would relieve both students and institutions of the agonizing responsibility of deciding whether to request or not to request deferments. There simply would not be any more deferments; the Army would ultimately induct all physically-fit young men. The more talented of these inductees the Army could then assign to colleges and universities for training prescribed by military officials. "The responsibility for determining the specific training of such students," the Elliott report also stated, was "a function of the Army and the Navy," while training of women and physically-disqualified male students for "essential supporting activities" was a responsibility of the WMC. Following the recommendations of the recent Baltimore conference, moreover, the report recommended that the ACE

⁴ *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 31, July 24, 1942.

⁵ Excerpts from minutes of the WMC, July 29, 1942; Brown to Day, August 1, 14, 1942; Day to Brown, August 6, 17, 1942, and Day to Zook, August 19, 1942, ACE Papers.

appoint "a committee of leading educators" to assist the Army, Navy, and WMC in formulating their plans.⁶

A week later, at the urging of Cowley and Day, the ACE appointed a committee, the Committee on the Relationship of Higher Education to the Federal Government (CRHEFG). Day became its chairman, and its other members were Conant, Cowley, and Presidents O. C. Carmichael of Vanderbilt, Clarence Dykstra of Wisconsin, Henry T. Heald of the Illinois Institute of Technology, Byron S. Hollinshead of Scranton-Keystone Junior College, F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee, Robert G. Sproul of California, Edward V. Stanford of Villanova, Raymond Walters of Cincinnati, and Roscoe L. West of New Jersey State Teachers College. Joining the Committee later were Rufus C. Harris of Tulane, Felix Morley of Haverford, and Margaret S. Morriss of Pembroke.

Army and Academe Heated debate over the CRHEFG's purposes highlighted the Committee's meeting on August 31 and September 1. Some members contended that it should be an advisory body for the Army, Navy, and WMC, since it was established simply to appraise the plans which these agencies had formulated. Conant and others objected sharply to this view, arguing that the Committee "should not be content to pass upon or even to seek to influence decisions of government, but should strike out boldly in the formulation of its own plan...." Indeed, although the Committee should certainly refer its plan for government review, it also "should be prepared to submit the plan for legislative action regardless of the appraisal of the Army and Navy."

Joining the CRHEFG at this meeting were representatives of the Army and Navy, who bristled upon hearing these sentiments. Almost at once Goldthwaite Dorr, special assistant to Secretary of War Stimson, disabused the Committee of the notion that a group of educators would be determining Army policy. The Army had "a high regard for education," he said, but "the tempo of war is increasing and Selective Service is now reaching the bottom of the barrel of manpower." The only justification for assigning men to colleges and universities was that it would increase their "military effectiveness." It was thus clearly "the responsibility of the Army to determine the kind and speed of such

⁶ The report is quoted in full in *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 32, August 28, 1942, excerpts from the minutes of the WMC, August 19, 1942, ACE Papers, U.S. House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., Committee on Military Affairs, *Inquiry into Army and Navy Educational Program* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 177; George E. Zook, *The President's Annual Report, 1942-1943* (Washington: ACT, 1943), 24; Cowley to the author, January 24, 28, 1948, and Cowley to Fred J. Kelly, August 26, 1942, Cowley Papers.

training." Educators had "postponed too long facing these facts," Dorr added. "You should consider it a privilege to have the opportunity to have had anything to do with the training of these men."

Dean Joseph W. Barker, special assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, was not so blunt, nor did he have to be. The Navy's trained manpower requirements were vastly different. Being largely dependent upon ship construction, they were much more predictable in terms of skills and numbers required; and as the Navy's losses were apt to be of both ships and men, replacements of manpower also had to await new ship construction.

The CRHEFG voted to present to the War and Navy Departments a proposal resembling Cowley's Office of Education suggestion, concluding that this course of action would be the most productive for both the country and higher education.⁷ Two contingencies underlined the urgency of the Committee's task: on September 10, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson announced the termination of the Army's Enlisted Reserve Corps, and it was virtually certain that within the next few months Congress would lower the draft age to 18.

The Training Corps At its next meeting on September 22 and 23, the CRHEFG adopted a proposal for an "Enlisted Training Corps." Its objective was to utilize the colleges and universities "more extensively" and "to do so on the broad democratic basis of selecting young men for such training irrespective of their economic status." High school graduates meeting competitive standards would qualify for the Corps. As trainees they would earn base pay and a subsistence allowance while attending year-round at institutions of their choice where they could "undergo specialized and general officer training of a standard approved by the military authorities." The curriculum would be four semesters, although men with special scientific and technical aptitudes who passed suitable tests would be assigned for further academic training in essential occupations.⁸

The next confrontation of the CRHEFG with the War Department was an unsettling encounter for the educators, for it exposed the vast and seemingly unbridgeable gulf separating their training corps proposal from the Army's ideas. On September 24, Dorr and several officers from the General Staff presented a tentative and "highly confidential" draft of the Army's "Collegiate Training Plan," which asserted that the Army alone would determine the fitness of young men for further training in institutions of higher education and then only after it had inducted all 18-year-olds into active service and processed them through

⁷ Minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, August 31-September 1, 1942, ACE Papers.

⁸ Minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, September 22-23, 1942; and "Memorandum" concerning this plan, dated September 23, 1942, both in *ibid.*

13 weeks of basic military training. The Army, in addition, envisioned training that was more technical and highly specialized and less general than the educators thought desirable. Even though the Army's "removal of economic barriers to college experience" was commendable, the Committee noted, it was unfortunate that it ignored "so completely the post war needs of the individual candidates and of society." The CRHEFG filed out of Dorr's War Department office far from optimistic that its plan would prevail. The Army's policy, Zook observed, had "not yet been officially adopted but it looks very much as if it might be...."⁹

Meeting again on October 13 and 14, the CRHEFG designated O. C. Carmichael, Conant, Cowley, President Donald J. Cowling of Carleton College, and Day to draw up a plan that would fuse together the initial CRHEFG proposal and a recent and similar proposal of the Association of American Colleges (AAC).¹⁰ It also voted to continue negotiations with the War and Navy Departments, "at least until it was demonstrated that such negotiations were no longer fruitful." Only then should the Committee take its plan to the White House or try to secure legislation.¹¹

Executive Intervention President Roosevelt was not unaware of the impasse between the Army and the educators. His old chief in the Navy Department, Josephus Daniels, had warned him that a dangerous situation existed. "The universities and colleges ought to be utilized to train the youths for war," but the Army would not listen to the educators.¹² In mid-October, Roosevelt responded to the urging of Guy E. Snavely of the AAC by sending a directive to the Secretaries of War and Navy. "Please have an immediate study made as to the highest utilization of the American colleges,"

⁹ Zook to W. W. Carpenter, September 29, 1942, *ibid.* See also "Confidential Notes on a Conference of a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Relationship of Higher Education to the Federal Government, with officials of the War Department," September 24, 1942, *ibid.*; *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 34, October 5, 1942; and Mrs. Fields to General Edwards, September 24, 1942, 353 ASTP File, World War II Records Center (WW II RRC), Alexandria, Virginia.

¹⁰ See "Crowley-Conant First Draft," October 13, 1942, and "Proposed Plan for Enlisted Training Corps," October 14, 1942, both in *ACE Papers*. For the AAC Plan, see minutes of the Board of the Directors of the AAC, October 3, 13, 1942, in *AAC Papers*, Washington, D.C.

¹¹ Minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, October 13-14, 1942, *ACE Papers*. See also George F. Zook, "Fifteen Months of Negotiations," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVI, May 1943, pp. 566-67; Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1942-1943*, 25-26; House Committee on Military Affairs, *Inquiry into Army and Navy Educational Programs*, 177-78, and *Higher Education and National Defense* Bulletin No. 37, October 27, 1942.

¹² Daniels to Roosevelt, September 12, 1942, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (FDRL), Hyde Park, New York, OF 107. See also editorial in *Race, Nation and Observer*, September 12, 1942.

he requested. "This is in view of the undoubted fact that the drafting of boys down to and including 18-year-olds will greatly deplete all under-graduate enrollment. . . ."¹³

The Navy's tentative training proposal, the CRHEFG soon learned, was substantially in accord with its own plan. Navy trainees, for example, would proceed directly from the high schools to colleges and universities without the 13-weeks' disruption of basic military training. Moreover, the course of training would emphasize liberal arts education rather than technical and specialized instruction, as the Navy saw its program as a school for potential line officers, not technicians and specialists. Further meetings with the Navy Department, the Committee decided, were unnecessary, though there might be occasional informal discussions.¹⁴

The War Department still seemed to be obdurate, however, and Secretary Stimson mirrored this hard-headed attitude. "I personally . . . feel it important, very important, to not needlessly destroy the influence of the colleges," he told the House Military Affairs Committee. "But it is a question which is secondary to the question of winning the war. There won't be much use for the colleges if we don't win the war."¹⁵ The most resilient and generally effective combat troops, Stimson argued, were young men of 18 to 20, and before the war was over the Army knew it would be sending vast legions of these men onto the battlefields. Nevertheless, the Secretary ordered his reluctant subordinates to draw up a plan. "With 300,000 men short," exclaimed a disbelieving general in the undermanned Army Ground Forces, "we are asked to send men to college."¹⁶

Dorr and his colleagues brought a draft of the "Army Specialized Training Program" to their conference with the CRHEFG on October 28.¹⁷ The A.S.T.P. did not alter the requirement for prior basic military train-

¹³ Copies of a directive from Roosevelt to Secretaries of War and Navy, October 15, 1942, in *ibid.*, PPF 7886 and OF 1413. See also memorandum from Roosevelt to Mrs. Roosevelt, October 12, 1942, enclosing a copy of Snavely's "Student Training Corps" plan, in *ibid.*, PPF 7886.

¹⁴ See "Notes" on meeting of the Army-Navy Subcommittee of the CRHEFG and Navy Department, October 30, 1942; and minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, November 18-19, 1942, both in ACE Papers.

¹⁵ U. S. House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., Committee on Military Affairs, *Lowering the Draft Age to 18 Years* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), 17.

¹⁶ Quoted in R. R. Palmer et al., *The Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Forces*, in "U. S. Army in World War II" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), 29.

¹⁷ Edmund F. Day to O. C. Carmichael, October 19, 1942; Day to Clarence Dykstra, October 23, 1942, and F. J. Brown to Edward C. Elliott, October 24, 1942, all in ACE Papers.

ing; all trainees should share "this common experience." Basic training was also "exceedingly important," the War Department representatives asserted, because the Army could integrate these students into combat units at once if the military situation demanded it. The CRHEFG countered, however, that this military experience would have little relevance to the selection criteria for technical and specialized training. It would, in fact, merely delay the training process for months, presenting the Navy with "what amounts to a first choice of the high school graduates." Day then suggested tentatively that 240,000 young men each year should enter the Army and Navy training corps. But to this suggestion the Army representatives brusquely replied that it "would have to work out the figures . . . from its own specific needs," although "due account would be taken of the [Committee's] attitude." Even though there was less dispute about providing housing and messing facilities and other matters of logistics, it was evident that the War Department was determined to formulate its own plan and was simply seeking the CRHEFG's cooperation in implementing it.¹⁸

The CRHEFG conferred again with the War Department on November 16, just three days after President Roosevelt had signed into law the 18-19 year-old draft act. Except for Stimson's initialed approval, the military officials announced the plans for the A.S.T.P. were final. Since the Army would also liquidate most of the Enlisted Reserve Corps by the end of the semester, however, the Committee was apprehensive lest there be a considerable time lag between the termination of the ERC and the appearance on the campuses of the A.S.T.P. "Coming in the middle of the year," Day argued, "when budget commitments had been made," this would "come close to wrecking many institutions." But Dorr and his colleagues could offer little solid comfort, as it was apparent that they had had a difficult enough time persuading officials in the War Department who had not wanted any collegiate training program at all.¹⁹

Finally, on December 5, President Roosevelt issued his long-awaited Executive Order on military manpower and the colleges and universities. It directed the Secretaries of War and Navy "to take such steps as may be necessary to assure" that their collegiate training programs conform with "such policies or

¹⁸ See "Notes" on meeting of the Army-Navy Subcommittee of the CRHEFG and War Department, October 28, 1942, and CRHEFG, "Memorandum Relative to the Army Specialized Training Program," October 27, 1942, both in *ibid.*, House Committee on Military Affairs, *Lowering the Draft Age to 18 Years*, 59-62, and Major F. W. Gregory to Col. Hixon, "Estimate of the number of students to be assigned to the Army Specialized Training Program," October 26, 1942, WD6AP 353 ASTP File, WW II RRC.

¹⁹ "Report" on conference between Army-Navy Subcommittee of the CRHEFG and War Department, November 16, 1942, ACT Papers. See also Dorr to Gen. M. G. White, November 12, 1942, WD6AP 353 ASTP File, WW II RRC.

regulations" as the chairman of the WMC should prescribe "as necessary to insure the efficient utilization of the Nation's educational facilities and personnel...." Under this latter section, Marvin McIntyre of the White House informed Day the President intended to endow McNutt with "full authority and responsibility" for the inauguration of "a unified, comprehensive and effective" collegiate training program.²⁰

After final review by the WMC, the War Department released the details of its A.S.T.P. and the Navy of its College Training Program (V-12) in a joint statement on December 12.²¹ Many educators grumbled that the fruits of months of negotiations were indeed bitter, if not actually a "mortal blow" to higher education, and officers of small liberal arts colleges complained bitterly that the ACE and CRHEFG had "betrayed" them. But most educators agreed with President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton that the A.S.T.P. and V-12, despite their shortcomings, would not only end confusion at last, but would have "a stabilizing influence on American college students who since last September have been standing by, awaiting instructions."²²

Civilian Training Still, there was no collegiate training program for essential civilian jobs, and as its "next step," the CRHEFG decided on December 15-16, it would draw up a plan for a "Civilian Training Corps," or "War Manpower Reserve Corps." The Committee had tried in the months of negotiations to convince the Army and Navy that they should assume responsibility for the initial training of men who would thereafter remain in the colleges and universities for advanced academic training for critical jobs in industry, research laboratories, and medicine. These efforts at persuasion had been dismal failures, however.²³

The CRHEFG continued to be totally unsuccessful in this effort, as was the recently-appointed Young Committee of the WMC. To advise him on the "policies and procedures" that he should prescribe under the President's Exe-

20. McIntyre to Day, December 10, 1942; and copy of Executive Order No. 9279, in ACE Papers.

21. See "Joint Statement of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy on Utilization of College Facilities in Specialized Training for the Army and Navy," December 12, 1942, minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, December 15-16, 1942, both in *ibid.*; *Higher Education and National Defense*, Emergency Supplement No. 4, December 10, 1942, and Major General M. G. White and Rear Admiral Randall Jacobs to American Council on Education, December 7, 1942, 353 ASTP File, WW II RC.

22. See Lincoln B. Hale to George F. Zook, December 18, 1942, Zook to Hale, December 28, 1942, Irving T. Richards to Zook, December 26, 1942, and Zook to Richards, December 30, 1942, all in ACE Papers, and *New York Times*, December 18, 20, 1942.

23. Minutes of the meeting of the CRHEFG, December 15-16, 1942; Edmund E. Day to Edward C. Elliott, December 16, 1942, and George F. Zook to H. C. Byrd, December 19, 1942, all in ACE Papers.

cutive Order, McNutt had established a Committee on the Utilization of Colleges and Universities. The chairman of the board of General Electric, Owen D. Young, had agreed to serve as chairman; Carmichael, Conant, Day, Dykstra, Patterson, Sproul, and Stanford were among the ten members. Like the CRHEFG, the Young Committee also formulated a proposal to provide defense industries and government agencies with an adequate supply of men and women skilled in scientific, technical, and professional fields, but the Army and Navy were reluctant to alter their A.S.T.P. and V-12 or assume responsibility at all for training for civilian occupations. This was the WMC's responsibility, they consistently maintained. Let it train women and physically-disqualified men for these jobs. Conant acted as the intermediary between the Young Committee and the War Department, but he was completely unsuccessful. ". . . I think I have come to the end of my rope," he confessed to Young in late March.²⁴

"The second half of this academic year," Conant observed to an English educator, "will be a pretty thin one for many institutions." For although the A.S.T.P. and V-12 were still merely paper programs, the Army had already ordered its enlisted reserves to active duty at the end of the first semester. The months until the A.S.T.P. and V-12 trainees would begin arriving on the campuses on the first of July would be lean ones for the colleges and universities. Harvard, for example, expected to lose one-third to one-half of her undergraduates before April, and "by the end of the term in June, there will be very few left indeed."²⁵

ACE as Spokesman Yet it was during these lean months that the ACE solidified its role as the central spokesman of American higher education in the councils of the federal government. After the educators at the Baltimore conference in July, 1942, had urged the government to recognize the ACE as "the appropriate nongovernmental agency . . . to serve in a continuous capacity for facilitating cooperation between higher education and the government," the War and Navy Departments and the WMC had dealt with the ACE's CRHEFG as the exclusive representative of the colleges and universities. This relationship continued throughout 1943. The ACE was instrumental in implementing the A.S.T.P. and V-12. It assisted the U.S. Armed

24 Conant to Young, March 29, 1943, James B. Conant Papers, Harvard University Library. See also U. S. Office of Education, *Annual Reports, 1941-42, 1942-43* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), §2-3, *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 43, January 12, 1943, and Henry C. Herge, *Wartime College Training Programs of the Armed Services* (Washington: ACE, 1948), 10, 12-13.

25 Conant to Willard Connely, January 3, 1943, *idem*. Conant, *President's Report, 1941-42*, 4; and *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XLV, January 30, February 13, 1943, pp. 265-68, 272, 307-8.

Forces Institute in establishing correspondence courses for servicemen. It served as an influential adviser to the Armed Forces Committee on Post War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel in formulating the G.I. Bill, and it continued to counsel and supply statistical information to the Selective Service System and the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel.²⁶

Trainees in the A.S.T.P. and V-12 began arriving on the campuses in the summer of 1943, swelling enrollment by over 200,000 in the fall semester. With these additions, the total male enrollment in October was about what it had been in the fall of 1942 and about four-fifths of the peacetime figure.²⁷

Also throughout the summer and fall of 1943, however, the Anglo-American high command was perfecting plans for the mammoth military operation known as OVERLORD—the Normandy invasion of May, 1944. Victory in Europe now seemed within reach, but it would not come cheaply. Every non-essential activity would have to bow before the absolute priorities necessary for this undertaking.

As mobilization for the invasion began in earnest, high-ranking officials in the War Department cast covetous glances at the A.S.T.P., which had grown to almost 150,000 trainees by October. Here were "young, alert and physically vigorous" troops who were available for combat duty, having already had basic military training.²⁸ "The one and only sound basis for initiating the program of sending soldiers to the colleges for what is called 'specialized training' was the Army's supposed need for men possessing the skills that the program was supposed to impart," Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson reminded Stimson. In 1943, however, not only was the casualty rate for specialists too low to warrant a continuation of the training, but the Army also had a surplus of officers. Patterson had always opposed the A.S.T.P. as a boondoggle, contending that the War Department in instituting the program had capitulated to "heavy pressure from college presidents." These educators had "made no

26 See minutes of the CRHEFG, April 9-10, May 25-26, June 16, July 13, September 9-10, October 9, 1943, ACE Papers.

27 U. S. House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., Committee on Education, *Effect of Certain War Activities upon Colleges and Universities* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 33-34, 45-47; Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," *The Annals*, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 6; H. G. Badger and B. W. Frazier, "Effects of the War upon Colleges and Universities," *AAUP Bulletin*, XXX (Summer, 1944), 268-78; Raymond Walters, "Facts and Figures of Colleges at War," *The Annals*, CCXXXI (January, 1944), 8; Army Service Forces, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1943, and for 1944* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943, 1944), 144-50, 293-99; and *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 61, December 9, 1943.

28 See Major General M. G. White, memorandum for the Chief of Staff, October 21, 1943, and memorandum from A. L. H. R. for the Director, ASTD, November 5, 1943, both in WDCSA 353, WW II RC.

bones about the fact that the program must be of sufficient size to take care of their colleges"; the A.S.T.P. had done this, but otherwise it had been "a failure," if not a scandal, "with benefit to no one but the colleges," which were "doing better than they ever dreamed of." Now, with the massive invasion of Europe forthcoming, the Army must reassign these troops to "regular military duty in combat units" to "raise the level of combat efficiency."²⁹

Military Necessity Short-run military necessity triumphed over whatever long-term values the A.S.T.P. might have had. The imperative need, as Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall wrote Stimson early in February, 1944, was to fill shortages in units due for shipment overseas to OVERLORD and to ANVIL, an operation to supplement the Normandy invasion with landings in the Toulon-Marseilles area of southern France. These shortages amounted to 134,000 men; the A.S.T.P. was "the only source from which we can obtain the required personnel . . . except by disbanding already organized units." Either drastically reduce the A.S.T.P., Marshall wrote, or disband ten divisions, three tank battalions, and twenty-six antiaircraft battalions.³⁰ Concluding that he had no other choice, Stimson ordered the virtual demise of the program, and by the spring of 1944 all but 30,000 of the trainees were in combat units destined for the European battleground.³¹

Although most institutions of higher education had been able to balance their budgets until the summer of 1944, insolvency threatened many during the last year of war. Army and Navy contracts in 1944-1945 were only 37 percent of the amount a year earlier, and male enrollment dropped precipitously to less than 30 percent of the prewar levels. This was truly the lean year for the colleges and universities.³²

29 Patterson to the Secretary of War, November 7, 1943, *ibid.* See also undated memorandum for the Assistant Chief of Staff, G 1, "Reduction of the Army Specialized Training Program," from Assistant Chief of Staff, G 3, and Major General W. D. Styer to Deputy Chief of Staff, November 23, 1943, SPTRE/353.9 ASTP, in *ibid.*

30 Memorandum for the Secretary of War from the Chief of Staff, February 8, 1944, Harvey Bundy to General Marshall, February 9, 1944, plus attached memorandum, Marshall to Bundy, February 9, 1944, and Marshall to Secretary of War, February 10, 1944, all in SPTRE/353.9 ASTP, in *ibid.*

31 See Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (N. Y.: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 459-61, and minutes of the emergency meeting of the CRHFFG, February 22, 1944, ACT Papers.

32 U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education, *Effect of Certain War Activities upon Colleges and Universities*, II, 14, 17, 20-21, 45-46, 49, Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report*, 1944 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), Section II, 23-32, *Higher Education and National Defense*, Bulletin No. 62, February 3, 1944, Army Service Forces, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 140-42.

Although it is difficult to determine whether the ACE's long-term arguments or the Army's short-term military needs were the wiser and more realistic considerations, the A.S.T.P. was by all measurable standards a failure, if not a tragedy. Having been powerless to do otherwise, the ACE had accepted the A.S.T.P. with its admitted shortcomings, but this was not all. The Army, having identified and isolated America's most intelligent young men—according to scores on the Army General Classification Test—then assigned this talent to positions of least efficiency and greatest hazard—to the infantry as replacements for combat duty in the Battle of the Bulge. Had these men not been assigned to the A.S.T.P., most of them probably would have become commissioned or non-commissioned officers instead of privates. In 1944, however, it was difficult at best for these young men to obtain appointments to Officers' Candidate Schools or non-commissioned ratings, as these were already filled. As a result, they died in battle in much greater numbers, relatively, than their less-talented peers. This was the tragic end of the A.S.T.P.³³

Although the announcement of the virtual demise of the A.S.T.P. disturbed the ACE, the CRHEFG had already turned its attention to postwar problems. The "activities of the Committee," Zook stated at its January, 1944, meeting, "had passed through two phases and were beginning a third." "The first dealt primarily with the training programs in the colleges. . . . This phase of the Committee's work is at the moment, at least, quiescent." The second phase was "in terms of legislation for postwar," for example, the G. I. Bill. "This then leads the [American] Council to the third phase—namely, determining the effective activity in which it should engage looking primarily to postwar. . . ."³⁴

Reserve Training Yet the ACE had not abandoned the A.S.T.P. On February 24, Zook and Brown had lunch with Mrs. Roosevelt and tried to convince her that the government should revive the A.S.T.P. by authorizing it to establish a reserve program for the training of gifted 17-year-olds being graduated from the high schools. The next day a three-man delegation from the CRHEFG consisting of Brown, Conant, and Cowley also went to the White House to persuade the President of the merits of the Army Specialized Training Reserve Program. Once the educators had outlined their reasons for advocating such a plan, however, Roosevelt quickly changed the subject. "Now, as long as you are here . . . I want to ask your opinion on another subject," he said. "I have been turning over in my mind and

³³ Andrew J. Green, "0.14," *AAUP Bulletin*, XXX (Summer, 1944), 217-21; and Green, "0.14 Again," *ibid.*, XXXVI (Winter, 1950), 679-93.

³⁴ Minutes of the CRHEFG, January 11, 1944; and Brown to Roy E. Langfitt, December 9, 1943, ACE Papers.

I have about come to the conclusion . . . that I shall recommend that a National Service Act would be a good thing, for all boys to devote one year to the national service." It would include military training, he noted, but in addition would be much more. There would also be "all sorts of educational aspects." Cowley asked if he would like a memorandum on the subject from the ACE. "Yes, very much," Roosevelt replied.³⁵

It was evident that the federal government had also begun to focus its attention on postwar problems, and the President was not alone in soliciting advice from the ACE. The War Department, for example, asked Zook to name a committee of "representative college presidents" to meet with it to discuss the Army's plans for universal military training. Numerous pieces of legislation affecting the colleges and universities were introduced into the Congress in 1944 and 1945. On these, too, Senators and Congressmen sought the ACE's suggestions. Among these bills were the Barden Bill to provide emergency aid to institutions of higher education, Naval ROTC, peacetime military training, federal aid to education, amendments to the G. I. Bill, proposals for a National Science Foundation, statutory deferments for students in preprofessional training in medicine, dentistry, and technological fields, and surplus war property legislation. Since federal travel restrictions had made it impossible to hold annual conventions during the war, the ACE frequently would poll its membership by mail to determine sentiment on these bills; these referenda would then constitute the ACE's recommendations to the Congress and federal agencies. The ACE continued to assist the U.S. Armed Forces Institute, developing courses and preparing guides to the evaluation of educational experiences in the armed services. It also helped the Veterans Administration to formulate policies and procedures for administering the G.I. Bill and training for disabled veterans. The ACE, finally, not only made proposals for the establishment of UNESCO, it was one of the 42 national organizations to send consultants to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April, May, and June, 1945.³⁶

The ACE's relations with the federal government had undergone a dramatic

³⁵ Minutes of the CRHEFG, February 22, 1944; Zook to Stimson, February 19, 23, 1944, Brown to Day, February 28, 1944, Day and A. J. Stoddard to Roosevelt, March 17, 1944; Brown to Roosevelt, March 3, 1944, minutes of the ACE's Problems and Plans Committee, March 9-10, October 29-30, 1944, all in ACE Papers, NEA *Journal*, XXII, May 1944, p. 111. These are President Roosevelt's words, as Conant recalled them for the meeting of the Educational Policies Commission on March 11, 1944. See the verbatim transcripts of the proceedings of the EPC, March 11, and joint meeting of the EPC and the ACE's Problems and Plans Committee, March 13, 1944, in the Archives of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

³⁶ See the numbers of the *Higher Education and National Defense Bulletin* for 1944 and 1945; and Zook, *President's Annual Report, 1944-1945* (Washington: ACE, 1945), *passim*.

transformation during World War II. Having been consulted by the government only infrequently before the war, it emerged five years later as the central spokesman of American higher education on a myriad of projects and legislative proposals. Many of the wartime educational programs were of course dependent upon the colleges and universities for guidance and support; and federal agencies, aware that the ACE was knowledgeable and that its constituency was the largest of any higher educational association, had naturally consulted it. Above all, however, it was the ACE that had made a position of centrality for itself. Months, indeed years, of indecisive action had preceded this development; but that it had occurred was without question.

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Reader Rejoinders

Blake's Review of Bolinger

To the Editor:

I thought that Blake's review of Bolinger was one of the best reviews I have read in a good while. Apart from being, as I thought, eminently sensible and sensitive, it is both in-

formed and lucid for a non-specialist readership.

With best regards,

Eric P. Hamp
Department of Linguistics
The University of Chicago

Foreign Study for High School Teachers

To the Editor:

Your readers may be interested to learn of a new foreign study venture organized specifically for students who are planning high school teaching careers. Beginning in 1970, they can be earning their undergraduate and graduate credits in special semester programs on three continents—Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The programs are in the social sciences and foreign languages and will be located in centers in France, Germany, Spain, Colombia, and Japan.

This new venture, known as the "Cooperative International Program for Teacher Education," was formed at the initiative of the Council on International Educational Exchange in New York and of some of its member colleges and universities. The

program is administered through the Council's offices in New York, Paris and Tokyo.

These are the programs presently scheduled:

France

Graduate program in French at the University of Paris (opened September 4, 1969)

Undergraduate program in French at the University of Rennes (opening September 19, 1970)

Undergraduate program in social science at the University of Nice (opening September 7, 1970)

Spain

Undergraduate program in Spanish at the University of Seville (opening September 7, 1970)

Colombia

Undergraduate program in social science at a University soon to be designated (summer, 1970)

Japan

Undergraduate program in social science at a special center in Kyoto (date to be determined)

Although not all details have been worked out yet, a graduate Spanish language program is planned for Spain. Undergraduate programs in German and the social sciences will be established in Germany.

All programs operate on a five-month cycle, with two academic sessions per year: September-January and February-June. Sessions at the Colombia center, however, take place in July-November and January-June. At each center, students

may complete one semester or two quarters of academic work, earning 15 to 20 semester hours (30 quarter hours) of credit toward appropriate degrees.

Information about the Cooperative International Program for Teacher Education can be obtained from the Council's office in New York. The address is:

Council on International Educational Exchange
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

HUGO JAECKEL

Director, Education Services

*On the December Issue***To the Editor:**

I thought that the December edition was one of the best educational quarterlies I have seen in a long time. I seriously feel that *The Record* rivals *The Harvard Educational Review* for excellence in educational writing. Congratulations.

ROBERT J. NASH
College of Education
University of Vermont

To the Editor:

I have just finished a most enjoyable and profitable evening reading the December 1969 issue of *The Record*. I've been a long-time reader of the publication, but I must say that few other

issues captured my interest as did this one. I congratulate you and your staff on the variety of the articles and the fine manner in which they were presented.

EDWARD C. POMEROY
Executive Secretary
*American Association of Colleges
for Teacher Education*

To the Editor:

The December issue is fascinating, especially since I'm teaching the Introduction to Education course to undergrads this year.

ROLAND GODDU
Dean, School of Education
The Catholic University of America

Book Reviews

Whatever Happened to the Metaphysics?

An Essay Review

Arthur G. Wirth
Washington University

The Higher Learning in America

Robert M. Hutchins. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. (Yale Paperback, 1962.)

The University of Utopia

Robert M. Hutchins. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. (Phoenix Edition, 1964.)

One who has faith that man is in some degree rational, though in greater degree animal, must believe that sooner or later the light will shine through the murk.

Robert M. Hutchins
University of Utopia
(1964, p. IX)

Ours is a tortured time. In education, as in other aspects of our lives, we hunger for a clear sense of direction, for a firm knowledge of what ought to be done.

Some thirty years ago the clear and insistent voice of Robert M. Hutchins announced that the content of the true education was available. If we would but recognize and adopt it, we would have a rock upon which to build, no matter how fiercely the winds of change and doubt might blow. His book, *The Higher Learning In America*, was published first in the crisis-ridden Thirties and then re-issued in paperback in the still troubled Sixties. In 1953 Mr. Hutchins delivered the Charles R. Walgreen Lectures published under the title, *The University of Utopia*. Here he returned to the subject of the hazards to education in the U.S.A. and the methods for overcoming them. This, too, was re-issued in paperback in the Sixties. In introductory remarks for the second editions the author affirms his confidence in the correctness of each of his earlier views. It would appear, then, that we have been presented with an alternative to ill-tempered controversy or faddist tinkering about where education is concerned. Robert Hutchins, in a forthright fashion, tried in each instance to speak sense to us. After careful reflection he decided to make available, once again in this decade, the prescriptions which, if heeded, might have helped us earlier.

The case for reviewing such writings is obvious. With all of our gropings, if a time-proven formula to end the chaos is available, we would be remiss, indeed, in failing to seize hold of it.

There is the peculiar fact, however, that with the exception of St. Johns College, one looks in vain in higher education, or at lower levels, for acceptance of the Hutchins master plan. We may be a

nation of fools—misguided, intractable, so victimized by our own mis-education that we cannot recognize the truth when it is offered.

There is another possibility: that a flaw lies in the Philosopher's Stone itself. That will be the contention of this paper. To be blunt, Mr. Hutchins falters on the point which he argues is basic to attaining his primary objective—defining the features of true education. His thesis is that to get clear thinking about true education it is indispensable to begin with clear philosophical presuppositions. In the two books in question he takes conflicting and confused positions on the philosophical question. He then adds to the disarray, when the books are re-issued, by endorsing his earlier statements as if they proceeded from the same assumptions when, in fact, they do not. It becomes, then, a fair question to ask whether Mr. Hutchins makes a contribution to light or obscurity.

We shall forego a review, in detail, of Mr. Hutchins' general recommendations for education: the need for all children to be taught the basic skills of language and mathematics as indispensable for thinking; the case for a knowledge of the great books of our intellectual heritage. Nor shall we make this program the subject of argument. It would be hard to find an educator who would take exception to the first, and this writer is sympathetic to the need for judicious inclusion of the latter, although the questions of when and for whom are a bit more complex than Mr. Hutchins admits.

We shall concentrate on a point at the center of his argument. A return to true education is needed to combat the chaos of our time; such education must be grounded in true philosophical first principles. Hutchins' most widely quoted words sum it up, "Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same" (*The Higher Learning in America*, p. 66). The argument assumes the availability of an unshakable truth. In a footnote to the famous quotation, Hutchins cites St. Thomas to assure us, "It is therefore evident that, as regards the general principles whether of speculative or practical reason, truth or rectitude is the same for all, and is generally known by all." (*Summa Theologica*, Part II, Q. 94, Art. 4.)

Since the point is crucial, we need to know more about the source of the precious truth teachers should teach. In the chapters following the definition of true education we are led closer and closer to the answer. Mr. Hutchins deplores the debasement of higher education by an overemphasis on science and empirical research, and by the teaching of practical skills in professional schools. What, on the contrary, should be the major responsibility of the university. Its basic function should be to pursue and produce the true knowledge which is needed to unify the entire educational system at all levels. It cannot be, however, the source of unity and harmony unless its own house is in order. The university lacks order in the twentieth century because there is no ordering principle in it.

Mr. Hutchins emphasizes that a present emphasis on the freedom to *pursue* truth is not sufficient to deliver it. "In the current use of freedom it is an end in itself. But it must be clear that if each person has the right to make and achieve his own choices the result is anarchy and the dissolution of the whole" (p. 94).

The *pursuit* of truth for its own sake is also unsatisfactory as a unifier of the higher learning. For Mr. Hutchins reminds us, "Philistines still ask, what is truth? And all truths cannot be equally important" (p. 95). More is needed if the university is to be held together. "Real unity can be achieved only by a hierarchy of truths which shows us which are fundamental and which subsidiary, which significant and which not."

Clearly the way out of the dilemma can be found only if we have access to truth of an abiding order, free of an imperfect, tentative quality. Where may such Truth be found? Mr. Hutchins mentions only two sources. The first is theology, which furnishes a principle of unity to the Medieval University. The eloquence which Hutchins brings to describing the role which theology performed indicates it is the ideal instrument for producing the desired hierarchy of truths:

The medieval theologians had worked out an elaborate statement in due proportion and emphasis of the truths relating to man and God, man and man, and man and nature. It was an orderly progression from truth to truth. As man's relations to God were the highest of which he could conceive, as all his knowledge came from God and all his truths, the truths concerning God and man were those which gave meaning and sequence to his knowledge. Theology ordered the truths concerning man and man; humanism was theocentric; man loved his brothers in God. Theology ordered the truths of man and nature, for God created the world; he created man to live in it, and placed him in definite relation to other creatures. The insight that governed the system of the medieval theologians was that as first principles order all truths in the speculative order, so last ends order all means and actions in the practical order. God is the first truth and the last end. The medieval university was rationally ordered, and, for its time, it was practically ordered, too (p. 96).

Beautiful as was this ordering, it unfortunately is not for us. "We are a faithless generation and take no stock in revelation. Theology implies orthodoxy and an orthodox church. We have neither. To look to theology to unify the modern university is futile and vain" (p. 97).

So we are forced back to a condition like that of the Greeks who lived before the institution of the One Church and the Queen of Studies, Theology. The Greeks, however, had available the well-ordered life. Greek thought was unified by the study of first principles. Plato provided the method of dialectic for exploring first principles and "Aristotle made the knowledge of them into the science of metaphysics, rather than theology" (p. 97). Metaphysics, as the high-

est and universal science, unified Greek thought as theology ordered thought in the Middle Ages. "It considers being as being, both what it is and the attributes which belong to it as being" (p. 98). Metaphysics is the source of highest wisdom for wisdom is knowledge of principles and causes and metaphysics deals with the highest of these. The knowledge of metaphysics has the yearned for timeless quality, and to prove it Hutchins quotes Aristotle to the effect that this knowledge must be confined to God:

For the science which it would be most meet for God to have is a divine science, and so is any science that deals with divine objects; and this science alone has both these qualities; for (1) God is thought to be among the causes of all things and to be a first principle, and (2) such a science God alone can have or God above all others (p. 98).

We learn with relief that metaphysics is divine in Aristotle's sense that it is not beyond nature and reason and, furthermore, it is diffused widely and "accessible to all who are capable of virtue." We seem to be almost home when suddenly there is a fall into the dark.

The thought of modern times can be given order *only* by either theology or metaphysics. Since our author has told us we cannot appeal to theology, only metaphysics is left. Then the crusher: metaphysics, like theology, Mr. Hutchins announces, is almost totally missing. It has shrunken to an innocuous, occasional course in "a department called philosophy" (p. 102). Here, we might well think that we had been brought to the end of the story, albeit, with a sad and distressing ending. We have heard a compelling argument that theology or metaphysics alone can rescue us from the onrushing disorder, and have been told that for all practical purposes neither exists.

Mr. Hutchins, however, is not content to leave us stranded. He gives examples of how, in fact, metaphysics creeps back on campus as experts in the sciences or humanities, untrained in metaphysics, persist in amateurish pronouncements on metaphysical questions which compound confusion. Or, in the Communist World, we have Marx, installed in the place of God, providing a false metaphysics. But the Communists realize at least that "it is impossible to have social order without intellectual order" (p. 105). Mr. Hutchins' point is that these abortive metaphysical efforts do show "how much we *feel* the need of an orthodox theology or a systematic metaphysics" (p. 104, italics mine).

We now are at a critical transition point. Hutchins is eager to move on to announce the programmatic outlines of a well-ordered university. But so far he has established only the following

- (1) That a well-ordered university is impossible in the absence of a unifying theology or metaphysics.
- (2) That no agreed-on systematic theology or metaphysics exists in American Society.

(3) That we (some at least) *feel the need* of an orthodox theology or metaphysics.

In order to show the shaky bridge Mr. Hutchins then constructs to move from his philosophical analysis to what is needed to his recommendations for educational content, we quote his words directly but number the sentences so that the argument may be followed closely.

(1) I am not here arguing for any specific theological or metaphysical system.

(2) I am insisting that consciously or unconsciously we are always trying to get one.

(3) I suggest that we shall get a better one if we recognize explicitly the need for one and try to get the most rational one we can.

Then he adds,

We are, as a matter of fact, living today by the haphazard, accidental, shifting shreds of a theology and metaphysics to which we cling because we must cling to something.

Here we note that a shift has occurred from the earlier argument that chaos can be banished only if *actual* metaphysical unity is provided to the position that we feel a *need* for unity. Then,

(4) If we can revitalize metaphysics and restore it to its place in the higher learning, we may be able to establish rational order in the modern world as well as in the universities (p. 105, italics mine).

Mr. Hutchins is now ready to lead us to the campus to show us the designs of true education in a true university. We cannot but recall the force of his contention that the task of education is to teach the truth. To teach truth, the truth must be known. The indispensable condition is the existence of a metaphysics to provide the first principles on which a hierarchy of well-ordered truths must rest. Then there was the shocking statement that such a metaphysics does not exist. As the educational tour begins, however, Mr. Hutchins provides an opening question to reassure us, and to get us under way, "If this miracle [of restoring metaphysics] could be performed, what would the content of the higher learning be and what would a university be like?" (pp. 105-106, italics mine). As we move off, we seem to hear from a window of the Administration building the lovely lyrics of "Wishing Will Make It So" from the classic story of Cinderella, and our guide announces:

The Student beginning with the junior year would study metaphysics, the science of first principles. He would study the social sciences, which are practical sciences, dealing with the relations of man and man. He would study natural science which is the science of man and nature (p. 106).

Such a course of study would be free from the disordered quality marking schedules based on the elective scheme. It would proceed from an intelligible, rational structure with metaphysics providing the first order principles. Subordinate to it in the hierarchy would be the natural and social sciences. By way of illustration, Hutchins provides us with an explanation of what should be the proper relation of natural sciences to metaphysics. The natural sciences get their *basic principles* from the philosophy of nature, a branch of metaphysics. "In the study of {the natural sciences} such recent observations as serve to *illustrate, exemplify, or confirm* these principles must be included" (p. 108, italics mine). It is too bad that the tour does not provide time for an answer to the question of what would happen if an observation does not confirm a metaphysically derived basic principle.

Mr. Hutchins gives us many more details about how the true university would be organized if the elusive metaphysics could be attained in fact. Many have agreed that it is an impressive tale.

In the early Fifties, while we were caught in the miseries of the Korean War and the McCarthy episode, Mr. Hutchins addressed himself again to the question of the hazards facing education. In *The University of Utopia*, Hutchins acts as spokesman for a mythical Utopia, which starts with problems like those of our own U.S.A. Instead of being mired in controversy, though, the Utopians are able to create a rational educational program which leads to a genuinely enlightened community. The four principal dangers to be confronted are: those associated with industrialism (which include a variety of consequences flowing from science and technology), specialization, philosophical diversity, and social and political conformism. We shall consider only the matter of philosophical diversity. The people of Utopia desire a community guided by wisdom. Diversity is a threat, for in a general sense the problem is whether a community is possible in a condition where thinking men can't think together because they can't communicate. *Specialization* may make their languages and interests so divergent that they can't come together. *Philosophical diversity* may mean that their differences over basic principles or assumptions are so important that their conversations move along different lines. A resolution of the problem is critical both for the sake of community unity and educational reform. If this sounds familiar we are not surprised, for we know that the spokesman for Utopia is the same as the author of *The Higher Learning In America*.

Since the basic problem in the two works is defined in identical terms, we may recall Hutchins' earlier solution: the sole way to end confusion was to locate an instrument which could assure intellectual unity at the level of first principles. Only a theology or a metaphysics could perform the task. It is striking, then, to find that the guide to Utopia in 1953 employs neither the term theology nor metaphysics. This may be nothing more, however, than a matter of semantics, because it is still to philosophy, as a concern with first

principles (here, again, never precisely defined), to which Mr. Hutchins turns for the key to attaining unity. Hutchins makes clear, however, that he does not look to contemporary philosophy without apprehension. The Departments of Philosophy seem to offer little hope. In their efforts to ape science, academic philosophers have become highly technical, with non-humanistic or even anti-humanistic tendencies. They tend to write on esoteric subjects of interest only to fellow academicians. They speak, moreover, with many voices as illustrated by their schools of positivism, pragmatism and Marxism each of which Hutchins finds wanting. Yet a civilized community must know what is its problem.

"Civilization is the deliberate pursuit of a common ideal. Education is the deliberate attempt to produce the type of man it wants (*The University of Utopia*, p. 52). To have a philosophy of education we must have "a rational conception of man and society" in a contemporary condition where "there is no authority that can decide among competing philosophies" (p. 54).

Does Mr. Hutchins confront this situation of chaos with the despair we saw in his earlier essays? No. It is hard to feel that he enjoys the situation but we are told there is a way to get on. This time the candidate to provide leadership to dispel confusion turns out to be a hitherto little-honored newcomer—philosophy of education. It evidently is capable of providing unity in a quite remarkable way. The University of Utopia, for example, has been able to develop a philosophy of education. "It has been able to do this in spite of the fact that in Utopia there is philosophical diversity. The Utopians even insist that philosophical diversity is a good thing" (p. 54). A point which helps is that the Utopians are sensible people who believe that education "is a conversation aimed at truth" (p. 56). (One may note that they seem to differ from earlier followers of Hutchins who insisted on the importance of access to truth itself. They held that freedom merely to pursue truth was quite insufficient. Remember the Philistines!) The question, nevertheless, remains how the Utopian philosophers of education can produce "one educational system and one educational philosophy in the face of philosophical diversity" (p. 67). We shall try to follow this point in a moment.

First, we note that as far as the educational *program* for young Utopians is concerned, it is essentially the same as that recommended by the younger Hutchins in previous years: an early emphasis, for the first ten years, on teaching the communication skills necessary to take part in the conversation aimed at truth. Reading, writing, and figuring are supplemented by history, geography and the world's great literature. At age sixteen, for four years, emphasis shifts from learning *techniques* of communication to studying the *leading ideas* about man and the world that have animated mankind. Following this, the young adult may enter the world of work or further study at the University. All citizens of Utopia will be students, from time to time, throughout their lives in centers of education for adults.

This program, when originally advocated by Mr. Hutchins, was predicted on the future realization of an *if* condition. *If* a unifying metaphysics could be revived or created, a rational, unified program of education could be deduced from it. Have the philosophers of Utopia succeeded in creating such a unifying metaphysics? As mentioned previously, Mr. Hutchins, as Utopian spokesman, does not now use the term *metaphysics* which was of such crucial importance before. He does assure us that Utopians have succeeded in creating one educational philosophy which provides the underpinnings for a single educational program.

How has this feat been accomplished?

By making the *consideration* of philosophical diversity the primary concern of educational philosophy. . . . The University is not a center of propaganda for an official doctrine. . . . It is concerned with all doctrines that can have any reasonable claim to be taken seriously. Its effort is toward a definition of the real points of agreement and disagreement among these doctrines, not in the hope of obtaining unanimity, but in the hope of attaining clarity. The object is not agreement but communication. The Utopians think it would be very boring to agree with one another (p. 67).

There is, however, the remarkable result that does, in fact, happen in Utopia. Having agreed not to agree, but to communicate areas of agreement and disagreement, Utopian philosophers of education succeed in producing a single philosophy of education and a single educational program. Unfortunately, Mr. Hutchins leaves out the details as to how this transformation takes place. It would be fascinating to discover, for example, how a thorough discussion of the educational ideas of Plato, Dewey, Maritain, Rousseau, Skinner, Barzun and A. S. Neill would lead to a single set of agreements about education. Perhaps such amalgams are possible only for Utopians, not mere mortals. It would be nice if we were told so. Fewer would be left wondering why such sound ideas are not adopted more widely.

Education and Urban Renaissance

R. F. Campbell, L. A. Marx and R. O. Nystrand. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969. \$5.95.

The consensus of opinion by the authors of these papers that education can no longer be insulated from other urban services and needs is a most welcome change of attitude, particularly for the professional educator. There is a general acceptance of the urban school as a community-based institution. The editors tell us that the conference was originally conceived to discuss the characteristics of the ideal urban school and was later revised to relate specifically to the Model Cities legislation. Only one of the authors questions the neighborhood

confines of the Model Cities Demonstration Project as a satisfactory geographic boundary; as such, David Lewis' paper presents an important contrast to the other views. One would have expected that the papers would combine a realistic or practical evaluation of education reform and some innovative alternatives for structural and educational change.

The Bourgeois paper, which was added after the conference, provides a discussion of some of the organizational problems faced by the Model Cities group in St. Louis, but its emphasis is on structuring the Model Cities agency. There is no insight provided in any of the other papers about the context of educational change in large urban school systems, the kinds of political forces and pressures which might influence the development of a meaningful Model Cities Demonstration. Certainly the experience of the poverty program and the attempts at school reform offer a significant background for appreciation of the problems which might affect the plans under Model Cities. Yet all of the authors seem to purposely eschew the subject of school reform. Bailey alludes to the fact that cities have never been asked to do this before, but somehow he anticipates that a new found sensitivity will emerge among city and education bureaucracies to carry the program ahead.

The several sociologists and political scientists assigned the task of discussing school organization and governance are certainly attuned to the political nuances and institutional conflicts in cities, and yet they chose to write about their subjects in a political vacuum. We get no indication of the constraints of civil service regulations, bureaucratic procedures, union contracts and the complex of political vested interests to be confronted. It is also surprising that experienced social scientists like Janowitz, Cunningham and Bailey completely neglect the community control issue. Every Model Cities planning group in the country spent an inordinate amount of time on the question and means for balancing the professional and citizen role in policy-making. Most recommended a highly developed role for the community. In the five papers directed at this general area there is almost no mention of the question except a perfunctory approval of greater parent participation. There is no discussion of the concept of community control or the alternatives for mechanisms to achieve meaningful community participation in policy-making—and this is the heart of the matter.

The summary essay statement on public accountability is somewhat telling of the general attitude towards the role of citizens in education in the volume; it defines accountability as a willingness by professionals ". . . to explain the basis for (such) judgments upon the requests of concerned citizens and that they take into account public concerns." Considering the events in education reform over the last four or five years, this statement is certainly archaic. There is a similar omission of concern for the role of students. At the time of the conference, student, parent and community groups in several cities were

demanding or had achieved some direct roles in the operation of schools, and indications of how such arrangements could best be developed should certainly have been a priority for this collection. At least part of the problem was the non-existence of community representatives, parents, teachers, black leaders, and students at the conference to raise these issues. It is also unfortunate that the same academic celebrities are constantly pressed into service to answer all our problems. For the most part, their recommendations are a repeat of the professional inventory, their insights and concepts of reform are predictable. They could gain immeasurably from a hearing of some of the views of those directly involved in local school struggles.

Presumably these papers were to serve as a resource for Model Cities groups to draw upon for ideas regarding structure and programs. Unfortunately, they do not provide the range of alternatives they should. Experiments throughout the country, such as the school without walls in Philadelphia, student run schools in Washington, D. C., community control districts in New York City, Follow Through and Headstart models throughout the country, offer a wider range of choices than one can get from these essays. Only the Great High Schools Plan in Pittsburgh is described in any detail. Too many of the articles run over too quickly any new ideas for curriculum or changing professional roles.

The most sensitive piece is written by Williard Congreve who has worked with community schools in Chicago. He is the only author who stresses the need for fundamental change in attitudes and educational goals. His emphasis on the learning process, how to learn rather than what is learned, is basic and yet so often by-passed. Recognition by the teacher that learning does not always center around him and his set of values can, according to Congreve, change a tuned out student to a tuned in learner. Obviously, Congreve has been captured by the British Infant School model which has proved so successful in English working class communities. The approach embodies a philosophy as well as a process and stresses the individuality and dignity of each student.

The listing of recommendations in the concluding essay suggests the rather prosaic quality of the papers and the generally superficial analysis of issues. Too many of these items have long since been accepted as truisms, i.e., "The urban school must become a center for community life . . . , the urban school must develop closer working relationships with other human service agencies", "Instruction in the urban school must be student centered" and yet the *how to* to accomplish these ends is ignored—in terms of policies, process and alternative programs.

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Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville

Maurice R. Berube and Marilyn Gittell. New York: Praeger, 1969. 340 pp. \$8.50.

This year has been heralded all over town as the first year in the last three that the schools have opened *on* the expected date. This is the year for the Jets and Mets, but, for the schools, last year was the year that was. Berube and Gittell have assembled the major documents and viewpoints that describe what happened at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, what led up to the three school strikes of 1968-1969, and why school finally began in mid-November.

The New York City schools have had their share of problems and this book attempts to give a Rashomon version of what produced the conflict and why. The editors chose a course that allows each group, the UFT, the Board of Education, the local board of Ocean Hill-Brownsville, to speak for themselves via public documents authored by these various groups. After the documents are presented, essays by such interested parties as Rhody McCoy, Eugenia Kemble and Richard Karp present their own opinions. This format continues with excerpts from the Bundy Report, the Niemeyer Report, the New York Civil Liberties Union Report, the Rivers (Judge Rivers) Report, the Boe Stein Report and reproductions of the "Hate" literature that was distributed in the heat of the strike. Views expressed on racial discrimination, black anti-semitism and the strike are written by Nat Hentoff, Michael Harrington, Dwight McDonald, Jason Epstein, Maurice J. Goldbloom, Sol Stern, Sandra Feldman, Fred Ferretti and the editors. These essays are all enlightening but, in a collection of this length, repetitious and a burden to the reader. I realize that the editors wanted to present us with everything, but the McDonald-Harrington debate was fatiguing; they can ring their dirty linen privately and, if the New York Review of Books wants to post their letters, the editors did not have to duplicate the error.

To the editors' credit, they tried to present the crisis in decentralization and community control from as many angles as possible. By using original documents, the reader can begin to make his own interpretation of why the confrontation between the local decentralized district and the central board and why the UFT and Albert Shanker used the strike club three times. It is rare to see more than one viewpoint expressed today, especially under the same book cover. The editors have tried to let the reader into the conflict so that he can understand why there is a fight and what the combatants are fighting for.

The two most important articles in this collection are not by experts; they are not reports. Nor are they written by a new breed of experts, the journalists who have competed with the social scientists and educators on describing what is happening. These men write better but they miss the boat, too. The group that is in the middle of the action, that is rarely heard from, the teacher, surfaces here. Two teachers, Charles S. Isaacs and Patrick Harnett, say what they think

the issues are. Both describe the difficulties and complexities of teaching. Isaacs sees no anti-semitic threat in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Isaacs, although white, writes a pro-community control piece and it is creditable. He sees blacks in control of their own destiny and therefore in control of the public institutions that forge their lives. Isaacs may be a young romanticist to some; he may be a heretic and traitor to others. He certainly is unrepresentative of the UFT position. But, through it all, Isaacs comes across as a teacher who cares about the lives of children. That voice was missing last year when only power was on the table. Ironically in this book, no children are heard from. Black children and their views of the battle from inside Ocean Hill-Brownsville might have an interesting tale to tell; so might the children of the liberal whites, of the "backlashers" and of the teachers and professionals involved (I mean, both their own children and those that they teach). Parents and community people are not heard from. This is one of my few criticisms of a book that dealt with confrontation—only some of the persons involved were heard from. These peripherally involved, the Michael Harringtons, the Dwight McDonalds, the Jason Epsteins, like myself, are too removed to describe how the persons most affected reacted last year and how they feel this year.

I have side-tracked the reader but deliberately so, for too often many of us make up our minds prematurely. We react as if we know the answers, and then no new information can seep through. This book documents not only the confrontation but also how after a while "professionals" could no longer hear the community and how community shut its ears to the UFT. Wars begin this way and in this situation the fight or conflict escalated somewhat like a war with months of conflagrations and heated, irritated differences going unresolved until a war or strike was declared. Instead of peace, the sides sought destruction of each other.

The second teacher, Patrick Harnett, writes from a completely different frame of reference and is equally creditable. He entitles his article "Why Teachers Strike: A Lesson for Liberals." In it, Harnett describes why the reformers have failed for they have not understood the position of the teacher. Harnett writes well, as passionately and as eloquently as Isaacs. Each has an important message about change and the status quo and both collectively tell us why we are failing in urban schools, why we will continue to fail and how much needs to be done before education and schooling is altered.

Harnett says in his concluding section what he sees as the root of the problem. "Finally, I would like to say that I have found that people—all people—are not what they would like to be, but what they are made to be by the social forces working around them. If you can change conditions, you can change people." This quote seems to sum up the book for all sides sought to alter the conditions. The community people felt that control of teachers, hence the social

environment of their children, would improve the destiny of their children. The union felt that this change would lead to anarchy and afterwards chaos and obvious unprofessionalism in the classroom; therefore they sought to "change" (really end) the experimental district, thereby improving or enhancing the teacher's security and his ability to teach.

The reader can take his choice. The book is invaluable in meticulously clarifying the issues. But one can side with neither group and remain part of the anemic majority, go on living and ignoring the grave social issues of our time, then wonder why the kids at colleges and high schools are clamoring for relevance when we adults have run away from issues and have chosen earmuffs and eyepatches to the woes of our country.

The main issue, as the editors point out by their selections, was power. Who would control the schools, the community, the union, or the central Board of Education? When Rhody McCoy decided to transfer 10 teachers, a typical procedure for the 30 district superintendents, the fat hit the fire. McCoy was asserting his legitimacy and the Board declared his impotence. The lines were drawn and Shanker came to the rescue. Before this crisis, the Board was considered the ultimate in power. Now it was Shanker. Together the UFT and the Board tried to knuckle down McCoy and the community. This experiment was destined not to have a long life, for both the union and the Board made certain that its life was to be meaningless, at best only a showcase of decentralization with the central Board running it from afar. McCoy, Reverend Oliver and the local board cried sham and would not allow themselves to be treated like puppets. The powerless were given power, on paper, and then they tried to act upon it. The powerful invoked strikes; the rest of the city, advertisements in the mass media and massive public demonstrations. They even claimed morality on their side for they began to fan the flames with cries of black anti-semitism.

The editors do not describe the victims of this battle, nor the victors, nor do they predict the future. All of these are left for the reader to consider. The losers—experimental districts, such as Ocean Hill-Brownsville, IS 201 and Two Bridges—and the pupils in those districts, some of whom were being exposed to new programs and concepts. In the IS 201 district a simple yet ingenious reading and math program of Caleb Gattegno is making dramatic changes for the pupils and teachers. One wonders if the city will consider a program coming from the IS 201 district and if it will be introduced city-wide. I would predict that this program will never see daylight for it forces changes in the city systems, in the powers that be, and in the teachers.

Other losers are the black and Puerto Rican children and their families in New York and across the land. They have been told over and over that they are second-rate intellectually. Now they decide that is no longer true and they want to try their hands at educating

their own. As they begin to do the job, at least administratively, their doom is sealed. For if they succeed, the professional applecart, the power-financial, political and patronage—would be lost. No one gives up power that easily; witness Shanker, Daley, Lindsay, and Johnson, to name a few who have fought back as others have tried to push them aside.

Trade unionism for professionals has taken a resounding beating, too. Perhaps many of us will sense that teachers need to be protected, as I feel they do, but to use their union strength in this way is unique. Unlike the union power plays of the early twentieth century, management and workers fought over money and conditions. As third parties, the consumer was mildly inconvenienced but he was not abused. In schools, or medicine (for the AMA is a union of sorts), there is always a third party, the client, patient or pupil. In education, the Board of Education and the teachers negotiate for salary and terms but the pupil is typically ignored in this negotiation process, especially if he is black. For example, two years ago the union negotiated for teachers to directly suspend pupils. Shanker and the UFT were screaming due process last fall in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, but that was for teachers' rights. Shanker would ignore due process of pupils, their right to an education and academic freedom by direct suspension. Shanker screamed when McCoy wanted to transfer ten teachers, but he could negotiate for the suspension of 40,000 pupils (assuming that every teacher suspended one pupil a year). Right now upwards of 5,500 are suspended. Shanker's plank for suspension was not acceptable but the public is wary of professionals who act selfishly. One cannot have it both ways. If teachers and other professionals want to be tough and play for power, then let them, but the client, here the pupil and his parents, should be directly represented at the bargaining table. In addition, professionalism would be altered and we would no longer think of them as highly ethical. That's not too bad, for many of us are not, and a little honesty here could go far. For once people would begin to trust us as they do appliances, home products, cars, etc. We would be rated by consumers union as what we can actually do and not how fancy we speak or write or how many degrees we have.

Who else lost? Public education is a big loser for with each crisis, less and less of us believe that it can continue. The future looks bleak in education for the public is less and less confident. In the near future, as this confidence withers away, the public schools may become like the postal system or Long Island railroad system, necessary but laggard, inefficient and darn frustrating. With no alternative or competing system, it is put up with, but for how long?

Another loser was the Ford Foundation, which was hit hard by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project. Bundy and his advisory staff were instrumental in funding the three experimental "decentralized" districts. In addition, they wrote for Mayor Lindsay the overall New York City decentralized plan, "Reconnection for Learning." The

Bundy Report). The Ford Foundation has been blamed by Shanker most vociferously as tampering with a system that they know nothing about. The Ford group has retreated and will probably fund less adventuresome and risky projects in the black community, especially if it means confronting the white establishment: the political, education, industrial or military groups entrenched.

Everyone lost except the UFT who won and lost. For the power they gained, they lost some prestige. This can be regained if they act "professionally" and are not heard from for a few years. If they wield their new power quietly, they will be the master of the schools. Note how quietly in the spring of 1969 the UFT negotiated for a three-year salary contract. The salary scale will increase pay at a good clip and from an underpaid group groping for replacements, striking for improved pay and working conditions, they have altered this, I think, as an aftermath of the three strikes of 1968-1969. Lindsay could ill afford another brawl. I do not think Shanker needs the public limelight and, as he and his union quietly consolidate their power, they will be more than a match for any group that tries to usurp them.

The future looks bleak for experiments in community control. Blacks will have little to say about how to run their schools. The central Board of Education will talk about decentralization and so will the UFT, but these will often be rhetoric combined with minor administrative readjustments. The schools will be quiet, comparatively, for 2-3 years as they were from 1964-1966, after the furor of integrating the schools came and went. In 1971 or so, after the community control issue has come and gone, I predict a new battle emerging. The UFT, this time, will be confronted with issues perhaps over programs or staffing. The community will whip it up over these "key" issues, the UFT with central Board help will come back hard. The union will have more state legislators on its side by then, for the UFT have threatened to move against white legislators who opposed them in 1968-1969, and with their new "allies," the community will be no match. The tempers will fly for one year or so, the minority groups will picket, boycott, demonstrate, but the strength of the UFT will force a showdown. The state department of education will send its mediators. The mass media will pick up Shanker and blast his pronouncements all over television. You and I know the script; unfortunately we have seen it occur the same way and too often. The more we change, the more it seems to be the same. When will we really and fundamentally change concepts of sharing and try to attain equality? Mañana.

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The Economy of Cities

Jane Jacobs. New York: Random House, 1969.

The fly cover of Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* tells the reader that the book opens "with a city that was a world and closes with a world that, potentially, has become a city." This is the grossest level at which Jane Jacobs' *The Economy of Cities* distorts the story it sets out to tell. From medieval Dinant, if not sooner, all the way to modern thriving Tokyo, the urban dimension we have come to recognize at the heart of contemporary life is discovered fully formed and in abundance. Jane Jacobs has taken her biases to the library and confirmed them with quite the meanest selection of sources in terms, both of homogeneity of opinion and dearth of number I can remember seeing called researched evidence in support of a thesis.

It is not that Mrs. Jacobs does not refer to scholarly sources, but rather that she refers to only a single source here and there to support her thrust. While it is not unusual for an author to touch base with supportive quotes, the intelligent reader must be uncomfortable at least with a thesis which challenges "current theory in many fields—economics, history, anthropology . . ." with a smattering of documentation spread over undefined periods and institutions. If Mrs. Jacobs finds only supporting evidence, if there are no respectable differences of opinion with Asa Briggs, Carcopino Jerome, Piggott Stuart or Cecil Woodham-Smith, how dominant in fact is the currency she cites? If, however, the dominance she sets up is a product of the agrarian mythology on scholarship, then we should know a little more about how that is evidenced. Without such perspective we get no more than a different grandiosity of error, not the insight of Pasteur she sees for herself at the end of the tunnel.

To be sure, as Mrs. Jacobs points out at her outset, "We are all well aware . . . that ideas universally believed are not necessarily true." But that does not mean by any means that the story of scientific misinformation over centuries and the hard-won victory of Pasteur with respect to spontaneous generation is a good enough backdrop for her case. In fact the scientific model she employs is graphic but quite irrelevant to the extent that it cheats the reader. The Pasteur example calls on a conventional wisdom which now acknowledges the blockheadedness of official scientific bodies in the face of disrupting discoveries. But to call up that awareness is not to have made the case for a quite unrelated argument, unrelated, that is, until relatedness is proven.

The idea that Mrs. Jacobs is contesting is the idea that cities are built on a rural economic base. But in posing the possibility of urban roots, she implies a much deeper, more significant question with this new knowledge, how would the world have been or can it be different—which she does not ask in her book although unwillingly she does answer it. "This dogma" (agrarian roots), she argues "is as quaint as the theory of spontaneous generation, being a vestige of

pre-Darwinian intellectual history that has hung on past its time." And here we have it; the world would be pretty much the same, for neither in Darwinian translation into social terms, nor in Mrs. Jacobs' leap into the post-Darwinian era, is there any radical change even hinted at. Whatever the terminology, power and success depend on their perennial corollaries, powerlessness and failure. To conclude that without the city (considered always in economic terms only) the world would be made up of no more than "hunting and gathering" groups, is only to say that the efficiency of competitive society was heightened through the aegis of urban concentration and urban directed socioeconomic organization, even if it is at the same time to demean the roseate dignity of agrarian life.

What Mrs. Jacobs has to say in *The Economy of Cities* then makes sense only in terms of the current urban assumptions she imposes on her past. She has not written a book about cities at all. She has, however, typified the currency and the futility of urban parochialism in our approach to almost all human problems. She has written a book about her illusions—namely the objective reality of urban vitality enshrined over time and space in business enterprise. Indeed, the "surges" she discerns "in agricultural productivity (which) follow the growth of cities" refer in fact to the application of urban production criteria to the countryside. What she is saying, as her description of the rural use made of electricity, once it had been developed in the city, exemplifies, is that what is useful in the city will be useful in moving the countryside in the direction of urban norms.

So much of what is wrong at all levels in the relations between men, however, is woven into the fabric of the city today that we tend to lose sight of the timelessness of these problems and the degree to which problems such as poverty and racism are independent of the city as it stands today, in generation, even if now dependent on it for cure. For Mrs. Jacobs, apparently, the point is a moot one, for in her chronology and syntax of urban decline and fall, there is no mention of poor people. Urban vitality is a function of daring, creative entrepreneurs, and who counts the cost? The book is replete with incorrigible quasi-historicism, but it is the emphasis on economic imagination of adventurous capitalists conceived as a measure of cultural vibrancy that makes the book ominous, not simply not good. Having submerged meta-urban and non-urban problems in intra-urban preferences, she creates a mythology of urban roots to man's social organization which is shaky at best and dangerously misleading.

The mythological quality of *The Economy of Cities* has already been pinpointed by Herbert Gans (*New Republic*) and Peter Schrag (*Commentary*). Both reviewers are fully aware of the gap which separates a roseate reconstruction of urban development from the realities and extremes of urban life. But they have both been deferential almost as if in deference to the Platonic importance of mythologies for the preservation of established mores. They have been

satisfied apparently that the "who created God" question is more appropriately feigned in urban form in this day and age. Neither of them unfortunately proceeded to consider the degree to which our myths have contributed to the unsmiling face of human suffering. Recall the melting pot and all those millions of immigrant exceptions to it and Negro crucifixion on a cross made of faith in it. Further recall how the rural idyll which Mrs. Jacobs seeks to displace has thoroughly confused the role of technology in society—how in Germany, for example, it was a basic plank in Nazi ideology. But the potency of misinformation was precisely what Plato was after, was it not?

According to Jane Jacobs, then, cities are inventions as old as the Bronze Age; they are man's most favored and successful means for the distribution of resources, and different communities, it would seem, get the cities they deserve. Some stagnate and die, and others prosper. Only in prosperity, however, is it clear that a given city has the wherewithal to prosper. Jane Jacobs tells us in fact, "When cities that have already had import-replacing episodes in their past . . . go on to replace imports rapidly yet again, they garner an economic margin in their local economics." On the other hand, Manchester among others was not able to retain such a high rate of development so that in Britain today "only two cities remain economically vigorous (London and Birmingham) . . . the others have stagnated." And yet any observer can tell you that the levels of poverty, squalor and class stratification (with a new racial ingredient) are not perceptibly—and I would venture, not significantly—less manifest in Miss Jacobs' thriving as opposed to her stagnant British cities.

Economic vitality comes about, she argues, when cities add "new work" to what they are already producing. New work can take many forms; a new product out of waste. New work is also generated by simple additions to economic activity—exporting goods previously only sold locally, or manufacturing things locally that were previously imported. Diversity, innovation and local ingenuity are the primary ingredients. But in her search for vitality she finds only the vitality she is looking for. While she is ostensibly in search for what makes urban economies live or die, she never does more than describe the process in several selected instances. Death subsequently is always characterized only in terms of her own, unfortunately never defined, criteria which seem to be singularly dependent on standards of acquisitive enterprise and the material success of those invested therein.

Finally Miss Jacobs' formulation of explanatory theory is limited still further by the fact that it does not really go far beyond the mythology she would like to replace. She pays virtually no attention either to the non-local considerations which motivate the executive decision-makers of urban-based national corporations or to the international city made viral by international bureaucracy, world wide investment with the control of whole countries in sway. For her, the

important things are individual incentive, that is, small scale adaptable business enterprise different from good round Jefferson township democracy only to the extent that the farm is now a storefront with a workshop in back.

It may be, as Herbert Gans suggests, that *The Economy of Cities* can have political consequences by challenging the agrarian ideal which allows rural politicians to exploit the city via city economies. But this was not the purpose of the book as stated by its author. More to her purpose, and equally as dangerous as the rural pastorele, would be an urban mythology which depicts the modern city as a noble edifice so long as those who usually make profits continue to do so—in effect, a eulogy for the historic indifference mammon pays the majority of men in the context of its most modern configuration.

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Six Psychological Studies

Jean Piaget and David Elkind, Ed. New York: Random House, 1967.

The Psychology of the Child

Jean Piaget and Bärbel Inhelder. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

In the past year and a half several new publications about Piaget and the research at Geneva have appeared. Where once Flavell's book pretty much constituted the reference on this subject, today the reader has at least a half-dozen works available for help in assimilating Piaget. *The Psychology of the Child* by Piaget and Inhelder may now be added to this category. Under one cover, in the space of approximately 150 pages (a remarkable brevity for Piaget) the authors bring together some major findings from the past 50 years of research, and they state rather concisely their theoretical position as it has evolved to the present time. This is the book that many of Piaget's admirers of this country have long been asking for—a book which would coordinate central findings reported in Piaget's diverse writings (now numbering 25 to 30 books and hundreds of articles) and would condense his ideas without watering them down.

I believe that the authors have accomplished their stated purpose of synthesizing their work and that the book will be very useful for the reader who has had some sketchy previous acquaintance with Piaget's works. The chapter on "The Semiotic or Symbolic Function" will probably be of greatest value to many readers, for here the authors relate their recent work on imagery, language and memory to earlier studies of drawings and play in advancing their argument that the young child's capabilities in these various areas should be viewed as diverse manifestations of the general emergence of rep-

resentational thought. Aspects of recent research are also reported in a chapter on the development of perception.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the three major periods in development: the sensori-motor, the emergence of concrete operations, and formal operations. With the exception of the authors' discussion of the interaction between cognition and affect, much of the material in these chapters summarizes the more familiar aspects of Piaget's writings.

Piaget's essays, translated and edited for *Six Psychological Studies*, are probably new to most American readers. Five of the six are fairly recent, having originally appeared as articles or lectures during the past fifteen years; one was published in 1940. The essays range broadly in content, from a general treatment of mental development, to the recurring question of language and thought, to the problem of the innateness of structures. As a group, the essays are characterized by a concern not just with identifying structures of thought, but even more with the question of how these structures are acquired. As Elkind points out in his introduction, Piaget gives foremost attention to the factor of equilibrium in dealing with these developmental questions. Again and again, Piaget takes up his analysis of the process of equilibration. The child assimilates; he acts upon the environment. In turn, he must accommodate to the constructions of reality. Each attempt to digest or modify the environment produces in return a modification in the organism.

In assimilating objects, action and thought must accommodate to these objects; they must adjust to external variation. The balancing of the processes of assimilation and accommodation may be called "adaptation." Such is the general form of psychological equilibrium, and the progressive organization of mental development appears to be simply an ever more precise adaptation to reality (p. 8).

Development, then, is primarily the balancing act of equilibration; never static, but continually moving in spiral fashion to more complex levels of organization.

A reading of these two books, especially the essays, suggests that Piaget's most challenging implications for education may not stem so much from his accounts of the stages of thought—an aspect of his work which has attracted the most attention to date as from his ideas on learning and development. Given the central role of equilibration, learning is portrayed as a very gradual process. Assimilation and accommodation take time. The baby, for instance, does not learn permanence through one lesson or through one or two "discovery experiences" with a disappearing and reappearing object (Peek-a-boo is fun not just once, but over and over and over). The understanding of object permanence rests instead on a rich and extensive history of grasping objects, sucking them, watching them, and so forth. Concepts of conservation of quantity, to take another example,

depend on an extensive history of actions performed on and with objects. Children, as Piaget writes about them, are indeed curious and active in their acquisition of ideas, but their explorations have a methodical and almost repetitious quality about them. In some ways they are slow learners! Important concepts grow gradually, and they are never so much new as they are reorganizations of earlier ideas. This is a quality of adult as well as of child thought. Once, in criticizing Bruner for misinterpretations, Piaget remarked that adults—"even greater psychologists"—need time in reaching sound ideas. It is clear in these works that Piaget, the biologist, portrays the development of thought as following a course of evolution rather than revolution.

In several ways, these works seem to play up the very real capabilities of the young child and to play down the ways in which abilities fall short of more mature forms of thought. Young children are not described by their "failings"—e.g., "nonconservers," "preoperational"—instead, they are described in more dynamic terms—"intuitive," "symbolic," "egocentric." A description such as "prelogical" is empty and perhaps as misleading as it would be to describe the young child as "presexual." If development is evolutionary in character, then the accomplishments of each stage are legitimate in their own right. Such an assumption is implicit in both books. One obvious implication of this view is that educators should be primarily concerned with helping the child successfully use his abilities at each level or stage, and only secondarily concerned with hastening progress from one stage to the next. In the theory of equilibration, if the first goal is satisfactorily met, then the second will to a great extent take care of itself. A four-year-old who claims that the wind acts as a force to hold the earth and sun apart, or who animates inert objects on occasion, is a four-year-old who is actively engaged in constructing reality. He may be "wrong" in his answers to the adults' questions about reality, but he may be accomplishing something much more important than the child who has spent his time trying to ferret out what is "correct" from the adult view. Unlike the model of programmed instruction, there is nothing wrong with being wrong.

The concept of equilibration also points up the necessity for self-direction in learning. In countless places in his writings and in many different ways, Piaget stresses the point that the most significant cognitive accomplishments are those which result from the child's own efforts, and are therefore his own constructions of reality. The word "construction" in fact is more compatible to Piaget's views on learning than the word "instruction." Although these books do not directly take up the implications for teaching, one imagines that a school which tried to base its approach on the equilibration analysis would allow or even insist on plenty of time and room for self-directed and self-sustained exploration as a way of supporting cognitive construction. In this aspect, the teacher would obviously play a supportive rather than directive role. Instruction, in the more directive sense,

is not ruled out, however. First, the teacher can be instrumental in trying to stimulate the interest and the curiosity which are necessary prerequisites for assimilatory action and equilibration. And, secondly, the teacher can also "instruct" by teaching the child what, in effect, he has already acquired. Here she would help him reorganize and clarify what he has learned earlier and her goal would be to consolidate these previous experiences. For psychologists and educators in this country, Piaget's works themselves seem to serve these two instructive functions.

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The Origins of Intellect: Piaget's Theory

John L. Phillips, Jr. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1969. 149 pp. \$2.75.

At the present time Jean Piaget runs the risk of becoming in vogue in the United States. Books relating to his theory have been attracting attention for a number of years. A new work in the arena that is both readable and unique in certain respects is Phillips' *The Origins of Intellect*. The book is primarily an introduction to Piaget's theory of cognitive development. Secondly, it tries to "bridge the gap" between S-R theory and Piaget's conceptualizations. Thirdly, the book tries to relate Piaget's work to educational practice.

The presentation is organized into five chapters, each being preceded by an outline. Chapter 1, the introduction, presents a brief biographical sketch of Piaget, and discusses his research methods and his central concepts: assimilation, accommodation, schemata, and equilibrium. Chapters 2-4 describe the periods of cognitive development in Piaget's system, and representative cognitive behaviors in each. Chapter 5, "Educational Implications: An Epilogue," presents Phillips' interpretation of the implications of Piaget's theory for education. The book concludes with a relatively complete bibliography that serves as a reading list.

The presentation is rather straightforward and consistent with previous works on Piaget. Each chapter is liberally sprinkled with quotes from Piaget as well as being appropriately illustrated.

The text is well-written, using somewhat of a conversational style. Phillips has intentionally tried to talk with the reader. By and large his presentation of Piagetian concepts is clear and concise. Some of the more difficult concepts, such as lattice and grouping, are particularly clear.

Phillips' book is different from others in that he has developed relationships between Piaget's work and the work of others. His presentation of the sensori-motor period (Chapter 2) is begun with a

three-page discussion of the similarities between Donald Hebb's and Piaget's concepts.

Under the heading of Teaching Examples, in the last chapter, Piaget's work is related to Newell Kephart's work, a study of training procedures by Sigel, Rooper, & Hooper (1966), and Suchman's "Inquiry Training." A last section deals with intelligence testing and contains an informative description of the test being developed in Montreal (Pinard & Laurendeau, 1964) from cognitive theory.

The reviewer found himself in agreement with most of Phillips' interpretations of Piaget, although not all.

In his discussion of "optimal discrepancy" and "motivation," Phillips' interpretation seems questionable. He writes:

If input is precisely congruent with established cognitive structure, new learning does not occur; and if the input does not fit into the structure at all, it is simply not assimilated (p. 110).

Phillips seems to be saying that assimilation is not an aspect of learning in that it does not result in a change in cognitive structures (schemata). Whether it is an accurate interpretation of Piaget to equate learning with structural change is questionable. Undoubtedly structural change results in learning, but it would seem that not all learning necessarily reflects structural change. Assimilation does add to the content of learning though it may not influence the structure, and content would seem to be an important dimension of learning.

Continuing, Phillips writes:

The optimal difficulty of a task is therefore one in which the complexity of the child's cognitive structure almost, but not quite, matches that of the input pattern. Given those conditions, the structures will change (p. 110).

The implication here is that small discrepancies from present schemata in stimulus input result in optimum structural change (accommodation), while large discrepancies (novelty) result in less or none at all. This generalization seems to the reviewer to be misleading. It seems that Phillips is really talking about the consistency of structural change from change to change, and not about structural change per se. Unfortunately, references from Piaget are not included on this point.

Phillips has "touched" on many potentially fruitful relationships. He has presented Piaget's concepts in a very readable manner and has suggested the compatibility of his concepts with those of Hebb, Kephart, and Gagne. The student familiar with the assumptions in the work of these men will be able to "see" the relationships Phillips suggests. Without the familiarity, the relationships will probably not be clear.

The Origins of Intellect should be very useful in courses in child development, educational psychology, and psychology where stu-

dents have had some exposure to Piaget, and where there is interest in developing more than a passing exposure to Piaget and his relationship to others in psychology.

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Japan: Culture, Education, and Change in Two Communities

Theodore Brameld. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. 316 pp.

Theodore Brameld again exhibits his admirably passionate ambition to come to grips with the BIG PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY IN THE EMERGING AGE. Throughout his career, Brameld has not only consistently attempted to answer the major philosophical questions concerning the meaning of life, society, progress, and education in the twentieth century, but has also tried to make practical prescriptions as to the direction men of good will ought to take in order to solve major world crises such as the threat of nuclear annihilation. He has played moralist, prophet, social critic, and a teacher of "explosive ideas" while persuading his colleagues that an analysis of the structure and dynamics of cultures using the tools of the anthropologist may offer solutions to critical social problems.

In this book, Brameld displays all of these facets once more, this time focusing on Japanese society and with the emphasis on anthropology. In his previous books, such as *Cultural Foundations of Education*, he offered the reader important insights as to his approach in building a basic theory of social reconstruction that wove together the key fields of philosophy, anthropology, and education. His *Remaking of a Culture* was an attempt to apply his theory to the problems of Puerto Rican society. These two works alone ought to place him among the leading pioneers in the groping effort to apply philosophical anthropology to the practical problems of education. The reader, however, is cautioned not to look for important breakthroughs or fundamental developments in Brameld's theory-building in this book on Japan.

The strength of the book lies in its descriptive accounts of the political and economic life of two Japanese communities undergoing the strains of modernization. One is a fishing village with social turbulence brought on by the introduction of modern techniques of fishing that have proved so efficient that the traditional fishing grounds have been nearly depleted. Brameld demonstrates his talent as a journalist when he describes the chain of events brought on by the new technology. Examples how the community copes with the problem by resorting to illegal acts such as fishing in another community's territory; the creative and fascinating venture into sea-

weed cultivation. The further tension that is created when the algae growers suspect that wastes poured into the river from an upstream industrial area may have caused a poor crop adds to the drama that Brameld unearths from this unknown Japanese community tucked away in a corner of Japan. The other community that he studies has built-in elements of tragedy, pathos, and the human will to survive: it is a *burakumin* society, made up of the Japanese equivalent of India's Untouchables. In describing the pulse of both communities, Brameld expresses explicitly a personal sensitivity (that is usually hidden in his highly pedantic academic prose which is generously provided in this book as well as his others). Brameld is at his best, for example, when he describes how a woman reacts when he comments on the beauty of the people in the *burakumin* community:

Outsiders, she says, often mention that the people of Kawabara are unusually handsome, but whenever they do "we feel a little strange." Such compliments, however kindly intended, only serve to emphasize once more that "we" are different from other Japanese. The fact is that "we" would rather, much rather, not be different at all.

Brameld is most irritating when he displays academic piousness in his almost defensive attempts to show his good intentions and his ameliorative interests in dealing with people. For example, he writes that his research endeavors in Japan not only aimed at the acquisition of data but also comprised a "very modest" attempt at "anthropotherapy." He tried to practice, he says, a kind of group therapy so that his Japanese research subjects were not only informants but were also subjects who were to be stimulated into dealing more creatively with their social problems. He defines anthropotherapy as a "process of community diagnosis and prognosis through which participants learn with guidance and stimulation to confront their own intra- and inter-cultural problems and act upon them with greater vigor and deliberation than they would otherwise." In short, he also has attempted to play educator-therapist (or is it do-good missionary?) while concurrently taking on the stances of anthropological researcher, social critic, and theory-prover. It is no wonder, then, that the officials of the expanding new Japanese religious sect, the *Sōka Gakkai* (which Brameld considers a significant cultural phenomenon), would refuse to cooperate with him in his studies/therapy. They were being asked to play the role of Green Berets invited to participate in a Vietnam Teach-in sponsored by a group of hard-core doves. What is annoying is not the attempt to integrate various approaches into his study; the rough edges, the pasted-on schizoid qualities undermine the import of Brameld's messages, for the different approaches appear to negate or to be unrelated to, rather than to complement, each other.

This same criticism applies to the weak conclusion of the study. It is especially disappointing since Brameld creates enormous expec-

tations in the reader when he claims that an analysis of a culture and its value system may lead one to gain a greater ability to tap "the potential power of education to bring about, in concert with other powers, the renewal of cultures on a planetary scale." The relationship between his specific analyses of the two communities and his prescriptive statements about what needs to be done in order to breathe fresh life into the culture is not established. In fact, the analyses seem irrelevant to Brameld's conclusions, for the conclusions (such as the need for greater democratic participation of people in community life) could have been surmised by studying his past writings; they do not stem particularly from his research in Japan.

This *déjà vu* quality of the book, fortunately, however, may be only appearance; Brameld seems to show signs of an awareness of the weakness and the somewhat contrived quality of his conclusions. There is a studied air of vagueness and reluctance in the prose of his last chapter, where he attempts to "channel both descriptions and prescriptions of our total investigation through one central institution—Japanese education." Actually, Brameld does not deal much with classroom life or the activities of youth in his investigation of community processes. Frequently the same thought flashes in the reader's mind as he moves through the pages: "Brameld himself perhaps is beginning to doubt and to question and to feel uneasy about the adequacy of the theoretical foundations of his studies as he had formulated them in this book's parent volume, *Cultural Foundations of Education*." If this thought is valid, then it may offer a reason why Brameld seems most at home when he simply describes what he sees in the general day-to-day life of the people in the two communities.

But given Brameld's tremendous energy and intellectual commitment, one can reasonably hope from him in the future a reconstructed Brameldian theory that is more exacting in its integration of cultural descriptions, evaluations of present cultural patterns, and prescriptions for educational action. Perhaps Brameld needs to reconsider his power philosophy that draws much of its strength from John Dewey. It may very well be that a power outlook that emphasizes, possibly to the point of distortion, the control of environment by people, may be what the major world crises are about. Perhaps what may be needed also in his theory is an injection of communications-cybernetic conceptions of the sort anthropologists like Gregory Bateson have been playing with. Nevertheless, whatever it may be, it will be worth waiting for.

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The Effects of Sociodramatic Play on Disadvantaged Preschool Children

Sara Smilansky. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968.

Thirty years of work with children's play in Nursery Schools, and in the research of Isaacs, Lowenfeld, Frank, Hartley and Piaget, had convinced most of us that there is a regular sequence of developmental stages in children's play—from motor play through imaginative play, to group play and rule games. For some time, however, psychologists working in various Headstart programs have been suggesting that the children in these programs often show very little imaginative play, but seem to be dominated by sensory-motor and kinetic activity. The question has been raised, therefore, whether there may be some other developmental language of play. Perhaps, we have been tied too closely to the maturational schemes of middle and upper status children. Perhaps the old "recapitulatory" doctrine of a universal scheme for play and games has persisted, disguised in our expectation of one language of play and games for all children.

These considerations are prompted by Smilansky's work with immigrant groups in Israel. It is her finding that the children of immigrant groups from Asia and North Africa do not play like middle-class children. They do not indulge extensively in role playing, dramatic play or imaginative activity. They proceed from motor play to rule play without the symbolic activities which have usually been assumed to mediate between these. Even their imitative play is not imaginative. They copy their parents in a quite rigid manner. If they play together, it is usually in terms of one child bossing the others. When the others refuse to be the subordinates, the play breaks down. Or the play is in parallel terms in which each two- to four-year-old does the same thing with a similar toy. In addition, their play is strongly object-related; they cannot readily shift to some other improvisation with the same toy. Their spoken language tends to be power-oriented or manipulative of others. Smilansky reports that 60% of her immigrant groups showed no nursery school play whatsoever (as compared with 3% of her middle status control group), and only 11% participated in sociodramatic play as compared with 78% of her control group.

Smilansky proceeded to intervene with this group with "play deficits." Assuming that their play deficit may be due to a deficiency in experience, one group was given additional experience; another group was led into imaginative play by the teacher; and a third group received both of these treatments. Group two and especially group three showed the greatest improvement in the development of their own spontaneous imaginative play subsequent to treatment. The children's play was clearly modifiable in an "upward" direction as a result of adult intervention and reinforcement.

Various important implications follow from Smilansky's study. If the ability to adopt an "as if" or imaginative stance is a cognitive precursor of abstract thought, as some have maintained, then a remedial program which gets at the roots of this abstraction ability would be of fundamental importance. It would follow that the "playway" of yesteryear may have been wiser and less trivial than many have opined. But it would also follow that an interventionist playway of the type advocated by the Russians, Luria, Yudovich and D. E'lkonin, is indicated, not the hands-off playway tradition which has been more general. It follows, too, that as these children responded so quickly to the stimulus of adults, their play responses might have been like innate mechanisms, all set to go, given the releasing stimulus.

In sum, we have the suggestions, that there may be various ways in which children develop through play and that what modern children do with their role playing and make-believe may be the exception in cultural evolution. Most cultural groups have been confined historically to motor and competitive physical play. Children so confined do not get much experience in imaginative play and, therefore, have much greater difficulty with symbolic processes. We have the suggestion that with a modicum of play guidance, these latter children can be stimulated to play more imaginatively, and it is to be hoped (though this has not yet been demonstrated) to think more abstractly.

If this is all true, then Smilansky has written one of the most important educational works of this era.

But what if it is not true? Is it possible that these immigrant children of Smilansky's did not play in the Nursery School because it was a "strange" place, and that they did in fact play imaginatively elsewhere—so that all Smilansky did with her interventionist play was give adult sanction to what came naturally elsewhere but not here in this strange place? Or alternatively, perhaps they developed their imaginative play at a slower pace. It may have been less apparent from two to four years of age, but would become more apparent later. This is what Rivka Eitermann of Hebrew University has argued. She has made tens of thousands of observations of children at play in Israel, and these show that, beyond the age of six years, children of Smilansky's immigrant groups play *more* imaginative or symbolic games than children of the control middle-class groups. In her opinion there is not a qualitative play difference between the two groups, as Smilansky suggests, only a difference in rates of development. If Eitermann is correct, then Smilansky's two groups were not as far apart culturally as it appeared in which case Smilansky's success lay not so much in introducing novel imaginative play into her experimental group, but in accelerating the pace of what would have occurred naturally in any case.

On the surface this appears to be a less important accomplishment. Still, whether intentionally or otherwise, Smilansky has still

accomplished a great deal with this report. First, she has taken children's imaginative play seriously enough to believe that there is some value in encouraging its development. She has shown that if adults do intervene and play with the children, imaginative play can be increased. But, even more importantly, her work conjoined with Eifermann's criticism, raises the question whether there may be some critical interdependencies between the time at which imaginative activity is most abundant and its availability for the development of abstract processes. It is possible, for example, that the integration of imagery and action through solitary imaginative play during the pre-operational period leads to relatively neutralized capacities for internalization by school age, so that the "as if" attitude, rid in part of its object cathexes, is free for the imaginative enterprises of reading and number. Whereas the same development, occurring later in more peer-oriented times, acquires the object-related vigor of that age period and lends itself more readily to the Lordship of the Flies than to such solitary processes as reading.

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Music and Young Children

Frances Webber Aronoff. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 192 pp.

A few months ago Jerome S. Bruner observed that "three uniquely human traits want especial cultivation to increase the human quality of human societies—problem finding, the provision of unpredictable services, and art in its myriad forms from music to cuisine" (*Saturday Review*, May 18, 1968). If Bruner's termini, music—cuisine, are hierarchically conceived, it would be interesting to know which of the arts lie between and in what order. In any case, it is Bruner's ways of knowing or representations of experience which provide the basis of the excellently conceived rationale for a preschool music curriculum in Frances Webber Aronoff's unique and timely book, *Music and Young Children*. To this reviewer's knowledge there has not previously been available to music educators any such compelling construct which emphasizes "the exploration and discovery of musical concepts through direct sensory involvement," offers a basic structure of music and a vocabulary of movement that serves this end and, at the same time, demonstrates convincingly the valid relationship of movement to music in the facilitation of both cognitive and affective musical learnings by children in nursery school and kindergarten.

Bruner's hypothesis serves the author well, not only as a working model for the teacher in planning preverbal experiences to encourage the young child's cognitive and affective musical growth, but as

a confirmation of the success and relevance of Dalcroze Eurythmics, in which she is an experienced teacher, and certain aspects of other "methods" and their adaptations such as those of Kodály and Orff. Indeed, the character and success of Dalcroze teaching are offered persuasively as verification of the ways of knowing as postulated by Bruner: the enactive, iconic and symbolic modes. The first two, dealing with action and manipulation (enactive) and perceptual organization and imagery—aural, kinesthetic and visual (iconic)—are, in Aronoff's words, "the very ways in which a young child knows music!"

Recalling his extraordinarily successful reform of music education in Hungary, the late Zoltán Kodály once said: "In my search for what could be done, I was drawn towards the younger—and still younger—people, until at last I arrived at the nursery school." Ten years before his death in 1967, he was urging younger colleagues to visit nursery schools. "For that is where it is being decided whether or not there will be an audience to appreciate your music in twenty years' time" (László Eosze, *Zoltán Kodály* [London: Collett's, 1962], p. 72f).

During the decade of the Sixties, American music educators have become increasingly aware of the crucial years of early childhood education. Like Kodály, but for different reasons, they have been drawn toward the younger—guided in part, no doubt, by the example and educational concerns of their colleagues in other disciplines and haunted perhaps by the spectre of a teenage subculture whose musical preferences have no discernible connection with traditionally conceived programs of music education. At the Tanglewood Symposium (1967), distinguished music educators recognized the need to reexamine the music education of children from three to five years of age. At the same time, the Committee on Critical Issues recommended, rather unrealistically in this reviewer's opinion, music study for all students in the senior high schools. A more perceptive statement of the problem was offered subsequently by Charles Leonhard in his consideration of the immediate future of music education (*Music Educators Journal*, September, 1968):

If we are serious about developing musicianship and aesthetic sensitivity, it is arrant nonsense for us to continue using the bulk of our money and human resources on students in high school. During the next ten years we will realize that the development of musicianship and aesthetic sensitivity can and must begin in early childhood. We must develop a program for pre-school, kindergarten, and primary grades and assign our best teachers to this level. Furthermore, we need a teacher-preparation program that will result in the development of the unique competencies required for successful teaching at this level.

It is to these programs that Aronoff's book is addressed. Music educators are beginning to live with the probability that if the right

musical experiences do not come at the right time, the musical potential of the child may remain unrealized.

Kindergarten has been defined as "a school for furthering the mental, moral and physical development of young children by means of games, occupations, etc., that make use of their natural tendency to express themselves in action" (*The American College Dictionary*. Italics mine). In stressing the interaction between and translation to and from the enactive and iconic modes (doing-imaging), Aronoff offers a way for the experienced early childhood teacher with little or no musical training to exploit this natural tendency and encourage the child to experience physically the elements of music by using his body as a "musical instrument." This is one of the great values of her book, inasmuch as it may be some time before the logic of Leonhard's position is understood, and increasing numbers of our best teachers seek out musical encounters with the very young.

Music and Young Children is divided into two parts: "Formulating Music Objectives" and "Guiding Experiences in Sound and Movement." An appendix contains a fascinating account of the development of Dalcroze Eurythmics interpreted retrospectively in the light of the author's rationale and recent psychological research. To encourage the child's perception and response, through the physical experience of music in the Dalcroze manner, the classroom teacher is provided with checklists of concepts of music, children's movement, skills and repertoire. In her "Examples of Music Experiences," the author makes no claim for optimum sequences, but her anecdotal data demonstrate how the young child, through planned experiences of the constituent and expressive elements of music in their simplest form, may arrive at concepts of the structure of music.

The value of verbal exchange need not be urged here, but it may be said that Aronoff's teacher-child dialogues, reproduced from her anecdotal records, exemplify what Bruner felicitously terms "the courtesy of conversation." Her flexible, creative approach eschews the rigid lesson plan and takes its cues from the child. The teacher's resourcefulness is crucial. Whatever the element of music to be explored, she must be able to call on an extensive "experience file" of repertoire and related movement. Aronoff's songs are conventional as are the useful lists developed from the standard series books. Those who are critical of "children's music" must remember that, when it comes to singing, the voices of the very young have a limited range and tonal vocabulary which can be evoked by the unpractised ear and the uncoordinated breathing and intralaryngeal muscles.

In passing, mention should be made of two excellent chapters that complete the work: one on the classroom evaluation of affective and cognitive objectives, and the other on the uses of symbolic representation in "evolving music terms and notation." Aronoff makes excellent use of analogous graphic symbols—a kind of simple linear notation—that leads to an understanding of the musical staff, notes and their values.

Recent researches indicate that Aronoff's approach has extramusical significance not only for other subject areas, notably language, but for concerns of special education and early intervention programs in behalf of culturally disadvantaged children. What of the infant whose vocalization goes unanswered? The child whose aural perception is blunted by environmental noise pollution to the point that, as he grows older, the only music he seems able to hear rides at a decibel level approaching the pain threshold? It seems clear that music can make a considerable contribution in ameliorating the "sensory deprivation" of preschool children from disadvantaged homes.

The value of Aronoff's book is best seen in the light of the mounting evidence that it is in preschool and the early grades that the struggle for music as a significant life support is being won or lost. In the year 2000, when our students' students, now adults, are standing on each other's toes, I hope it will not be thought too absurdly sentimental to express the hope that they will pursue a Woodstockian peace, unprompted by sedation or narcosis, and that they will be able to harmonize—or make beautiful cacophony together, if that be the ruling aesthetic of the time. Bach, Beethoven and Brahms and, for that matter, Boulez, Babbitt and Berio will take care of themselves.

Craig Timberlake
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Reprint Series No. 4, \$2.50, 97 pp.
Publication date, November 15.

The HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW presents more comment on "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?," the controversial article by Arthur R. Jensen (Winter, 1969).

Five articles deal with new aspects of the controversy, written in thoughtful response to Jensen's original article and the responses printed in *Environment, Heredity and Intelligence* (available from HER). Authors question the statistical adequacy of Jensen's work, some suggest that his choice of theoretical models tends to serve *a priori* conclusions and ignores models that provide lower estimates of heritability. The materials in this book will provide students of the social sciences with a rich introduction to two important aspects of research — the relationship between statistical and theoretical assumptions and consequent "empirical" results; and the relationship of research to its human subjects.

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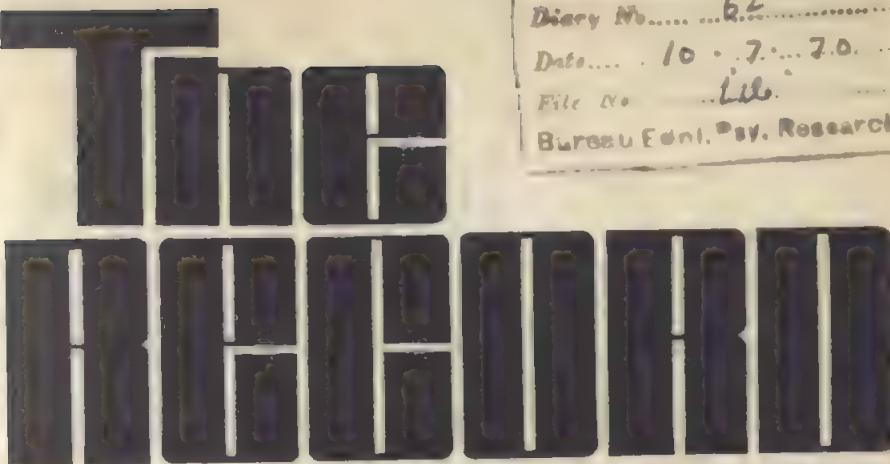
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Student Protest—An Institutional and National Profile

Harold Hodgkinson

University of California, Berkeley

As one might suspect, there is an increasing research literature on the assessment of student protest and demonstrations on college and university campuses across the country. For example, Richard Peterson, for Educational Testing Service, has done a replication of an earlier study in 1965 of 859 institutions of higher education in America. His study and the replication in 1968-69 deal almost entirely with the types of issues which initiated the protest. His respondents were deans of students (it is quite common knowledge however that deans of students do not always take an active or central role in dealing with student protest on most campuses). Also, Peterson left out junior and community colleges, where an increasing student protest movement seems to be developing. Alexander Astin reported at the American Psychological Association meeting in September 1969 on a project assessing student protest at 200 institutions. Again a great deal of the analysis was devoted to the type of issue involved, although some attention was given to the institution by control and by highest degree.

One of the questions asked of the presidents of the 1230 institutions in the Carnegie sponsored *Institutes in Transition* study* was whether or not they had experienced an increase in student protest and demonstrations during the last ten years. (Responses came in during the 1968-69 academic year.) The purpose of the analysis which follows is not to discuss the issues involved in student protest and demonstrations (indeed there is much evidence from within the student protest movement itself that issues are often devised on the spot in order to have maximum effectiveness in the political arena of the student demonstration). Our concern here will be with the *institutional characteristics* which distinguish those institutions reporting increased student pro-

* Present author is project director of the IIT study, to be published by McGraw-Hill in 1970. A brief bibliography appears at the conclusion of the article.

THE RECORD is privileged to present a section of the national study of institutional change being prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education under the chairmanship of Clark Kerr. Professor Hodgkinson is project director at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at Berkeley and project director of the Carnegie "Institutes in Transition" study, being published this fall. At this point in time, the profile presented here is probably the definitive one. As Dr. Hodgkinson says, the data suggest no easy answers; but he offers a concept of selective decentralization as "a possible model for future change."

test from those which do not. There is a wealth of data within the IIT project for making these comparisons. In the study as a whole the president was given the options of saying whether student protest had increased, whether it had remained unchanged, whether it had decreased or whether no student protest at all had been experienced.

Leaving out multiple responses in our sample of 1230 institutions, 355 reported an increase in student protest and demonstrations, 535 institutions reported no change, 20 institutions reported a decrease in student protests and 270 reported that they had had no protests at all. In the sample then, about 30 percent report increased protest, 44 percent report no change, 1½ percent report a decrease, and 22 percent report that they have had no experience with student protest. In that our sample of 1230 institutions is a fairly close approximation of 50 percent of the full national complement of institutions of higher education, we can hypothesize that approximately 700 institutions of higher education have had an increase in student protest and demonstrations in the last ten years.

In our study we have to rely on the perceptions of presidents, whereas Peterson relied on the perceptions of deans of students. One could argue that the president is the person who is most likely to be embroiled in student protest and demonstrations as the senior administrative officer of the campus. And thus when he reports an increase in student protest and demonstrations it is most likely something he himself has personally experienced. We will now analyze how the 355 institutions that report an increase in student protest differ from those institutions in the sample of 1230 which did not.

Location By separating the institutions reporting into regions of the country, it is very clear from our data that although some areas have had more student protest than others, there is no "safe" region of the country.

The highest areas are the Far West (36% of the institutions there report an increase in student protest), the Mideast (35.7%) and the Great Lakes (33.2%). The lowest areas are the Southwest (19.2%) and the Southeast (22.3%). The differences in protest by region are not very great, although the regions with high population density seem to have more student protest, not only in real numbers but on a percentage basis. It certainly seems to be true that the 20 percent of institutions in the Southwest and Southeast have not gotten the national visibility of their student protest compared to the Far West and the Mideast. One could argue that the mass media have assisted in the notion that student protest is occurring primarily on the East Coast and the West Coast. Our data indicates that all regions of the country have had stu-

TABLE A.

Student Protests and Demonstrations by Geographical Area: Number of Institutions Reporting.

	<i>Increased Student Protest</i>	<i>No Change</i>	<i>Decreased Protest</i>	<i>No Protest</i>
New England	33 29.7%	54 48.6%	3 2.7%	17 15.3%
Mideast	80 35.7%	84 37.5%	2 .9%	50 22.3%
Southeast	49 22.3%	170 48.6%	3 1.4%	58 26.4%
Great Lakes	69 33.2%	91 43.7%	4 1.9%	39 18.7%
Plains	38 24.2%	77 49.0%	2 1.3%	36 22.9%
Southwest	15 19.2%	34 43.6%	2 2.6%	22 28.2%
Rocky Mountains	9 23.7%	21 55.3%	1 2.6%	6 15.8%
Far West	62 36.0%	66 38.4%	3 1.7%	40 23.3%
TOTAL	355 29.3%	535 44.2%	20 1.7%	270 22.3%

dent protest at approximately the 20 percent level of institutions reporting.

When the institutions are broken down by state, some more significant differences can be noted (see Appendix for complete breakdown by state). These cannot be explained on population bases alone. The states with the highest incidence of student protest are New York (50% of the reporting institutions), Iowa (48%), Michigan (43%), Massachusetts (40%), California (36%), and Illinois (30%). The lowest states (ranging from 16% to 27% reporting increased protest) include Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Texas. There are some hypotheses which might explain these differences. With the exception of Iowa

the high protest states tend to be urban while the low protest states tend to be more rural. The data provides some support for the hypothesis that the crisis on campus is a parallel to the crisis of the city. This does not mean that protest occurs only on campuses located in big cities, but simply that the students must be close enough to a city that the culture and conflict of the city become a part of the way students see the campus. The students may, from contact with ghetto residents, come to see themselves as similarly powerless and oppressed in the campus setting (e.g., very high density housing, residents having no say as to food, or rent, etc.). However, even this urbanity hypothesis does not explain the differences by state in every case between the high and the low, in that a number of the low protest states such as Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, have significantly high population densities. The urbanity hypothesis explains increased protest in the high states but does not work to explain the relatively low protest in the states mentioned above.

Institutional Characteristics There is no significant effect of public versus private control on student protests. One hundred and sixty-two of the 355 institutions reporting an increase in protest are public (46%) and 182 are private (51%). In the whole study 42% of the institutions are public and 55% of the 1230 are private. Thus there seems to be no significance in whether an institution is controlled by public or private forces. There is a significant difference, however, in whether or not the institution is accredited; of the 355 institutions reporting increased student protest, 31 or 93 percent have accreditation. It should be clearly pointed out, however, that if an institution wishes to avoid student protest, dropping its accreditation will not be a particularly helpful device. These are relationships only between factors and we assume no causal relationship between one factor and student protest. The association of factors, however, may help institutions in providing some patterns for their own development.

The age of the institution has absolutely no effect on increased student protest. We have nine categories of age of founding of the institution, and there is absolutely no difference in any category in the amount of student protest or whether there has been an increase or not. There is, however, a definite relationship between highest degree awarded by the institution and increase in the percentage of institutions reporting increased student protest.

	<i>Increased protest</i>
Less than B.A. awarding institutions	24.8
B.A. awarding institutions	33.5
M.A. awarding institutions	50.
Ph.D. granting institutions	67.1

It is clear, however, that the community colleges awarding less than the B.A. degree have not been immune from student protest even though they have few of the characteristics usually attributed to protest-prone institutions, such as a residential student body, large numbers of teaching assistants who teach courses, a remote administration, etc. In that most of the public community colleges do exist in cities, it tends to further the urbanity hypothesis about student protest. It does seem, however, that as "quality" (number of Ph.D.'s on faculty, SAT scores of entering freshmen, selectivity, size of library, etc.) increases, the incidence of student protest also increases. This is so because "higher quality" students perhaps may be more aware of the more political aspects of campus governance, more deeply involved in the intellectual side of campus life, and less malleable and less easily led around by the nose as well as less impressed with authority which comes from position rather than competence.

It is also possible that in the community colleges the vocationalism of the students and the small preoccupation with research which characterizes the faculty, and perhaps a concomitant increase in teaching, holds down the protest level. It is also difficult for students to argue about "absentee landlords" when the board which governs the community college is usually right in town and quite accessible to students or faculty who wish to ask questions about institutional policy.

Although highest degree awarded does predict increased incidence of student protests and demonstrations, in this study institutional size is a better predictor of the incidence of student protest than is highest degree. Regardless of highest degree awarded, as the size of the student body increases the percentage reporting student protest also increases.

TABLE B.
Mean Size of Institution by Highest Degree Awarded.

Degree	Increase in Protest		No Change	
	Mean Size	No. of Insts.	Size	No. of Insts.
Less than B.A.	3,282	(66)	1,707	(198)
B.A.	1,197	(79)	1,147	(161)
M.A.	3,987	(102)	2,708	(105)
Ph.D.	12,014	(90)	5,360	(45)

Note that the Ph.D. institutions with increased student protest average 12,000 students while the Ph.D. institutions which have not reported an in-

crease in student protest have a mean student size of 5,300 students. At all degree levels, the increased protest institutions are larger than the institutions that report no change in protest. This is particularly true at the Ph.D. granting institution level and at the less than B.A. degree awarding level. In both of these categories, the high protest institutions are twice as large as the institutions that have not reported an increase in protest. If one neglects highest degree awarded and lumps all the institutions in the study by size alone, increasing size of student body dramatically increases the likelihood of increased student protest in all size categories:

TABLE C.
Institutions Reporting Student Protest, by Size.

<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Increase in Protest</i>		<i>No Change</i> <i>No. of Insts.</i>	<i>Total No. of Insts.</i> <i>in Sample</i>
	<i>No. of Insts.</i>	<i>%</i>		
Small (under 1,000)	72	(14%)	234	501*
Medium (1,000-5,000)	154	(32%)	223	468
Large (5,000-15,000)	75	(58%)	43	128
Giant (15,000-25,000)	24	(75%)	4	32
Super (25,000 and over)	8	(88%)	1	9

* A large number of "small" institutions have had *no* student protest, and could not therefore report any change.

The variable of size also functions effectively when we break the institutions down by type of control:

TABLE D.
Control of Institution.

<i>Type of Control</i>	<i>Increase in Protest</i>		<i>No Change</i>	
	<i>Mean Size</i>	<i>No. of Insts.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>No. of Insts.</i>
Public	8,282	(161)	3,005	(242)
Private-Sectarian	1,894	(96)	1,109	(169)
Private Non-Sectarian	3,770	(77)	1,319	(94)

Note that in this analysis the public institutions which report an increase in protest have a mean size of almost *triple* the public institutions which report no change in protest. The nonsectarian institutions that have reported increased protest are more than twice the size of the nonsectarian institutions that report no change in protest. (It is also interesting to observe that the sectarian institutions have not been immune from the phenomenon of increased student protest; 96 institutions in that category report increased student protest.) As further investigation of the phenomenon of size, we broke the institutions down by regions of the country in terms of size of institutions reporting increased protest. Once again the institutions that report increased protest are significantly larger than those which do not.

TABLE E.

Mean Size.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Increased Protest</i>		<i>No Change</i>	
New England	3,312	(32)	1,432	(53)
Mideast	4,122	(75)	2,085	(80)
Southeast	3,954	(45)	2,390	(104)
Great Lakes	7,125	(68)	1,994	(89)
Plains	4,087	(38)	1,261	(75)
Southwest	5,833	(15)	3,349	(33)
Rocky Mountains	5,684	(9)	1,905	(21)
Far West	7,174	(60)	2,118	(66)

The regional breakdowns are particularly impressive in the increased size of the increased protest institutions. Notice, for example, that in the Great Lakes area the institutions reporting increased protest have a mean student body of 7,125 students against a mean of 1,994 for the institutions that report no change in protest. The Far West is also extreme in having a mean student body of 7,000 for institutions with increased protest compared to a mean size of 2,000 for institutions reporting no change in protest. In every region of the country the high protest institutions are at least twice as big as the institutions reporting no significant change. With regard to student protest the data does not seem to reveal any kind of "critical mass" beyond which size the institution is more likely to have increased protest than any other. Mean sizes of student bodies were recorded for each of the institutions reporting an increase in protest and these were compared with the means of institutions that have reported no increase. There seems to be no single point at which the curve

jumps sharply towards increased protest; rather it is a steady increase in protest as the enrollment of the institution increases.

The variable of size seems to be worth some consideration in that it holds for whatever analytical category we wish to put in opposition to it. If, as America grew, we had simply increased the number of governing units, we would now be a nation of 200,000,000 Americans each living in a small town of about 2,000 people. We would probably have 150 states and 10 presidents; but we have not chosen that path and can never choose it now, as urbanization and high population densities are obviously here to stay. In fact, we now have a new term, megalopolis, which suggests that what used to be a city is now taking over hundreds of square miles to form a "city" which is even larger than a state. In terms of governing huge and expanding populations with a structure designed for 1/100th of present numbers, one can equate the problem of Mayor Lindsay and the president of any major public university. In the early days of this country a representative of the federal legislature probably had 4,000 constituents to serve. Today, the same individual must be responsible to the needs and interests of 400,000 people.

It is highly unlikely in a situation like this that any sort of personal visibility can be accomplished. Individuals are bound to feel that they are part of a super-system and that they have little power in relation to it. There is some research evidence on the question of size which perhaps could be mentioned here. Children of large families tend to have poorer self-concepts and self-evaluations by age 12 than do children of smaller families who have easier and more frequent access to parental attention. Also, any teacher knows the frustration of trying to provide meaningful rewards for individual children in a class of 35 or more students. Although large schools are supposed to provide more options for individual participation, the facts of the matter can be summarized as follows: 1) students in small schools in a recent study hold an average of 3.5 responsible positions per student (members of play casts, members of organizations, athletic teams, etc.); students in large schools averaged 0.5 responsible positions per student, or every other student in the large school had but one responsible role; 2) students in small schools exceeded those in large schools in satisfying experiences relating to the development of confidence, to being challenged, and to engaging in important activities; 3) students in small schools receive twice as many pressures to participate or to meet the expectations of the school as those in large schools.*

There are also a great many studies of size of work groups in factories, public agencies, discussion groups, task forces, and training encounter groups, all

* This material is summarized in Arthur Chickering, *Education and Identity*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1969.

of which indicate a negative relationship between size and individual participation, involvement and satisfaction. As the group gets larger, no matter what the activity, more highly developed specialization will take place. Contrast for example the typical pickup sandlot baseball game compared to the Little League of today. In the pickup game there were just enough players and everybody had to continue if the game were to be played at all; everybody played every position. On the Little League teams, however, typically thirty or forty boys are trying out for the team so that at any given moment more people are watching than playing. Specialization develops; some people do nothing but pitch; others play first base or catch; nobody has the experience of playing all the positions. Most are glad if they have any chance to play at all.

It is not the function of this paper to go into this matter, but one might consider possible alternatives in order to provide a feeling for small-sized organizations even on a large campus. Something on the order of *selective decentralization* will probably have to take place in the next few years. Indeed, we can begin to see the outlines of such a movement on the outline of the horizon at the present time with the interest in cluster colleges, etc.

We also have information on institutions by calendar. Forty percent of institutions on a semester system report an increase of protest, 36 percent of the institutions on the quarter system report increases, 51 percent of institutions in the trimester system report an increase, and 45 percent of the institutions on a four-one-four work experience program report increases in student protest. There seems to be a fairly significant increase in the trimester institutions compared to the others, while the four-one-four and other experimental curricula also seem to be a high area. It is conceivable that experimental calendars tend to attract experimentally-oriented students and that this accounts for the relatively high incidence of student protests on the trimester and four-one-four calendars. But this is speculation at this point.

Student Characteristics There are some very interesting differences in students between the increased protest institutions and the institutions that report no change.

It is clear that the institutions reporting an increase in student protest have a far more open and heterogeneous student body than the national average. In every one of our factors of student diversity the high protest group of institutions has greater diversity in the student body than the national norms (although national norms also show significant increases in these areas of student diversity). These factors suggest a shifting, transient student body with few local ties which might serve as a deterrent to protest. In support of an

TABLE F.
Student Characteristics.

<i>Item</i>	<i>High Protest Institutions</i>	<i>National Sample</i>
1. Increased heterogeneity of students—age	29% (105)	25%
2. Increased heterogeneity of socioeconomic background	54% (192)	45%
3. Increased heterogeneity of ethnic composition	69% (248)	55%
4. Increased proportion of out-of-state students	65% (203)	48%
5. Increased student participation in community volunteer programs	79% (281)	66%
6. Increased proportion of transfer students entering institution	62% (223)	53%
7. Decreased authority of central campus administration	32% (114)	18%
8. Decreased degree to which institution controls student behavior	66% (237)	40%
9. Increased underground publications and films	40% (143)	17%

urban theme pursued in an earlier section of this report, one of the highest relationships with students involved the number of students who participated in community volunteer programs. In the 355 high protest institutions, 281 (or 79%) reported increased participation in community volunteer programs while 66 percent of the national sample reported an increase in student participation in community volunteer work.

Another sharp and striking difference involved the frequency of underground publications and films. In the high protest group, 40 percent reported an increase in this material while in the whole sample less than half that many institutions (17%) reported that many increases. Most administrators would like to control underground student activities if they could but they obviously can't. Support for the inability of institutions to govern student behavior is obvious in this particular data. In both the item of decreased au-

thority of central campus administration and decreased degree to which the institution controls student behavior, the high protest institutions show much more decrease in authority over the students than is true of the national sample.

Faculty Characteristics There is some evidence from our study that faculty have taken a part (not always knowingly) in student protest:

TABLE G.
Faculty Characteristics.

<i>Item</i>		<i>High Protest Institutions</i>	<i>National Sample</i>
1. Increased hours of faculty time spent in research	55%	<i>Insts.</i> (197)	34%
2. Decreased hours of faculty time spent in teaching	63%	(227)	49%
3. Increased commitment of faculty to research	53%	(189)	34%
4. Decreased faculty commitment to the institution	47%	(169)	27%
5. Increased faculty support of students who oppose administrative policies	60%	(216)	31%
6. Increase in faculty who publicly advocate positions on national policy	72%	(256)	41%
7. Increased proportion of budget based on federal support	68%	(243)	56%

Faculty at high protest institutions tend to have increased the hours spent in research far more than the national sample and have decreased the hours spent in teaching far more than the national sample. In addition to hours spent, the high protest institutions also report a greatly increased faculty commitment to research compared to national figures. All this would tend to suggest a decreased faculty loyalty to the institution and an increased faculty loyalty to the discipline and indeed that evidence is clear. Almost twice as

many of the high protest institutions report decreased faculty commitment to the institution as is true of the national sample.

Two of the highest relationships in the faculty sector concern increased faculty support of students who oppose administrative policies and the number of faculty who publicly advocate positions on national policy. On both of these items the high protest institutions have a percentage double the national norms for those items. Perhaps the most striking is the fact that 60 percent of the high protest institutions report increased faculty support of students who oppose the administration while nationally only 31 percent of the institutions report that increase.

The faculty picture, then, is quite consistent: interest in research, lack of interest in teaching, lack of loyalty to the institution, and support of dissident students. Indeed, at some institutions the faculty status system (emphasizing as it does the discipline and the rewards of research, the feeling that institutional loyalty is unintellectual and corny, beneath them as professionals) may create a kind of superman mentality. There are so few counterforces to the prevailing faculty culture that at some institutions faculty may begin to assume that their right to complete academic freedom is to be kept entirely separate from any discussions of academic responsibility. In support of our assessment that the high protest institution tends to be research-oriented and "on the make," in which the student is frequently lost in the struggle to acquire as much research support as possible, we cite the figure of 68 percent of the high protest institutions reporting an increased proportion of the budget based on federal support compared to 56 percent reporting such an increase in the national sample.

Concluding Remarks and Analysis Most of the current thinking about student protest suggests that the answer is to open up the governance structure of the institution to student participation. This should make most students feel that the institution cares about them (or at least about their legally elected representatives). We have fairly clear evidence in our study that this is not the case; that the roots of protest are deeper than simply being allowed to elect a student who will then "speak for the student body" on various committees of the institution. Interestingly enough, we decided to find out what the relationship was between incidents of student protest on campus and the amount of student control in institutional policy making with the following results:

TABLE H.

Student Control in Institution-Wide Policy-Making by On-Campus Student Protests.

<i>Student Protest</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>No Change</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>Not Applicable</i>	<i>Total</i>
Increase	284	69	0	0	355
	80.0%	19.4%	0	0	355
No change	331	191	3	8	535
	61.9%	35.7%	.6%	1.5%	535
Decrease	15	2	0	2	20
	75.0%	10.0%	0	10.0%	20
No protest	131	95	1	38	270
	48.5%	35.2%	.4%	14.1%	270
TOTAL	775	367	4	48	1230
	64.0%	30.3%	.3%	4.0%	1211

As can be seen, 284 or 80 percent of the institutions reporting an increase in student protest also report an increase in student control in institutional policy. There is a slight chicken or egg problem here in that we cannot tell from our data whether the increased student protest came before or after the increase in student control in institutional policy making. The most likely guess is that they occur contiguously. Certainly the other hypothesis that increased student control in institutional policy making would result in a *decrease* in student protest is not supported by our data at all. The reverse would seem to be more likely. Thus while the national sample of 1,230 institutions reported increased student control in institutional policy making in 64 percent of the institutions, the high protest sample of 355 institutions reports 80 percent also having an increase in student control in its institution-wide policy-making.

One gets the impression from all this that these high protest campuses are simply superactive places in which people are more intense, more active and more involved in *something*, although that something may not necessarily be the welfare of the institution itself. One assessment that could be made from this study is that tinkering with structures may not be any long-term solution to problems of student protest. Oftentimes there may be a "hidden agenda" in which students say that they are protesting issue A while actually something

much deeper is involved. There are quite clearly protest-prone students and protest-prone faculty. They also are, for better or worse, some of the most intelligent and most able students and faculty in the United States.

The next few years in higher education will undoubtedly show increased factionalism, the increased use of the styles of collective negotiation rather than collegial and professional trust, increased intrusion into on-campus activities from "outside" agencies, particularly state departments of education, and declining budgets for higher education. It also is quite likely that in addition to these factors there will be a continued disillusionment of the young in the ability of governmental structures to solve any of the urgent social problems we now face at any level of government. That will probably include disillusionment with faculty senates (local and statewide), as much as with city managers and state senators.

Our data does not give any easy answers to the problems but clearly some way must be found whereby individuals can participate more meaningfully in decision-making that governs their own lives. Electing one representative to speak for a student body of 20,000 students will not make the 19,999 students satisfied in very many institutions. It may be that the concept of selective decentralization mentioned earlier is a possible model for future change. In this model, those activities which directly touch the lives and futures of individuals should be handled with the smallest possible decision-making machinery, while those matters which are purely logistical and have little reference to individual lives should be handled in the largest possible network. Thus the curriculum, student advising, faculty evaluation, and all aspects of student life should probably be handled in the smallest and most intimate groups possible, while service, maintenance, and other logistical concerns should be handled on the largest possible network. This is hardly a panacea but it points out a direction in which most institutions would probably gain more than they could lose.

APPENDIX.

Institutes In Transition Project—Student Protest by State, Number of Institutions and Percentages.

State	No Answer	Increased Protest	No Change	Decrease	No Protest	TOTAL
Alabama	1 10.0%	2 20.0%	3 30.0%	0 0.0%	4 40.0%	10
Alaska	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 100.0	2
Arizona	0 0.0	2 22.2	4 44.4	0 0.0	3 33.3	9
Arkansas	0 0.0	3 25.0	6 50.0	0 0.0	3 25.0	12
California	1 .9	43 36.8	48 41.0	0 0.0	25 21.4	118
Colorado	1 6.7	4 26.7	9 60.0	1 6.7	0 0.0	15
Connecticut	0 0.0	5 26.3	7 36.8	0 0.0	7 36.8	19
Delaware	0 0.0	1 33.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 66.7	3
District of Columbia	0 0.0	5 62.5	2 25.0	0 0.0	1 12.5	8
Florida	0 0.0	6 23.1	13 50.0	0 0.0	7 26.9	27
Georgia	0 0.0	4 18.2	13 59.1	1 4.5	4 18.2	22
Hawaii	0 0.0	2 66.7	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 33.3	3
Idaho	0 0.0	2 33.3	3 50.0	0 0.0	1 16.7	6
Illinois	3 5.0	18 30.0	29 48.3	1 1.7	9 15.0	63

<i>State</i>	<i>No Answer</i>	<i>Increased Protest</i>	<i>No Change</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>No Protest</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
Indiana	1 3.3%	10 33.3%	11 36.7%	0 0.0%	8 26.7%	30
Iowa	0 0.0	12 48.0	7 28.0	0 0.0	6 24.0	26
Kansas	0 0.0	4 16.0	15 60.0	1 4.0	5 20.0	25
Kentucky	0 0.0	3 18.7	10 62.5	0 0.0	3 18.7	16
Louisiana	1 12.5	4 50.0	3 37.5	0 0.0	0 0.0	8
Maine	0 0.0	2 14.3	6 42.9	1 7.1	5 35.7	14
Maryland	0 0.0	4 19.0	11 52.4	0 0.0	6 28.6	21
Massachusetts	1 2.0	20 40.0	24 48.0	1 2.0	4 8.0	50
Michigan	0 0.0	16 43.2	15 40.5	0 0.0	6 16.2	38
Minnesota	2 6.7	6 20.0	16 53.3	0 0.0	6 20.0	30
Mississippi	1 9.1	1 9.1	7 63.6	0 0.0	2 18.2	11
Missouri	2 5.3	9 23.7	17 44.7	0 0.0	10 26.3	38
Montana	0 0.0	2 25.0	5 62.5	0 0.0	1 12.5	8
Nebraska	0 0.0	4 25.0	10 62.5	1 6.3	1 6.3	16
Nevada	0 0.0	1 100.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	1

State	No Answer	Increased Protest	No Change	No Decrease	No Protest	TOTAL
New Hampshire	0 0.0%	4 40.0%	6 60.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	10
New Jersey	1 4.5	5 22.7	10 45.5	1 4.5	5 22.7	22
New Mexico	0 0.0	2 33.3	3 50.0	0 0.0	1 16.7	6
New York	4 4.2	47 49.5	29 30.5	0 0.0	14 14.7	96
North Carolina	0 0.0	12 32.4	15 40.5	0 0.0	10 27.0	37
North Dakota	0 0.0	3 27.3	4 36.4	0 0.0	4 36.4	11
Ohio	1 1.9	14 26.9	24 46.2	3 5.8	10 19.2	53
Oklahoma	1 9.1	1 9.1	6 54.5	0 0.0	3 27.3	11
Oregon	0 0.0	5 19.2	8 30.8	2 7.7	11 42.3	27
Pennsylvania	1 1.3	18 24.0	32 42.7	1 1.3	22 29.3	77
Rhode Island	1 14.3	2 28.6	3 42.9	0 0.0	1 14.3	7
South Carolina	0 0.0	2 10.0	8 40.0	1 5.0	9 45.0	21
South Dakota	0 0.0	0 0.0	8 66.7	0 0.0	4 33.3	12
Tennessee	0 0.0	2 12.5	7 43.7	0 0.0	7 43.7	16
Texas	4 7.7	10 19.2	21 40.4	2 3.8	15 28.8	53

State	No Answer	Increased Protest	No Change	Decrease	No Protest	TOTAL
Utah	0 0.0%	1 16.7%	3 50.0%	0 0.0%	2 33.3%	6
Vermont	2 18.2	0 0.0	8 72.7	1 9.1	0 0.0	11
Virginia	0 0.0	5 18.5	14 51.9	1 3.7	7 25.9	30
Washington	0 0.0	11 47.8	10 43.5	1 4.3	1 4.3	24
West Virginia	0 0.0	5 33.3	8 53.3	0 0.0	2 13.3	15
Wisconsin	0 0.0	11 37.9	12 41.4	0 0.0	6 20.7	29
Wyoming	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 33.3	0 0.0	2 66.7	3
Special Services	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 100.0	1
Other	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 50.0	0 0.0	1 50.0	3
TOTAL	29 2.4	355 29.3	535 44.2	20 1.7	270 22.3	1230

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Curriculum Evaluation: Problems and Guidelines

Herbert J. Walberg

The University of Wisconsin

Thomas Kuhn¹ termed underdeveloped fields of science as "pre-paradigmatic." He defined "paradigms" as "universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners." In distinguishing "pre-paradigmatic" and "normal" science, Kuhn writes:

No natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism. If that body of belief is not already implicit in the collection of facts—in which case more than 'mere facts' are at hand—it must be externally supplied, perhaps by a current metaphysic, by another science, or by personal or historical accident. No wonder, then, that in the early stages of development of any science different men confronting the same particular phenomena, describe and interpret them in different ways.

By this characterization of nascent disciplines, then, educational research and evaluation are in an early stage of development. Gage², for example, has summarized some paradigms for research on teaching, but none would meet Kuhn's criterion of universal recognition. While these and other paradigms in education have been useful in isolated research efforts, none has led to a programmatic, cumulative series of studies. Much of educational research is atheoretical, and what theoretical work that has been accomplished is largely derived from the physical, biological, and social sciences, from philosophy, or from personal idiosyncrasies. Even aside from theory, fundamental and unresolved methodological problems of gathering "facts" plague educational

1 Thomas S. Kuhn. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

2 N. L. Gage, Ed. "Paradigms for Research on Teaching," *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Professor Walberg, of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, continues THE RECORD's discussion of curriculum evaluation. He confronts the problems of how specific statements of objectives ought to be, what sorts of indicators might help in the judgmental process, and how better instructional methods might be revealed. Emphasizing the importance of "explicitness, objectivity, and critical judgment" in evaluation, Dr. Walberg has some suggestive things to say about the usefulness and relevance of educational evaluation in general. If it is ever to become an applied science, he says, it has a long way to go.

research and evaluation. Research workers and schoolmen alike have been disappointed in the practical results of experimental methods in education.³ Experimenters argue that more precise measurement and rigorous research designs are likely to bear fruit eventually. But other investigators question the appropriateness of quantitative methods and use in their place methods of anecdotal descriptions of classroom events, like those of the social anthropologist, or observation and intuition, in the manner of the clinical psychologist. The point is not to bewail the inadequacy of various methods of gathering "facts," but to illustrate the necessity for a re-assessment of educational evaluation, its theory, practice, and their interdependencies.

Tyler's Strategies The writings of Ralph Tyler have been the basis of much of the major work in educational evaluation and offer a constructive starting point for conceptualizing work in this field. Tyler⁴ proposed a three-stage process in curriculum development: 1) stating objectives in terms of student behavior, 2) specifying learning experiences likely to contribute to student attainment of objectives, and 3) evaluating learning experiences in terms of attainment of objectives. (This rationale arises from the means-ends distinction emphasized by the pragmatic philosophers Charles Peirce, William James, and John Dewey.)

The next two sections identify the problems of Tyler's strategies in stating objectives and specifying learning experiences in course evaluation. By no means is this discussion intended to belittle the work of Tyler, his former colleagues, and students at the University of Chicago. Indeed, their fundamental contribution to both the theory and practice of evaluation can hardly be overestimated. However, Tyler himself might be the first to admit that this is not a time for orthodoxy, even his own. He writes:

The accelerating development of research in the area of educational evaluation has created a collection of concepts, facts, generalizations, and research instruments and methods that represent many inconsistencies and contradictions because new problems, new conditions, and new assumptions are introduced without reviewing the changes they create in the relevance and logic of the older structure.

Therefore let us examine the "relevance and logic of the older structure."

³ See Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching," *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, op. cit., J. M. Stephens, *The Process of Schooling: A Psychological Examination*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967; H. J. Walberg, "Can Educational Research Contribute to the Practice of Teaching?", *Journal of Social Work Education*, Vol. 9, Fall 1968, pp. 77-85.

⁴ Ralph W. Tyler, *Constructing Achievement Tests*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1934.

Controversy on Objectives During the past few years a controversy has centered on the specificity of the statement of objectives. Gagné⁵ and Mager⁶ hold that the objectives must be precise, detailed descriptions of student behavior exhibited on attainment of the objective. Others have argued that behavioral objectives constrict education to the trivial kinds of behavior that can be described precisely. Eisner⁷ warned that adherence to precise behavioral objectives may prevent the teacher from spontaneously deriving new objectives from on-going learning activities, especially in the arts where creative expressions are most clearly valued. Moreover, even the behaviorists would have to admit that it is often time-consuming and frustrating, if not impossible, to get curriculum workers and teachers to state precise behavioral objectives. Nor have evaluations employing behavioral objectives proved to be conspicuously successful.

Bloom⁸ takes a reasonable position on this controversy: "It is virtually impossible to engage in an educational enterprise of any duration without some specification to guide one." Further, "Insofar as possible, the purpose of education and the specifications for educational changes should be made explicit if they are to be open to inquiry, if teaching and learning are to be modified as improvement or change is needed, and if each new group of students is to be subjected to a particular set of educative processes." Hopefully, further work in evaluation will reveal the efficacy of explicit objectives in instruction and evaluation.

Another point made by Bloom also seems constructive: less specific objectives may be more appropriate for educational media designed for teacher use. Indeed, it may be that a teacher's rigid adherence to pre-determined, specific objectives may impede student learning in much of education. Now in training, as opposed to liberal education, a number of explicit criteria are set forth; they can be "covered" by the teacher, programmed materials, or, probably just as effectively, by a textbook. Training is most effective when the objectives are explicit and when adequate motivation or reinforcement can be assumed as in military or industrial settings. Such training is characterized by

⁵ R. M. Gagné, "The Analysis of Instructional Objectives for the Design of Instruction," in Robert Glaser, Ed. *Teaching Machines and Programmed Instruction*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Audiovisual Instruction, National Education Association, 1965.

⁶ R. F. Mager, *Preparing Instructional Objectives*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Fearon Publishers, 1962.

⁷ Elliot W. Eisner, "Educational Objectives: Help or Hindrance?", *School Review*, Vol. 75, Winter 1967, pp. 250-62.

⁸ Benjamin S. Bloom, "Some Theoretical Issues Relating to Educational Evaluation," *Educational Evaluation: New Roles, New Means*. Sixty-eighth Yearbook, Part II, National Society for the Study of Education, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

its emphasis on the acquisition of basic skills, which can often be defined behaviorally.

On the other hand, curriculum makers, school boards, and teachers aspire to inculcate ideals, values, social skills, and other intangibles. They are concerned with higher-order cognitive processes such as analysis and critical thinking. Moreover, both the teacher and the students bring important, though vague objectives, ideas, and interests to class, some permanent, others transient. Paradoxically, these random elements lend caprice and serendipity to the class that may be far more important to the attainment of general ideals than predetermined specific objectives and lessons. Or certain events of the day may conjoin unexpectedly with the teachers' planned objectives and activities. These occurrences inject relevance, suspense, humor, and other human qualities to learning that are impossible with a programmed machine, a programmed course, or a programmed teacher.

The Problem with Programming Though the word "programmed" has a modern ring, in education it is an essentially medieval idea. It stems from the time before printing when professors literally dictated Aristotle and exegeses to their students. The lecture method is still prevalent in modern times, and is bound up with the objective of "covering" a subject or a text through lectures and recitation. This is not to say that lectures always are inappropriate. There are a few teachers who can occasionally muster a beautiful lecture and create excitement in their students. But in the main it is overused: writing is generally more organized and comprehensive than speech, and reading normally proceeds at three times the speed of speech. Moreover, the reader may skip or skim parts of the work he knows and actively concentrate on what gives him difficulty.

Not only are programmed methods inefficient in "covering" material, they may be harmful to the social environment of learning.⁹ Classroom groups have at least two tasks: attaining instructional objectives through learning and developing a viable, if not cohesive, social structure. Paradoxically, if the course or teacher specifies the purposes and procedures of instruction too emphatically, the group may resist and learning may not proceed. This phenome-

⁹ See Gary J. Anderson, Herbert J. Walberg and Wayne W. Welch, "Curriculum Effects on the Social Climate of Learning: A New Representation of Discriminant Functions," *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 3, May 1969. Herbert Thelen, "The Evaluation of Group Instruction," *Educational Evaluation: New Roles, New Means*. Sixty eighth Yearbook, Part II, National Society for the Study of Education, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, and Herbert J. Walberg, "The Social Environment as a Mediator of Classroom Learning," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 60, No. 6, Dec. 1969.

non may be observed on the university campus particularly in the lists of demands for greater student participation in the formulation of objectives, activities, and evaluation of learning. The little available objective evidence (cited above) suggests that the social environment has greater effect on important affective learning than on cognitive achievement.

If explicit programmed objectives have been slighted in this discussion, it may be a reaction to their current vogue. Federal funding agencies have required their use in new educational projects; persuasive exponents have sold them to schools. Their rhetoric seems to insist that what is not objectively specified and precisely measured does not exist or is not important, and further, that what is most measurable is most important. Taken to an extreme, the argument holds that social and affective learning may be ignored since it is difficult to measure; that, in the cognitive domain, essay examinations are undesirable because they lack technical standards of reliability; and that hope lies in multiple-choice tests because they are efficient and require no judgment in scoring. And this may be right; it remains to be seen. But until there is convincing evidence to support these kinds of assertions, it is dangerous to force such an orthodoxy on the schools.

The Need for Indicators In the meantime, the evaluator is often supplied with vague, general objectives or no objectives at all. Obviously these conditions make his work more difficult—but not impossible. His job is to elicit more explicit objectives from the curriculum maker, or, failing this, he has other alternatives. He may be able to derive explicit objectives from the general; he may infer objectives from the learning materials themselves; and he may administer a general battery of indicators to find out what objectives the materials accomplish.

These alternatives may be used in combination, but in any case, a general battery should be employed for at least two reasons. Many different kinds of learning may occur in a course; by emphasizing one, others may be sacrificed. Also, the evaluator cannot assume that schoolmen will value the same objectives for the subject as the course developer; therefore, he must include indicators that may be of interest to a variety of consumers. Metfessel and Michael¹⁰ provided a comprehensive, seven-page list of about 105 suggested criteria. While it would not be feasible to include all these in most projects, it would seem necessary in any educational evaluation to use indicators of the following: factual and conceptual mastery of the general subject; higher-order cog-

¹⁰ Newton S. Metfessel and William B. Michael, "A Paradigm Involving Multiple Criterion Measures for the Evaluation of the Effectiveness of School Programs," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 27, Winter 1967, pp. 931-44.

nitive mastery such as understanding and analysis; and affective learning such as values, interests, and attitudes brought about by the course. It would also be desirable to include other indicators even if they are only in experimental stages of development. One of these is the induced flavor or projected image of the subject, for example, the relative emphasis on developmental, logical, or intuitive aspects. For reasons discussed earlier, indicators of the social environment of learning might reveal unintended consequences of the course. Systematic observations in classrooms might show changed patterns of teacher behavior; casual visits would at least reveal whether or not the teachers are using the course materials. Since these indicators are by no means comprehensive, teacher and student comments might be solicited. Although it is difficult to code comments objectively, presumably any expected or unexpected sterling qualities or glaring inadequacies would be salient enough to detect.

Learning Experiences Let us now turn to another difficulty of Tyler's strategy—designing and selecting the most appropriate learning experiences to attain general or specific objectives. Stephens¹¹ has taken a fresh look at educational research over the last fifty years and produced some humbling conclusions. The results of his survey indicate that the things commonly believed to promote learning make no difference at all. Research on teaching, for example, has consistently concluded that different teaching methods make little or no difference in student learning and attitudes. These conclusions apply to television and traditional instruction, team teaching and ordinary teaching, teaching in large and small classes, homogeneous and heterogeneous groups, core and traditional curricula, lecture classes and discussion classes, teacher-centered and group-centered approaches, in small schools with indifferent facilities and large schools with lavish facilities. Thus, it has proven impossible to specify instructional activities which optimize the general performance of students.

Perhaps as a consequence, some theorists have proposed sub-optimizing learning for groups of students with different aptitudes. This proposal is at least 25 years old and can be traced to Plato's *Republic* where he describes children of brass, iron, and gold and the different learning experiences required for each group. This concept is now known as "individualizing" instruction. Technically it depends upon the presence of "aptitude-instruction interaction," i.e., the tendency for different students to benefit unequally under different methods of instruction. For example, student A performs better under instruction A; whereas student B performs better under instruction B.

¹¹ J. M. Stephens. *The Process of Schooling. A Psychological Examination*, op. cit.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to find consistent evidence for the aptitude-instruction interaction. Bar-Yam,¹² in a 231-item review of aptitude-instruction interaction research, has found a little evidence that bright students and independent, assertive, flexible students perform better with flexibility and independence in the classroom; whereas dull students and dependent, anxious, rigid students do better under directive, highly structured conditions. While a balance of evidence shows that the two types of students perform better under these two conditions of learning, there are a number of studies which do not support this notion. Moreover, these interactions account for little variance compared to that accounted for separately by intelligence, socio-economic status, and prior achievement. It is likely that if there were powerful interactions of student aptitudes and instruction, they would have been found by now. Moreover, Bracht and Glass¹³ point out that it might be fruitless to look for these kinds of interactions in courses because they are complex and contain many instructional and content elements.

The Environment of Learning Perhaps a more fruitful area of optimization and sub-optimization research lies in the social environment of learning brought about by different courses. Exploratory research has already shown significant differences in environments attributable to randomly assigned courses.¹⁴ Moreover, with relevant factors held constant, the social environment is an optimizer of cognitive and affective learning;¹⁵ and environmental characteristics sub-optimize student learning, i.e., students of different levels of intelligence, personality, and other characteristics differ sharply in their performance in different environments.

The discussion in this section is not to deprecate basic instructional research in curriculum evaluation; indeed, curriculum projects offer an ideal setting for the educational psychologist to test his ideas against instructional realities. Moreover, courses are superseded; whereas instructional research, if it becomes an applied science, could develop empirical laws of learning that would have continuing relevance for courses in the future.

For the time being, however, Tyler's second stage must be based on common sense and guess work. Educational psychology offers no satisfactory meth-

12 Miriam Bar-Yam. *The Interaction of Student Characteristics with Instruction Strategies: A Study of Students' Performance and Attitude in a High School Innovative Course*. Doctoral thesis. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1969.

13 Glenn H. Bracht, and Gene V. Glass, "The External Validity of Experiments," *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 5, November 1968, pp. 437-74.

14 Anderson, Walberg and Welch, "Curriculum Effects on the Social Climate of Learning: A New Representation of Discriminant Functions," *op. cit.*

15 H. J. Walberg, "The Social Environment as a Mediator of Classroom Learning," *op. cit.*

od of designing learning experiences to attain given objectives. In view of the multiplicity of vague course and teacher objectives, the problem of specifying learning activities, and the possibilities of aptitude-instruction and aptitude-environment interactions, the course developer might do well to avoid trying to optimize and instead, include many diverse concepts and learning materials in the course. These elements, with a guide to their possible organization and use, may enable supervisors, teachers, and students to optimize and sub-optimize according to their own needs and objectives. If this is done, there is all the more need for a general battery of indicators in the evaluation of the course. A second consequence is the necessity of studying sub-groups of students who are likely to perform especially well or poorly under varying conditions of course use.

Having examined the difficulties of the Tyler strategies of stating objectives and specifying learning activities, and offered some provisional solutions that seem workable, let us turn to the problem of generalizing curriculum research.

Generalizability That evaluation should be generalizable to specified populations of students seems an obvious objective; yet most evaluations must be faulted on statistical grounds. Certain well-known but little employed statistical procedures relating to randomization bear repeating here. Let us first consider the two traditional uses of randomization. As R. A. Fisher¹⁶ showed, the assumption underlying statistical inference is that the experiment to which it is applied meets the following conditions: 1) there has been a random selection of units from the population under study, from which population parameters can be estimated, and 2) for the estimation of experimental effects, there has been a random assignment of experimental units to treatments (and non-treatment to control groups). The first assumption allows estimation of population parameters with a known probability of error; the second allows the estimation of treatment effects with a known probability of error. It would hardly seem necessary to point out these assumptions again in 1970; but educational researchers (and social and biological scientists, for that matter) have continued to ignore them and resorted to "convenient" samples, "matched" groups, and "quasi-experiments." While descriptive statistics may be calculated for non-random samples, it is misleading to infer population parameters for them.

Only random samples of the population permit valid estimates of population parameters. Actually the sample defines the population, and statistical

¹⁶ Ronald A. Fisher. *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1925.

inference must be limited to that population from which the sample has been drawn. Unfortunately, this means that in a typical curriculum study, the sample, even if it is random, unnaturally constrains inferences to volunteer teachers or local schools or school systems with co-operative administrators. There is a great need for national random samples in educational research. To our knowledge, there has never before been a curriculum project to employ a truly random national sample of teachers with random assignment to control and experimental treatments.

A related statistical point often overlooked or misunderstood concerns the units of analysis, which must be independent observations. If a sample of teachers is drawn and the comparative progress of their students in different courses is to be studied, the proper unit of analysis is the mean of the students under each teacher. The "degrees of freedom" used in statistical significance tests is the number of teachers, not the number of students since students within the same class are not independent sampling units. This is not to say that non-inferential research studies with students or classes as the units of analysis are invalid; indeed, they are necessary to examine certain questions, for example, the comparative progress of bright and dull students in two courses. However, these studies do not permit generalization to the population.

The Long Haul Another problem of generalizability has to do with changes in the course and students across time. To what extent does a course remain unchanged while undergoing evaluation? The intent of formative evaluation, of course, is to suggest ways that course materials might be improved. But even at the stage of summative evaluation, the course may still be evolving. If this is so, it may be well to recycle the formative evaluation each year from the beginning to the end of the project, and to begin yearly cycles of summative evaluation during the last few years of the project and extend them for a few years after the course is completed. Evaluation of this scope and duration would require much labor and coordination, but it may be the most effective, if not efficient method of valid, comprehensive assessment.

If a project would continue evaluating for several years, it would allow follow-up studies of the students several years after they have taken the course; evaluation "over the long haul," as Carroll¹⁷ has put it, might be quite valuable. Ebbinghaus's classic studies of memory curves have shown the rapid

¹⁷ John B. Carroll, "School Learning over the Long Haul" in J. D. Krumboltz, Ed. *Learning and the Educational Process*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

rate of forgetting immediately after learning and the retention of the residual for long periods. Thus, an important topic for extended-term evaluation is the student retention over long periods after completing the course. Another question that may be answered by long-term evaluation is: Has the course aroused the student's motivation and interest enough for him to continue learning as evidenced by pursuing a career in the area of the course, taking more courses, or continuing his interest through independent study?

Still another problem of generalizability across time is the changing state of society and the possible irrelevance of courses developed before relevant changes. A vast complex of waxing, waning forces bear upon the content and methods of the curriculum. Dewey held that the schools reflect society, which seems obvious enough; but because the reflection is screened, distorted, and delayed, it would be difficult to specify and quantify the characteristics of society that brought about a given curriculum change. Many of the forces are, like social class, hypothetical constructs difficult to measure and weakly related to a host of other constructs in an uncertain direction of causality. Consider the changing character of high school physics: in 1949, applied, technical aspects were given primacy; 1959 marked the era of waxing scientific modernity and rigor; and 1970 seems to exemplify concern for the humanistic, social, and moral relevance of science. Many factors come to mind that may have led to these changes, but who is to say which and to what extent? The point is that social conditions change rapidly, and the curriculum reflects the changes. Ironically the course that appears to be relevant to specific conditions at one period may likely be outdated quickly. Until social indicators of the *Zeitgeist* are developed, the course evaluator will have to duck these issues or assert subjective judgment.

Explicitness, Objectivity, and Judgment Explicitness in evaluation means that the methods employed are described in enough detail that the reader may assess their validity and attempt to replicate them. Objectivity is the independence of results from the individual characteristics of the evaluator. Meeting the standard of objectivity will increase the likelihood of making evaluation an applied science. Yet neither science nor evaluation are value-free: subjective factors have enormously influenced the progress of science (the root of the word "evaluation" connotes human judgment and possible personal bias). The interplay of these factors warrants more careful consideration.

The need for objectivity is most apparent in summative evaluation, for its purpose is to assess the comparative or absolute effectiveness of the finished

course in attaining objectives. Many projects have sampled a highly selected group of teachers with able students, administered achievement test items based upon the course text, and concluded that the resulting scores demonstrate the effectiveness of the course. A few projects have employed pretests and posttests to show student growth in achievement during the course; and still fewer projects have contrasted the achievement of students in their course with a contrast or control group of students in other courses. If these methods are made explicit, the evaluator and his readers are able to judge the value of the evaluation design. While the readers, if not the evaluator, may conclude that the evaluation is trivial, biased, or invalid, these judgments can only be made if the methods and results are explicit.

Objectivity and judgment are also important in formative evaluation. It is extremely difficult for course developers to be objective and critical of their own work, yet it is absolutely necessary. As in any creative work, there must be a continuous, balanced re-cycling of productive and critical phases. The first and most severe critic must be the developer. But his own criticism is not enough, for inevitably he will be biased and unable to see all the weak points of his work. Therefore, he must solicit critical opinion from his immediate colleagues and various outsiders—specialists in educational media and evaluation, university professors of the subject, and school teachers and students using trial versions of the course. Yet here a balance is needed for critical capacity often outruns the productive with the result that work is never finished. Too much criticism, doubt, and revision may prevent bringing work to fruition. No amount of revising and polishing of a course or evaluation will result in a perfect product. One can hope for a reasonably good job given the inevitable constraints of time, energy, and funds. After this, remaining creative energy might well be channeled into objectivity and judgment in identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the finished course and evaluation and their implications for future projects.

Perhaps the role of judgment has been underestimated; the evaluator must judge. Bias can enter the "objective" methods and results through the choice of groups and instruments employed in the evaluation. Therefore, judgments and decisions regarding technical methods must stem from an explicit rationale for the evaluation so that the reader may judge its validity. A rationale is needed for the interpretation and judgment of the results; these processes must be explicit, couched in interpretive rather than objective language, and should err on the side of caution.

Education requires rigor and relevance, social and moral passion; but these very factors may be the downfall of research and evaluation. The history of "scientific breakthroughs" in education reveals a discouraging series of inade-

quate experiments which could not be replicated.¹⁸ The technical inadequacies went unrecognized by educational policy makers and did not deter them from attempting to reform the schools. Contemporary examples may be found in critical reviews¹⁹ of two recent books on "creativity" and "teacher expectancies and blooming students." The rather devastating reviews were probably read by only a handful of educational researchers concerned about the methodology. Yet these books or newspaper summaries of them reached the public and professional educators, and policy decisions based upon findings have already been made. The implication for evaluation is clear: it is not enough to present objective results and judgments; the evaluator must make clear to the non-technical reader the possible inadequacies of his methods and the weaknesses of his conclusions. An authoritative, refereed journal of educational evaluation would serve as an excellent vehicle for such studies.

There is also the problem of the evaluator's allegiance. An evaluator on a project staff may have conflict of interests which bias his judgment. Since he is paid by the project, his job or even the project may be at stake if he publishes an uncomplimentary report. On the other hand, non-staff evaluators may lack appreciation of the special qualities of a project or the interest and wherewithal to do a comprehensive job. It is difficult to imagine how a federal bureau modeled on the Food and Drug Administration or the National Bureau of Standards could take on this work especially in view of the traditional fear of national control of education. An independent group modeled on Consumer's Union may seem even more farfetched. Yet the massive amount of evaluation needed in education may require such steps. In the meantime, curriculum groups will probably continue their own evaluations, and there are a few ways that conflicts of interest may be lessened. Developing a critical climate and involving outside critics have been mentioned. Another alternative is to commission outsiders to carry on parts of the evaluation. This practice would be especially useful when the project lacks the facilities or specialized competence for certain aspects of the work, for example, the data files from national testing agencies or the techniques of quantifying teacher observations. Still another alternative is to separate the evaluation group to some

¹⁸ Gene V. Glass, "Educational Piltdown Men," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 50, November 1968, pp. 148-51.

¹⁹ Lee J. Cronbach, "Intelligence? Creativity? A Parsimonious Reinterpretation of the Wallach-Kogan Data," *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 5, November 1968, pp. 491-511. Robert L. Thorndike, a review of Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 5, November 1968, pp. 708-11.

extent from the rest of the project staff and give them no responsibilities for course development.

The evaluation group should have autonomy and authority to carry out their work. Presumably they would be sympathetic to the goals of the course and perhaps identified with them, but would be expected to reach their own decisions regarding evaluation. They would serve as a kind of "loyal opposition" as in the British Parliament. None of these methods, however, can insure complete objectivity and valid judgment.

Nor can the alternatives described above make educational evaluation a science in the same way physics or chemistry is a science. Like the social sciences, educational research is inevitably subjective in known and unknown ways. And this is as it should be, for education is committed to social and moral values. The general goal is making explicit these values and the "objective" methodology so that other workers can assess their validity from their own viewpoint.

Usefulness of Evaluation Finally, evaluation should be useful. Obviously, formative evaluation should be useful in improving the course and is of concern mainly to the course makers before releasing the final product. On the other hand, others will be interested in the summative evaluation. Who should it be useful for?—the curriculum maker, the subject-matter expert, the supervisor, the teacher or the student? Or should it be designed for a technical research audience or school purchasing officers in large city school systems?

In line with earlier discussion, an evaluation report should be appropriately explicit concerning sampling, research design, measurement, statistical analysis and interpretation. Such a report would enable other evaluators to judge the merits of the evaluation. On the other hand, this kind of detailed analysis may make the report dull and restricted to a technical audience. Therefore, many teachers and supervisors would not read it in its entirety or at all. They would be more interested in a description of the course and only the results of the evaluation. These problems can be resolved by writing at least two reports, one a technical substantive report for the research audience, the other a shorter substantive report for schoolmen. Part of the results might well be published in journals for the teaching audience or reported orally and graphically at various regional conferences so that teachers and supervisors may react to their results, ask questions, and make comments about the usefulness of materials and raise further questions for the evaluator to pursue.

Some of these points would hardly seem in need of saying. But there is a danger of evaluation becoming an isolated professional specialty. Already at

educational research meetings, presented papers often appear to be displays of methodological virtuosity rather than educationally relevant. If educational evaluation is to become a useful applied science, it must develop theory, rigor, and relevance; and it has a long way to go on all three counts.

In conclusion, the recommendations made earlier in this paper may also make evaluation useful. Stating the special objectives of the course as best one can will enable others to judge its effectiveness on these criteria. Including both special indicators and those of interest to various groups will enable others to form a judgment of the course on the basis of their own priorities. Studies of sub-groups of students will enable those working with similar groups to judge the adequacy of the course for their students. Basic educational research might reveal better instructional methods and media. Including a random sample would allow generalizing the results to specified populations. Explicitness, objectivity, and critical judgment in formative evaluation are likely to improve the course. And finally, an objective reporting of the results and possible sources of bias will enable both other evaluators and potential consumers to judge the effectiveness of the evaluation itself.

The Science and Politics of National Educational Assessment

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The American people today expect more of American education than ever before. At such a time, isn't it clear to all of us as educators that what we don't know CAN hurt us?

Francis Keppel, then Assistant Secretary of Education¹

Without social indicators on the results of the educational process, the Federal Government cannot know where its financial help is needed most.

Wilbur Cohen, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare²

It is a commonplace that a large and increasing share of the nation's resources, human and financial, are being devoted to the schooling of its children. Were schooling simply a consumer service like getting a haircut, there would hardly be such anxiety and conflict over the

1 Francis Keppel, "National Educational Assessment: We Badly Need It," *National Educational Assessment: Pro and Con* (hereafter *Pro and Con*). National Educational Association and American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D.C., 1966, p. 7.

2 Quoted in *New York Times*, November 24, 1968, cf. Wilbur Cohen, "Education and Learning," in Bertram Gross, Ed., *Social Goals and Indicators for American Society*, II. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1967, pp. 79-101.

At a time when, for rather different reasons, President Nixon and Dr. Kenneth Clark are proposing that educational "output" be evaluated, we think attention should be paid to the strange history of the National Educational Assessment, first initiated in 1964. In this article, Professor Katzman of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and classroom teacher Ronald Rosen provide an overview of the political and scientific factors pertinent to the "rise and fall" of National Assessment. Their essay is an outgrowth of Harvard's 1968-9 Seminar on Education and Public Policy; and they wish to thank Walter McCann for introducing them to the issues involved in national assessment, and both Walter McCann and David K. Cohen (who sent their manuscript to THE RECORD) for their comments on an earlier draft.

state of American education. Schooling assumes tremendous importance because both the public and the experts perceive it as an investment, preparing youngsters for adult roles, and perhaps more importantly, as an agency for solving social problems in the areas of race relations, poverty, and technological unemployment.

For decades we have had considerable information about the inputs into the educational process (enrollments, teacher salaries, class size, etc.) but little systematic information on its outcome—i.e., how much children know or what they learn at school. With the express purpose of gathering information useful in formulating policy, a continuing program of National Educational Assessment (NEA) is being undertaken, at a cost of some \$3-4 million per annum. Over a three year period, over one hundred thousand individuals per year will be tested in ten subject areas. In 1969-70, science, citizenship, and writing will be assessed; in 1970-71, music, mathematics, literature, and social studies; and in 1971-72, reading, art, and vocational education. In this essay we consider the factors which led to the NEA program as currently conceived and evaluate the likelihood of its serving the intended purposes.

I. THE NEED FOR EVALUATION IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Americans are the great quantifiers, gauging the nation's progress in terms of numbers, indices, and rates of growth. No clearer manifestation of this tendency is found than in the flurry of emotion and activity in the newsrooms and stockmarkets which follows the publication of the latest consumer price index or income estimates. In the regulation of aggregate economic activity, such numbers perform a highly useful function, indicating: 1) how well we are doing, as opposed to other countries or other time periods; and 2) the directions in which fiscal and/or monetary policy should move to attain particular economic objectives. While partisans of conflicting hue may disagree as to the relative importance of various macroeconomic indicators— inflation, unemployment, growth—all partisans find these measures useful guides to behavior and none would claim to be better off without this information. Such indicators assume usefulness because most observers share a common view of reality which relates policy to outcomes. In fact, the development of this shared view has been facilitated by an analysis of these indicators.

Systems Analysis in Education Unlike the economic dimension of society, progress in the area of education has generally been measured by inputs (expenditures, etc.) rather than by outcomes. Because such measures do not tell us how well we are doing or where we should go, there has been a renewal of interest in systems analytic techniques in edu-

cation, in emulation of its "success" in the area of defense.³ (The techniques have been successful in defense perhaps only in the sense that they are used, and not necessarily in the sense that they promote "better" decisions.) Systems techniques (variously known as operations analysis, cost-benefit, cost-effectiveness, and programming-planning-budgeting systems) focus on two aspects of policy. First, they attempt to define programs in terms of outcomes as opposed to inputs. Second, they attempt to specify the input-output or policy-performance relationship.

In the area of education, it would be interesting to know, for example, what percentage of 17-year-olds can comprehend a given newspaper paragraph or how many 9-year-olds can solve a particular problem in multiplication. It would further be interesting to know whether the average American youngster of today is a better reader or mathematician than those of a decade ago. Finally, it might be interesting to know whether certain subpopulations (economically, ethnically, or regionally defined) perform below the standards expected in our society.

While interesting, such information alone does not help us in policy formation. We must have prior knowledge of the effect of our policy variables (such as curriculum, class size, teacher qualifications) on these measures of outcome.

Difficulties of Educational Survey Research Al-

though school systems have been testing their students for decades, there have never been comprehensive measures on a national basis which permit the gauging of progress over time, a comparison among subpopulations, and most importantly the guiding of policy. Two programs which came close to this ideal were the one-shot Equal Educational Opportunity (E.E.O.) Survey, popularly known as the Coleman Report, and the longitudinal Project TALENT, both of which were initiated by the U.S. Office of Education. These sample surveys provided some information on how much children know, what kinds of schools they attend, and what characteristics their families and peer groups possess.

In principle, these are the kinds of data necessary to evaluate the effects of educational policy differences. Following the canons of experimental design, one can test the impact of a particular policy variable—e.g., varying class size—by comparing the performance of youngsters of similar background whose schools are similar in all respects but class size.

In addition to the many methodological shortcomings for which E.E.O.

³ Renewal is a proper term, for educators have always emulated the manifest style of administrators in the more prestigious sectors of society. For a fascinating discussion of rhet-

Survey and TALENT have been criticized,⁴ a basic difficulty with educational survey research is that social reality refuses to provide data in a pattern tailored to the requirements of experimental design. First, schools are not profoundly different enough, at least on the characteristics which are most measurable or manipulable. For example, there are too few schools with extreme class sizes, say 10 and 50, which are similar in all other respects for us to test non-experimentally the effects of radical policy changes in class size. Second, school and student characteristics are so highly correlated that it is difficult to find schools which differ in only one major respect. For example, it is difficult to find upper class children attending small classes who have poorly trained teachers; most such children have highly trained teachers. Consequently, we cannot distinguish among the effects of various school characteristics. These two difficulties are not obviated by larger or better chosen samples.

The Thrust towards National Assessment These generally recognized limitations of educational research notwithstanding, the wheels were set in motion for a continuing national program of testing with the express purpose of improving policy making. To allay fears of federal encroachment in local affairs, the Office of Education encouraged the Carnegie Corporation to set up the Exploratory Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education (ECAPE)⁵ in 1964. Under the direction of Ralph Tyler, a distinguished psychologist and then director of the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Science, this committee set some rather far-reaching goals. It hoped to design a system of assessment with two major characteristics:

First, it would give the nation as a whole a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the American educational system. Thus, it might contribute a more accurate guide than we currently possess for allocation of public and private funds...

Second, assessment results, especially if coupled with auxiliary information on characteristics of the various regions, would provide data necessary for research on educational problems and processes which cannot now be undertaken (italics ours).⁶

oric in education, patterned after industrial "Taylorism" in the 1920's, see Raymond F. Callahan. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. Chicago: Phoenix, 1962.

⁴ See, for example, John F. Kain and Eric A. Hanushek, "On the Value of Equality of Educational Opportunity as a Guide to Public Policy," Program on Regional and Urban Economics, Harvard University, Discussion Paper No. 36.

⁵ Keppel, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

II. THE RISE AND FALL OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT

The thrust towards national assessment, embodied in ECAFE, was not without opposition. The changing nature of the criticism and debate that the Assessment program met in its development arouses suspicion. Although some of the opposition to the project was basically political, a good deal of it was based on technical objections. Curiously, it seems that these objections were quelled without any changes in the substance of the Assessment program.

Many of the very early disagreements were based on unreliable facts or incomplete information about ECAFE's plans. When educational administrators became informed of the true nature of the program, and took part in its development, many of their fears were allayed. Unfortunately, meaningful criticism dissipated simultaneously. It is worthwhile and interesting to review how an institution for disseminating "pure" knowledge affects and is in turn affected by the phenomenon it intends to describe—in this case, the educational enterprise.

The Opposition Phase At its inception, ECAFE's membership consisted primarily of behavioral scientists and administrators with previous interest in educational measurement, obvious supporters of the program. Two important professional interest groups, in particular, the American Association of School Administrators and the National Education Association, were not represented.

When ECAFE later moved from research and pilot testing to a design for national operations, this one-sidedness proved to be its major stumbling block. The program came under heavy attack from the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), which felt it legitimately deserved a role in a program impinging upon its area of professional concern, a role which it had been in fact, if not in intent, denied. While exclusion from participation may have been the source of a good deal of the suspicion and animosity cast upon the Assessment program, it must be remembered that at least some of the objections raised at that time were valid and worth the consideration of the ECAFE staff.

Many of the more valid technical objections were raised at the 1965 White House Conference on Education, at which one panel discussed the advantages and disadvantages of national assessment.⁷ Among the objections, some of which are discussed in greater detail below, were that assessment would

⁷ *White House Conference on Education: A Milestone for Educational Progress. Report to Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1965*, especially pp. 44-52.

tell us little more than current standardized tests, that memorization and conformity would be rated above understanding and creativity, and that the information might be misused.⁸

AASA opposition accumulated to the point that its executive committee resolved not to cooperate with the Assessment. In effect, this meant that the AASA was boycotting the project and it was likely that ECAFE would not be allowed to administer its tests in the schools.

Political Grounds for Opposition Rather than perceiving an attempt at national evaluation as a neutral technological advance that would have benign effects on all concerned with education, grass roots administrators were gripped with fear on three major grounds: 1) of redirection of educational activity; 2) federal control or homogenization; and 3) invidious comparison.⁹

First, there was the fear that local school systems would redirect teaching to improve the scores of students on the nationwide test. The precedent for this fear is the perceived redirection of high school curricula to improve students' College Board scores. A corollary was that tremendous pressure would be placed on students to perform well.

Second, there was the fear that national standards of performance would be imposed, supplanting state controlled *input* standards. At the extreme there was fear that participation in national testing programs might be necessary to receive federal aid.

Third, there was the fear that local or state schools would appear in unfavorable light as compared to other systems. This in turn might shake public confidence in an already vulnerable educational establishment.

The Interests of the Public vs. the Professionals These fears, which stem from the occupational interests of the educators, were not necessarily in the best interests of the clientele. Basically, educators are unwilling to subject the results of their enterprises to public scrutiny, since as marginal professionals they wish to be judged only by peers.¹⁰ Neither do they wish to be held accountable for problems which they can do relatively little about.

⁸ See a short discussion in Robert J. Garvee *Modern Public School Finance*. New York: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 319-321.

⁹ Harold C. Hand, "Recipe for Control by the Few," in *Pro and Con, op. cit.*, pp. 35-46.

¹⁰ See, on the marginal status of educators as professionals, Alma S. Wittlin, "The Teacher," *Daedalus*, Fall 1963, pp. 745-763. Unlike doctors, dentists, and even barbers, teachers are accredited by a board of laymen, not of peers, in most states.

In the absence of performance measures, it is not only difficult for parents to determine how much their children know, it is also difficult for educators to determine their teaching success. Only if testing instruments were arbitrary or invalid—i.e., unrepresentative of things we expect people to know in the real world—should the public or teachers find them objectionable. If the test sampled what society deemed useful knowledge, teaching for the test becomes compatible, indeed synonymous, with a "good education."

The fear of national standardization is somewhat spurious. Because school administrators tend to share a common professional subculture and because there is consensus, at least within social classes, as to what characterizes good schooling, there are tremendous similarities among the nation's school systems. In fact, the similarity of controllable aspects like teacher salary, class size, facilities, is so great that survey research on the effect of such differences becomes nigh impossible, as suggested above. In addition, local school systems already tend to be constrained by state standards and requirements and are likely to become more so as state aid assumes greater prominence.

Finally, the fear of invidious comparison at best saves face for the educators and at worst abuses the students. Regardless of who is embarrassed by publicity on poor performance, parents have a right to know how their children stand so that corrective measures can be applied if necessary. Hiding the community head in the sand is maladaptive, for the labor market and/or the colleges these students enter are much more ruthless evaluators than a battery of tests.

The Co-optation Phase

The legitimacy of superintendents' fears notwithstanding, these are political facts which the U.S. Office of Education and ECAPE had to cope with when they began to promote national assessment. The ability of superintendents to stymie any comprehensive testing program in their jurisdictions was amply demonstrated in the refusal of many big cities to participate in the Equal Opportunity Survey undertaken by Congressional mandate.¹¹

At this point, ECAPE realized that its project was in jeopardy, and was forced to consider changes to ease the situation. At least two roads were open to ECAPE: change the details of the program to be more acceptable to the op-

¹¹ Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 stated: "The Commissioner of Education shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States...." The mandate did not compel schools to participate in the survey, and there were serious problems in non-cooperation of whole systems, incomplete response, as well as usual problems of biased and unreliable responses. See Kain and Hanushek, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-18, *passim*.

ponents, or invite the opponents to join the committee. ECAPE took the latter course, doubling the membership of the committee (and dropped the "Exploratory" in its name, becoming CAPE), and changing its chairman (the new chairman, George Brain, is a past president of AASA). After this change, the opposition began to dwindle. In fact, William H. Curtis, who was president of AASA when it was still the loyal opposition, commented, "I think we should give encouragement to this committee because its responsibilities are great and its long-range impact is tremendous... (CAPE) is now on the right track."¹² Despite this pronouncement, there was no evidence since reorganization of any substantive change in the evaluation program. Apparently having "a piece of the action" was enough to mollify the opposition.

It is curious and surprising that the enlarged committee has not made any changes in the Assessment. Possibly ECAPE decided to enlarge the committee at such a late date that all the important decisions had been irreversibly sealed, but still early enough to diminish the resistance of school administrators, a necessity for the actual testing to begin. It is also possible that the original supporters bargained with the prospective members of CAPE to be allowed to conduct one cycle of testing before making any changes; financial reasons alone might have forced such an understanding. In either event, two facts are clear: no effective criticism of Assessment remains, and the program which began administering tests in April 1969 maintains its original form in all essentials.

Except for the tactical error of limiting its original steering committee to its strong supporters, ECAPE made few political mistakes. This seems to be particularly true of the detailed plans for the Assessment, i.e., the research design. It appears that ECAPE, in a desire to avoid critics as well as criticism, decided to make the Assessment "politically harmless." It is our contention that in so doing they have come close to rendering it educationally useless.

Sampling Design

Just how did ECAPE manage to evade these issues? Dr. Banesh Hoffman, author of *The Tyranny of Testing*, explains, "In the purely political sense this program is brilliantly conceived. It will not tread on the toes of any individual, simply because no student, teacher, or school will be individually rated. Only a small sampling of students will be tested, and none of these students will be subjected to more than a small sampling of the total evaluative procedure."¹³ ECAPE found that statistical sampling procedures had been developed to the point where testing

¹² In *Education, U.S.A.*, Special Weekly Report of Educational Affairs, November 4, 1969.

¹³ "National Educational Assessment: Will it Give Us a True Picture?" in *Pro and Con, op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

a small fraction of the nation's students could yield accurate data for the whole population.

What this plan means for a particular school is that only a few students would be involved, and even then for only a half hour. No individual scores would ever be reported since the sampling procedure would make this information meaningless. Therefore students and teachers would feel little pressure to prepare for the examination or feel burdened by it. Even still, it is conceivable that a state, facing the possibility of being rated in comparison to other states, would apply pressure to the schools and teachers. In response to this possibility, ECAPE decided that the smallest geographical area for which data would be reported would be a quarter-country region; that is, data will be reported as relevant to the Northeastern, Southeastern, Central, or Western regions, or to the nation as a whole.

One should not get the impression that the technicians on the CAPE staff were solely motivated by political considerations in establishing their sampling procedures. In preparing to administer the test, CAPE made useful contributions to the methodology of testing by carefully controlled experiments. They found, for example, that the locale of testing (in-school versus out-of-school) had no effect on test results.¹⁴ These technical advances, however, concern us less than what can be learned from the results.

Experimental Design Regions are but one of the subpopulations for which the test results will be reported. Additionally, each participant will be classified by sex, one of two socioeconomic background levels (rich or poor, with the demarcation line set at some poverty index), four types of communities (urban, suburban, smaller city, rural), and age (the tests will be given to four age groups: 9, 13, 17 and young adult—26 to 35). (The ECAPE public reports originally included race as a dimension with the choices white, Negro, and "other," but the more recent technical articles do not mention it, probably in another move to avoid invidious comparisons.) Thus CAPE might report that 35% of the male 17-year-olds of lower socioeconomic status from the Northeast were not able to read and understand a particular reading passage.

One could hardly quarrel with the age groupings (9, 13, 17, 26+), sex, or regional divisions (Southeast, Northeast, Midwest, Farwest). These, however, are not dimensions along which disparities are of prime public concern. The

¹⁴ See Frank B. Womer, "Research Toward National Assessment," reprinted from the Western Regional Conference on Testing Problems, Proceedings 1968, with permission from the Educational Testing Service, March 1969.

most excruciating cleavages are along lines of social class and race, or more properly, ethnicity, neither of which are adequately measured in this study.

Community breakdowns (urban, suburban, small city, rural) are not of intrinsic interest, but really reflect possible differences in industrial structure and hence socioeconomic composition. If class is what we are really interested in, it seems rather inefficient to mask class divisions by community labels.

Since only two socioeconomic levels are to be reported, it would seem that CAPE seems no more willing than the average American to recognize the fine grain of the American class structure with its many subcultures. The differences in attitudes toward education between the working class and middle class, holding income constant, are immense.¹⁵

Regarding ethnicity, CAPE is not following the striking breakthrough of the Coleman Survey in classifying students as white, Negro, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Oriental, and American Indian. Coleman's ethnic categories break through the usual white-nonwhite dichotomies which hide the fact that Japanese and Chinese are more like Caucasians in their socioeconomic status while statistically white Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are more like Negroes. In ignoring substantial cognitive differences among Caucasians,¹⁶ CAPE hews to a dubious tradition.

When broken down on these five dimensions, the tested population comprises 256 subpopulations (= 4 regional x 4 community x 4 age x 2 sex x 2 socioeconomic). Given the sample size, mode of testing, and number of subpopulations, there would be an average of 300 in each sample cell. In other words, there would be for example about 300 Northern, urban, male, poor 17-year-olds for whom there are test data in any year. Clearly, the number of cells could be increased manifold to give finer class-ethnic breakdowns without compromising the reliability of the sample estimates too seriously.¹⁷

15 See Edward C. Banfield, "Political Implications of Metropolitan Growth," in *The Future Metropolis*, *Daedalus*, Winter 1961, pp. 61-78, and William F. Dohrner, *Class in Suburbia*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963, pp. 113-126: "The working class stands for the traditional and conservative approach to education. It opposes what it terms 'frills' in the public school system. It stands for larger classes rather than increased building. Generally it opposes the employment of additional staff and advocates the reduction of special services such as guidance counselors and psychologists. It hews to a basic 'three R' view of education and its primary concern seems to be economy in order to hold the tax rate in check."

16 See, for example, Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Environment, Values, and Achievement," in David McClelland, et. al., *Talent and Society*, Princeton, N.J. Van Nostrand, 1958, Susan S. Stodolsky and Gerald Lesser, "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1967, pp. 546-593.

17 The cross-tabulation design is useful only if major interaction effects are hypothesized, i.e., if the impact of a particular variable depends upon the value of other variables. If such effects do not seem important, and they do not seem so here, the more efficient tech-

The Goals of Education In developing the assessment materials, CAPE avoided the pejorative "tests" and adopted the euphemism "instruments." Almost from the beginning it was decided that assessing education meant testing the students in a broad range of subject areas. Up until now, CAPE has chosen ten academic areas that will be covered in the assessment: reading, writing, science, mathematics, social studies, citizenship, music, literature, vocational education, and art. CAPE's publicity states that more areas will be added later, but the prospect for this seems limited by their plan to administer the tests in a three-year cycle, covering three or four of the areas each year. The significance of their decision to test these ten areas is elusive; although the list sounds complete, it fully assumes that the only thing necessary to assess education is to assess music, writing, science, and so forth. This assumption is based on the educational philosophy that the learning process consists of the absorption of specific material.

In January 1966, the Executive Committee of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, wary of the plans for National Assessment, published a statement of "Guidelines for National Assessment of Educational Outcomes." One of its criteria that any assessment program must meet is:

Adequate assessment also requires exploration of learning in depth. Learning may vary from superficial 'knowing' to effective, efficient 'behaving.' It is not enough that schools produce students who 'know' better. The only valid criterion for effective learning is whether the student behaves differently as a consequence of having participated in the process. Proper assessment must be directed to the deeper questions of effective behavior.¹⁸

In limiting assessment to traditional curriculum areas, ECAPE had to develop the "goals of education" in each of the ten areas. ECAPE asked one of its contractors to work with teachers and curriculum specialists from each subject field in listing objectives that met these three requirements:¹⁹

nique of regression with dummy variables can be used, thereby increasing immensely the number of student characteristics which can be analyzed. In addition, expressing some social characteristics such as family income as continuous rather than discrete variables further increases the degrees of freedom, hence reliability of estimates.

18 In *Pro and Con, op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

19 Ralph W. Tyler, "Assessing Educational Progress," *School Boards*, December 1965, mimeographed reprint of presentation to Invitation Conference on Testing Problems, October 1965; and Jack C. Merwin and Frank B. Womer, "Evaluation in Assessing the Progress of Education to Provide Bases of Public Understanding and Public Policy," *National Society for the Study of Education, Yearbook*, 1968.

1. Scholars in the field consider them worthwhile.
2. The schools are currently seeking to attain them.
3. Thoughtful laymen consider them important for youth to learn.

It is implied, but nowhere stated, that the curriculum specialists consulted by the contractors were expected to test possible objectives on the first criterion and that teachers were asked to cover the second requirement. To meet the third criterion, the results of the first two groups were submitted to various panels of laymen assembled by ECAFE for the purpose. These laymen were asked to review the lists, making sure the objectives were important for children to learn. In practice, this meant revising the wording of a goal or possibly removing one. Hence it is doubtful that at this stage many new goals were added to the program since the laymen were charged with revising existing lists, not with creating their own.

There is an additional reason that these lay committees would not be likely to produce any new ideas, nor to disagree with those of the educators who drew up the lists in the first place. ECAFE asked national educational organizations and their affiliates to nominate people for these panels. In so doing they assembled people with a background of interest in educational matters, who are unlikely to represent fairly the majority of the lay public. To add a second limitation, ECAFE wanted "intelligent and thoughtful" laymen, which criterion alone would probably limit the participation of minority groups in this procedure.

Thus it is not surprising that the goals for a particular subject, as developed through this procedure, tend to be those of professionals in that field (including teachers). Any objective of education reflecting innovative goals would not be found on the assessment lists, since it would not be an objective "which the schools are *currently seeking to attain*" (italics ours).

Considering all of these tendencies to assume that the educators know best in terms of the goals of learning, it is not too surprising that the product of these efforts reads like an elementary school report card. (Remember the teacher evaluations—"tries to work efficiently" or "respects the rights of others"?)

For example, the goals for reading include such nondescript objectives as (1) comprehend what is read, (2) analyze what is read, (3) use what is read, (4) reason logically from what is read, (5) make judgments from what is read. Similarly, citizenship goals include (1) show concern for the welfare and dignity of others, (2) help maintain law and order, (3) seek school and community improvements through active democratic participation, (4) support rationality in communication, independent and informed thought, and action

on school, civic, and social problems, and (5) help and respect one's family and nurture the development of children as future citizens. The goals of science contain (1) understand the investigative nature of science, (2) possess the abilities and skills to engage in the process of science, and (3) know fundamental facts and principles of science.²⁰

The responses evoked by reading these goals lists to a sample of educators and laymen alike have varied from mild disbelief to outright laughter. ECAFE's goals of education, a blend of both the unimaginative and the chiliastic, seem to boil right down to "momism" and apple pie.

In a vain attempt to test more than specific knowledge, ECAFE included in the lists objectives relating to opinions and attitudes in addition to those assessing skills or knowledge. It certainly seems that one extra objective has been added in each field to pay lip service to the importance of understanding or appreciation. For example, as an adjunct to the three goals of science listed above, the fourth and remaining goal is "have attitudes about and appreciation for scientists, science, and the consequences of science that stem from adequate understanding." Having had four years of higher education as a physicist, the junior author finds little meaning in that statement. It reads, as do the "tacked-on" attitude questions in most of the other fields assessed, as though the "Party Line" required an attitude question.

Operationalizing the Goals The specific instruments themselves seem to test a child's ability to memorize tidbits of information rather than any ability to process information or solve problems.

A bright urban nine-year-old, for example, may be unable to answer, "From what animal does pork come?" having never seen a pig nor eaten its meat. The nine-year-old who can "name five causes of the Civil War" may remember the list put up by his history teacher on the blackboard, without having the slightest understanding of the web of factors which lead men to solve their conflicts violently. A thirteen-year-old who "correctly" answers that "only Congress can declare war according to the U.S. Constitution" either possesses a fine sense of semantics or is unaware that 35 thousand Americans have died in Vietnam.

Another set of questions attempts to measure the normative behavior of American youngsters. The correct answers on "how to elect a team captain" or "how to treat a substitute teacher" are probably those in conformity with the norms of American society.²¹ Without challenging these norms directly,

20 Tyler, *op. cit.*

21 Martin J. Higgins and Jack C. Merwin, "Assessing the Progress of Education: A Second Report," *Phi Delta Kappan*, April 1967, p. 78.

we may ask whether the use of the results will be to enforce conformity for its own sake.

An Overview One gets the overall impression that CAPE, in its attention to details of statistical validity, simplicity of administration, and use of a quasi-scientific approach, has lost sight of its major aims. It may seem amazing that such a large undertaking could go so far astray, but this becomes understandable when viewed in the perspective of its growth. Overreacting to early opposition, CAPE has evolved to a point of considerable ambivalence with respect to its original purpose of improving educational decision-making at the local, state, and federal level. It is quite clear that National Assessment will provide little information on the policy issues of the day—the effects of segregation, the effects of decentralization, the effects of resource or curriculum shifts. Nevertheless, considerable lip service is paid to the notion that assessment will improve policy.

As for precisely how the results of assessment can be so used, CAPE staff members are now suggesting that local schools might obtain copies of the national examinations, or even design their own based upon the CAPE experience. Presumably after comparing the local and national results, the local system could adjust its policy.

First, it is quite unlikely that local systems would have the resources to design or administer another battery of tests above and beyond those they normally administer. Second, the local-national comparison would only tell them where to go, but not how to get there. Finally, there is no mechanism for forcing states or localities to use the tests to identify much less correct problem areas.

III. CAN NATIONAL ASSESSMENT BE SAVED?

The National Educational Assessment Program as it stands today can be criticized on several grounds: 1) measuring questionable educational outcomes with questionable techniques; 2) classifying student subpopulations on largely irrelevant dimensions and/or insufficient detail; 3) neglecting to collect any information on school characteristics which would identify policy-performance relationships. In principle all of these shortcomings can be remedied; however, the institutions for administering the program make such remedy unlikely. We question whether the budget for the program might be shifted to better forms of educational research.

The dwindling opposition to NEAP on the part of the superintendents was purchased for the price of foregoing crucial information on school resources. Although one might argue that the present compromises were necessary to

get a foot in the door for proper evaluation in the future, it seems more likely that the current program will become ossified, devoted to the publication of "social vindicators" of the educational establishment, to quote a phrase of Raymond Bauer's. Since the superintendents are in a position to veto any changes which would arouse the fears discussed above, it seems unlikely that more detailed data would be collected in the future. In short, the compliance of the educational establishment to NEAP was a Pyrrhic victory.

Although the technicians who developed NEAP still hope that it can be used in policy formulation, they are tending to shift from an explicit evaluative to an explicit descriptive orientation, to "what is learned, not where or how."²² In other words, at most NEAP can provide a measure of educational progress analogous to the gross national product, but no tools to affect it. If National Assessment is simply to be a descriptive venture, it will duplicate with little advantage efforts currently undertaken by other agencies. School systems throughout the country already administer the tests which come close to measuring verbal and computational skills which are perhaps the best indicators of life chances. While different local and state systems administer different tests, it is possible to develop standards for translating scores on one test to those on another. For example, the Educational Testing Service, in one pilot survey, was able to determine the extent of cognitive progress made by elementary pupils in the last two decades.²³ In addition, as high school graduation and college application becomes more universal, Scholastic Aptitude Tests may become more representative indicators of what high school students know.

National Educational Assessment will annually cost \$3-4 million for its activities, \$1 million of which are federal funds, the remainder from foundations. An alternative use of these funds might be experimentation to determine the effectiveness of alternative policies. While Americans tend to view human experimentation with considerable reservation, verging on horror, the possibilities for performing selected kinds of experimental programs may not be so formidable. This has already been done with some success for curriculum changes such as PSSC physics.

While we feel that comprehensive educational surveys may be desirable, despite their limitations, the particular National Assessment program of CAPE is of dubious value, with little hope for future payoff. Finally, we feel that the resources for assessment could be put to better use in serious educational experimentation.

22 Merwin and Womer, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

23 See *Towards a Social Report*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, January 1969, pp. 136-137.

POSTSCRIPT: THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL INDICATORS

In response to Secretary Keppel's exhortation to know itself, the educational establishment revealed something about the relationship between knowledge and power. The leaders of enterprises whose main purpose is to disseminate knowledge acted as if the dissemination of knowledge about those enterprises was indeed threatening. Although the development of indicators of performance for public enterprises is important for improving the efficiency and responsiveness of those enterprises, administrators—be they educators, physicians, policemen, or soldiers—have little to gain and much to lose to public scrutiny. Not only may scrutiny challenge the ends of those enterprises, but also, most abhorrent to the professional, the means by which those ends are achieved.

In a contest between the professional administrator and the public, mere numbers are not the sole determinant of the outcome. The professional has greater authority, greater personal stake, and greater information than the public. While the benefits of scrutiny to the public may be significant, the public is generally not organized *qua* consumers. Because of the asymmetry of information and authority, even delegated watchdogs of the consumers are often overwhelmed by the producers in any regulatory confrontation. The consumer is generally overwhelmed for another important reason: the dissemination of information is what economists call a "collective good"—once information becomes public, an individual cannot be excluded from consuming it whether or not he fought for its disclosure. A consumer would rather not engage in this effort alone since others will get the benefits without having to fight for it. Consequently, it is difficult to get anybody to invest effort in obtaining the disclosure of this type of information.²⁴ On the other hand, professionals are highly organized in trade associations, such as AASA and NEA, in which mechanisms for co-operation and lobbying on pertinent issues already exist.

Perhaps one of the great problems of a postindustrial society is correcting the imbalance between highly informed professionals and the uninformed public in whose interest they are charged to act. The sectors in which the consumer is unable to evaluate the performance of the producer compose the growing share of economic activity—national defense, education, health.

Organizing consumer lobbies for the disclosure of information will be a difficult job. If the experience of National Assessment is indicative, the future of meaningful social accounting does not seem bright.

²⁴ See the argument of Mancur Olson, Jr. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1968.

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National Assessment: Pro and Con

Galen Saylor
University of Nebraska

Although National Assessment is now well under way, seemingly all opposition has melted, and the bandwagon effect of getting "on board" is evident, it may, nonetheless, still be appropriate for the uncommitted to consider the contributions this project may make to educational evaluation and its shortcomings. Obviously, the thoughtful student of the subject will hardly share the wild acclaim accorded the project by an unsigned editorial in a recent issue of the *Educational Researcher*: "A grand dream which turned into a phenomenal task, which in time will add immeasurably to the effectiveness of education in the United States—that's the current capsule view of the gigantic effort known as National Assessment."¹

The status of national assessment is this:² On July 1, 1969 the Educational Commission of the States took charge of the entire project, including the assets of the predecessor organization, Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education, that had been established in 1968 to conduct the assessment program, after the original planning group, The Exploratory Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education, established in 1964, had developed a detailed plan for assessment and had sponsored the preparation of the tests and exercises.

The Commission (ECS) has employed James A. Hazlett, formerly superintendent of schools at Kansas City, Mo., to head the project. In the meantime CAPE had contracted with Research Training Institute of Raleigh, N.C., to conduct the first phase of testing. During the spring of 1969 approximately 32,000 randomly selected seventeen-year olds in hundreds of schools were ad-

1 "Education Commission of the States Absorbs CAPE," *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 20, No. 8, 1969.

2 An earlier paper had reported the status of the project to 1967, "National Assessment: Current Status," in Robert R. Leeper, Ed. *Humanizing Education: The Person in the Process*. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1967, pp. 104-114.

Professor Saylor, of the Department of Secondary Education in Nebraska, discusses the National Assessment from a different point of view from that taken in the previous article. Particularly disturbed by the inadequacy of the evaluation proposed and of the aims being defined, this author expresses a fear of nationalization of which he wants no part. He advocates that money be made available to the states for the purpose of assisting localities in undertaking expert evaluations conducted by specialists in the field. Dr. Saylor's essay was originally based upon an address delivered to the Dallas School Administrators' Club in March 1967; but it has been elaborated and brought up to date since that time.

ministered the test exercises in citizenship, science, and writing. During the summer 20,000 adults, ages 26-35, and 2,000 seventeen-year olds not in school were also tested.

The newsletter from NEAP states that, because of Commissioner James Allen's interest in the improvement of reading, the cycle of testing has been revised so that reading has moved up.³ The revised schedule is as follows:

Cycle 1

March, 1969 - February, 1970	Science, Writing, Citizenship
October, 1970 - August, 1971	Reading, Literature
October, 1971 - August, 1972	Music, Social Studies
October, 1972 - August, 1973	Math, Science, Career & Occupational Development (COD)
October, 1973 - August, 1974	Reading, Writing, Listening & Speaking (new)
October, 1974 - August, 1975	Citizenship, Art, Consumer Education (new)

Cycle 2 (October to August)

1975 - 76	Math, Science, Health Education (new)
1976 - 77	Reading, Literature, Physical Education (new)
1977 - 78	Music, Social Studies, Study Skills (new)
1978 - 79	Math, Science, COD
1979 - 80	Reading, Writing, Listening & Speaking
1980 - 81	Citizenship, Art, Consumer Education

But obviously the future of national assessment will be determined by two factors: The reaction of everyone concerned—the public, the school people, the Congress, the press, the taxpayers, and ECS itself—to the results of the assessment, and hence to the project itself; and the availability of funds. The budget of about \$2½ million for the 1968-1969 fiscal year was funded by foundations and an appropriation of \$1 million by Congress through the U.S. Office of Education. Where the estimated \$4 million needed for fiscal 1969-1970

³ "Assessment Cycle Changed; Reading Moved Up," *National Assessment of Educational Progress*, Vol. 2, No. 7, December 1969.

will come from has not been revealed, but obviously federal funds loom large in the planning. School administrators and researchers who have had their grants cut significantly this year may protest vigorously a diversion of a couple of million or more to assessment.

Pro Assessment The principal argument advanced in favor of the program of national assessment is that it would provide all concerned with the education of American children and youth much more knowledge than they now possess about the status of education and schooling in this country.

Ralph W. Tyler states that "the purpose of the project on assessing the progress of education is to provide the intelligent lay public with census-like data on the educational levels of important sectors of our population in order to furnish a dependable background of information about our educational attainments, the progress we are making and the problems that we still face in achieving our educational aspirations."⁴ The Carnegie Corporation says that "it is presumably better to know more rather than less about anything, particularly the way we are educating our children."⁵

Dr. Tyler has often said that "we do not have sound and adequate information on educational results. Because dependable data are not available, personal views, distorted reports, and journalistic impressions are the sources of public opinion, and schools are frequently attacked and frequently defended without having the necessary evidence to support either claim. This situation will be corrected only by careful, consistent efforts to obtain valid data to provide sound evidence about the progress of American education."⁶ He and other proponents of a national assessment suggest that it could result in an index of Gross Educational Product comparable to the index designated as Gross National Product. Such an index, developed from an adequate assessment program, would presumably help us as a nation in determining educational policy and making decisions about educational programs. The conversion of the results of the assessment into an index of Gross Educational Product, GEP, say its supporters, would—in the same manner in which the GNP aids economists

⁴ Ralph W. Tyler, "The Current Status of the Project on Assessing the Progress," *Educational Horizons*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Summer 1967. (A more lengthy explanation of the purposes of the Project may be found in Tyler's "The Purposes of Assessment," in Walcott B. Beatty, Ed. *Improving Educational Assessment and an Inventory of Measures of Affective Behavior*, ASCD, 1969.)

⁵ "The Gross National Product: How Much Are Students Learning?" *Carnegie Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Spring 1966, p. 2.

⁶ Ralph W. Tyler, "Assessing the Progress of Education," *Psi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 47, September 1965, p. 14.

—serve educators, boards of education, legislative bodies, and Congress in policy-making for the schools.

The Uses of Evaluation Some basic, yet comprehensive evaluation of educational outcomes is always necessary. Two basic types of program evaluation are essential: the evaluation which determines the extent to which a particular educational program or set of policies is achieving adequate objectives for which it was planned and designed; and external evaluation of the total educational program to determine whether the objectives themselves are valid and appropriate, and whether the schooling being provided is the kind needed by and significant for young people in today's world and the world of the future. It should be acknowledged that an assessment of educational progress like that proposed by the advocates of a national assessment could, if properly conceived and carried out, provide some important data for such an external evaluation.

But the primary purpose of any evaluation of a social agency or institution is to aid in decision-making. This is the prime contribution claimed by those who advocate a national assessment. Decisions, they say, could be based on better knowledge of the present situation. Tyler, for example, has stated that one of the fundamental purposes of evaluation is "to provide the public with dependable information to help in the understanding of educational problems and needs and to guide in efforts to develop sound policy regarding education."⁷ He goes on to say that such information is essential. Without it, he believes, "we scatter our efforts too widely and fail to achieve our goals." Francis Keppel, former United States Commissioner of Education, has said that the national assessment program "might contribute a more accurate guide than we currently possess for allocation of public and private funds, where they are needed, what they achieve, and decisions affecting education."⁸

An example of the kind of survey the assessment proponents had in mind can be found in the 1966 report entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity." This was the famous "Coleman Report," based on tests and surveys made under the auspices of the Office of Education. The results were, for a time, widely used as a basis for making extensive proposals about the desegregation of schools, wherever *de facto* or legal segregation existed. Such national surveys obviously provide a powerful argument for recommending changes in

7 Ralph W. Tyler, "The Objectives and Plans for National Assessment of Educational Progress," *Journal of Educational Measurement*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1966, p. 1.

8 Francis Keppel, "National Educational Assessment: We Badly Need It," *National Educational Assessment: Pro and Con*. Washington: American Association of School Administrators of National Education Association, 1966, p. 6.

basic structures, programs, policies, and the educational plans of the American school system; and a national assessment program would be no exception.

Anything, of course, that contributes to the improvement of our educational programs contributes to the well-being of our young people and advances the social, political, and economic life of the nation. If, by means of a national assessment program, we could increase our citizens' knowledge and understanding of the schools, we would be increasing public interest in education and, perhaps, contributing to public realization of the need for greater federal support. In fact, many of the proponents, particularly Francis Keppel (when he was commissioner), maintained that continuing increases in federal support of education might well depend on the Congress receiving objective data showing that the money was being wisely used in advancing young people's well-being.

Contra Assessment The basic purpose of all evaluation is to promote better programs of education. As the committee for the 1967 ASCD Yearbook⁹ insightfully pointed out: "The purpose of evaluation is to provide feedback and guidance to the whole educational process at every level." The primary question in evaluation, according to the committee, is how the results can be used "as a positive force towards better teaching, better learning, better balanced curriculum." Evaluation, they wrote, "controls the next step . . . all of our decisions are conditioned by perceptions of how we are doing in terms of what we had hoped to do."

It is precisely on this ground that the proposed national assessment falls short. It would provide very inadequate, limited evaluations of our educational product; therefore, the feedback received from this huge undertaking would be grossly misleading. It would, very likely, constitute a serious barrier to the development of better curricula and instructional programs in the schools. This is because evaluations of any aspect of a school's program play an important role in determining what is done in that program. If we "teach for tests," and if the kinds of evaluations made and the data obtained from the tests used are limited in scope, validity, and the type of objectives for which accomplishment is measured, the educational program will be distorted and miseducative. The proponents of a national assessment justify their program by arguing that "it's better to know more rather than less about anything." But inadequate knowledge about matters requiring basic planning and decision-making can be and usually is detrimental for sound decision-making. If the knowledge we gain through a given evaluation is biased or inadequate, we might well make better educational decisions on the basis of our experience

⁹ Fred T. Wilhelms, Chairman and Editor. *Evaluation as Feedback and Guide*. ASCD 1967 Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: ASCD, 1967.

and the knowledge we already possess. Inadequate knowledge almost invariably results in inadequate planning, if not planning that is erroneous and inept.

It should not be forgotten that we *do* have a great deal of knowledge about educational achievement in the schools. Our pupils are the most tested human beings in the world; and we know a vast amount about the nature of their educational attainments. Many of our existing programs have been developed on the basis of an intelligent use of such evidence. Moreover, our educational system, for all its faults, has advanced to a preeminent place in the world today. Who is it that needs this huge national assessment to make sound educational decisions? Not we educators. I seriously question whether the assessment program can aid us in any significant way in our educational planning, largely because the knowledge to be acquired through this project is so likely to be misleading.

My grounds for stating this are that only a limited portion of the educational enterprise is to be evaluated by the national assessment; and the feedback to be obtained will apply only to a small part of the total program of education offered in schools. Educators and citizens, nevertheless, will be urged to accept these limited results as a basis for changing educational programs. Otherwise, why spend so much money?

The assessment, as it is now described, will not present evidence on the development of motivational forces; nor will it provide information on self-image and self-actualization; nor will it add to our knowledge respecting character development, moral education, health, and physical status. The feedback will have to do solely with knowledge and the incidental aspects of behavior that may be revealed through paper and pencil tests or interviews. This means that significant information will be lacking on some of the most important objectives of education in today's schools; and I feel that this results in an extreme distortion of the educational enterprise.

Again, I must point out that the nature of the evaluation made of any enterprise becomes the source for feedback used in planning, developing, and carrying on programs for the achievement of the objectives sought. The national assessment certainly would not constitute more than a small part of the total evaluative processes engaged in by educators. My point, however, is that the influence such an assessment would have on educational planning would divert the schools from their efforts to attain other significant educational goals we accept as basic to adequate education for boys and girls.

Inadequacies of Evaluation According to present plans, the results of the national assessment will merely tell us what per-

centage of a particular unit of the 192 samples of school children (or, in some instances, adults) can achieve on a particular test item. Dr. Tyler, in providing an illustration, reports that the assessment will enable us to learn that "91% of 13-year-old boys of higher socioeconomic status in the large cities of the Northeast region of the United States knew 3 of the following important ingredients in a person's diet," or that "68% of this same sample population could answer this question correctly: Which of the following areas of scientific inquiry has been completely investigated and is thoroughly understood? a. Electricity b. Weather c. Gravity d. Heredity e. None of the above." Or, he goes on, that "57% indicated that they did not believe in any of the following list of superstitions."¹⁰ Now I ask you what we would do with such information if we were to receive it? How important or significant do we find it to be?

Another proposed assessment exercise is the following: "Prepare written directions which tell a friend how to get to your home from the nearest turnpike exit."¹¹ This exercise is to be given to adults in an effort to measure their ability to write. Suppose, after we administer such a test, we discover that only 47% of the adult population can write a satisfactory set of directions. What is to be done next? I recognize that these are only sample test items from a large body of test items to be given to the four age-group populations included in the sample. But regardless how extensive or comprehensive the test items given to each population in any one of the seven subject fields, what will we have when the evaluation is complete and the reports have been made?

Now that the sets of objectives for which test exercises were prepared in science, writing, and citizenship have been published,¹² controversy has already broken out long before the results have been published. Henry De Zutter, writing a special feature for the *Chicago Daily News*, stated that the "40-page booklet (the citizenship objectives) might be subtitled 'a credo for the middle American.' It is certain to be attacked by the left, the right or the just plain different."¹³ We can foresee some long, but bitter debates in Congress and state legislatures, and even school board meetings about the percentage of 9-, 13-, 17-year olds and adults who "are loyal to country, to friends, and to other groups whose values they share."¹⁴ But much more seriously, what will happen to the school program following these debates?

¹⁰ Ralph W. Tyler, "Assessing the Progress of Education in Success," *The Science Teacher*, September 1966, p. 14.

¹¹ Jack C. Merwin and Ralph W. Tyler, "What the Assessment of Education Will Ask," *Nation's Schools*, Vol. 78, November 1966, p. 79.

¹² Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education, *Science Objectives* (33 pp.), *Writing Objectives* (19 pp.), *Citizenship Objectives* (57 pp.), Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969.

¹³ Published in the *Lincoln (Nebr.) Evening Journal*, October 29, 1969.

¹⁴ *Citizenship Objectives*, op. cit., p. 12.

The Exploratory Committee has evaded the question of norms and standards when it comes to determining what is desirable in the way of educational attainment. Presumably, norms would be defined by all those concerned about education, acting through boards of education, state legislatures, Congress, and other decision-making agencies. The program of national assessment, it appears, is intended to provide information on the status of education alone, not on its quality. Educators and citizens would still have to decide whether the results were good or bad. How, then, would the assessment results help in the decision-making process? In spite of pious denials, there is a hidden factor: the intent that (later on) state legislatures, boards of education, or Congress will prescribe criteria governing the accomplishment to be expected in the schools. If this is not the case, what is the sense of gathering all this information?

Individual Development The principal deficiency in the national assessment program seems to me to lie in the fact that it ignores the planning of educational programs for specific pupils. The most important objective of American education is to develop each child to the fullest extent possible, in socially approved directions. National assessment, as I see it, will provide little assistance to those engaged in planning with this end in view. The assessment committee makes clear that it will not provide test scores for individual children, schools, or communities. Every child who participates will simply be a statistic in an elaborate sampling procedure. Tested on a very limited set of measures, his score will become a statistic in a massive analysis of educational achievement. What help does an undertaking of this size offer to a teacher in a particular school trying to teach a particular group of active children of many kinds and descriptions? What good would it do the staff of a school system, wrestling with major problems of educational management, to know that 29% of adults tested painted a picture? What good would it do the state educational agency to know that 57% of Midwestern 17-year-olds can interpret a paragraph by Ralph Waldo Emerson?

Just at this point in educational history when school systems, research centers, and educational agencies, often with federal support, are making valiant efforts to introduce a much greater degree of individualization in the instructional program, the nation is saddled with a national assessment that gives us a limited index of educational status in mass terms, with no evidence on the development of an individual child.

Inadequacies of Aim-Definition We all agree that any adequate assessment must be made in terms of objectives and aims educators are presently seeking to attain. I think that the lists of objectives

formulated by the test agencies and refined by committees of scholars, educators, and parents are grossly inadequate. Moreover, I believe—like many thoughtful educators and citizens—that a program of national assessment will lead to increased nationalization of educational programs; and I do not approve of this. I want local control over educational programs and am personally opposed to all efforts to nationalize education. Can you imagine the debate likely to occur about the level of knowledge or lack of knowledge on the part of 13-year olds respecting the powers of Congress, or about the extent to which 17-year olds read newspapers? It is apparent that all sorts of pressure groups will seek to bring about "reforms" to serve their particular ends.

It should be clear that I am vigorously opposed to national assessment as advocated by the Tyler Committee for the reasons spelled out above. Assessment, I believe, would force the schools to emphasize objectives having to do primarily with the acquisition of knowledge and skills in a limited part of the total educational enterprise. Having considerable experience in a nation with a highly centralized and nationalized educational system, I can assure you I want no part of nationalization in this country; and I am fearful that the plans for national assessment may lead in this direction.

I would strongly urge that, instead of this farflung national assessment project, we begin developing in our state and local school systems some comprehensive programs of evaluation. It is from such evaluations that we can gather evidence of help to local boards of education, administrative staffs, and teachers interested in undertaking reforms, modifying existing programs, and developing the kinds of new programs that would assure the children and youth of the community an improved education. I would advocate, therefore, that Congress make large sums of money available to the states for assisting local districts in undertaking expert evaluations conducted by specialists in the field. Our present methods of evaluation are often inadequate, invalid, or inconsequential; but this is not to say that we need a program of national assessment. If we use available resources to improve evaluative programs at the local level, we can use the information derived in revising school programs and improving instruction.

Just as the federal government has made funds available for the expansion of guidance and counseling programs, so it might set about helping local school systems and state education departments improve and develop their own assessment programs.¹⁵ A local school system should, it seems to me, have

¹⁵ For one of the most insightful and helpful statements on the nature and character of the kinds of evaluation needed in education today, see Daniel L. Stufflebeam, "Evaluation as Enlightenment for Decision Making," *Improving Educational Assessment and An Inventory of Measures of Affective Behavior*, op. cit., pp. 41-73.

a well-staffed bureau of evaluation with an adequate number of staff members available to consult, advise, and work with individual teachers in a comprehensive and significant evaluation of their own educational program. This would obviate, I believe, the presumed "necessity" of a national assessment program.

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Reflections on Moral Education

Peter F. Carbone, Jr.
Duke University

One of the curious things about moral education is that while nearly everyone approves of it, we seem to have great difficulty in working it into our educational system. As Ralph Barton Perry observed some years ago:

Schools and colleges, designed for educational purposes, leave it to the home, the church, the Boy or Girl Scouts, or other private and more or less impromptu organizations. But even these agencies hesitate to assume responsibility. The home passes it on to the school, and the school passes it back to the home.¹

The literature on the subject, moreover, clearly tends toward the view that what little time and effort the school *does* invest in moral education is relatively unavailing. On that account, there is certainly no scarcity of articles pointing out the contemporary "breakdown" of moral standards and urging upon the schools the obligation to revitalize the nation's moral strength, the implication being, of course, that educators are not performing the task satisfactorily at present.

It seems to me that whether or not one subscribes to this view depends in large part on one's conception of moral education. It is doubtless true that we rarely allot a place in the curriculum for a formal course in the subject. Nor, as a rule, do we get very deeply into moral issues, even when we do attempt to provide at least a smattering of moral education on an informal basis. On the other hand, any experienced teacher can testify that the school takes some pains to reinforce those norms and values that are generally accepted in society at large. This is usually accomplished not by direct instruction in moral precepts, but rather by various indirect methods which stress example and illustration in a variety of contexts. The means employed are diverse and somewhat haphazard, perhaps, but the task can hardly be said to be ignored. It can,

¹ Ralph Barton Perry. *Realms of Value*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

"For the Record," in December, touched on the question of moral education. We are pleased to have Professor Carbone carry the discussion further. Not only does he speak here of the need to confront moral issues in the classroom, he talks of the specific problems entailed by the need to socialize young children into the moral institution, and the need to engage older children with critical ethical inquiry. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the South Atlantic Philosophy of Education Society in October 1968.

however, and frequently is said to be ineffective, but here again the assertion is somewhat ambiguous. If our criterion of effectiveness is the child's ability to recite the values and norms he is expected to abide by as the result of moral instruction, then I should say that the school, in conjunction with home and church, is fairly successful. For how many school children would deny that they should be God-fearing and patriotic; that they should tell the truth, be honest, and keep their promises; that they should love and respect their fellow men (communists, anarchists, and miscellaneous "leftists" excepted, of course); that they should value liberty, equality, and, above all, free enterprise?

Appropriation and Indoctrination

The charge of ineffectiveness may refer, however, to actions, to what children do as opposed to what they say, in which case the criticism could be well-taken. For as Scheffler has so ably pointed out, it is one thing to appropriate a norm in the verbal sense and quite another to possess a tendency to act in accordance with it.² This being the case, it might seem at first glance that the solution lies in forging patterns of behavior consistent with the normative principles we wish to impart, using whatever behavior-influencing devices we may have at our disposal. Now the obvious objection to this strategy is that it smacks of indoctrination, and as Frankena notes after considering techniques along these lines, "We conceive ourselves as having put them behind us."³ And so we have—but not completely, of course. Here again, those most familiar with what takes place in our classrooms would concede, I believe, that this sort of thing is hardly unknown in the American school.

Of course the indoctrination charge may refer to the content as well as to the process of moral education. This issue obviously emerges when we raise questions about which moral principles we should be expected to teach. As I indicated earlier, we do present long-standing norms and values to children as being worthy of adoption. This is part of what is meant by passing on the cultural heritage. But it will not do to construe the transmission of culture as the whole of moral education, since it is always appropriate—in fact it is incumbent when one is engaged in moral inquiry—to question the legitimacy of custom (and, indeed, of law or any other guide to conduct), and it is this feature more than any other, perhaps, that sets ethics or critical morality off from custom or conventional morality. In other words, an individual might understand perfectly well which norms are valued in his culture and yet reject

² Israel Scheffler, *The Language of Education*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1960.

³ William K. Frankena, "Toward a Philosophy of Moral Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Fall 1958, p. 302.

some of them on the grounds that they are unacceptable from the moral point of view. As Benn and Peters have observed in this connection, "Morality arises when custom or law is subjected to critical examination."⁴

Value Conflicts Thus, it is inappropriate, at least with older children, to teach morality the way we teach the multiplication tables, or the characteristics of chemical elements, or, for that matter, the behavior of crowds. Morality is not primarily an "information-dispensing" subject, in which content can be distributed in neat factual packages. "What distinguishes morality from the formal and natural sciences," says R. F. Atkinson, "is that in it different and opposed first principles are readily conceivable, and are in fact accepted by morally serious people."⁵ It is important, I think, for students to grasp this fact. Similarly, it is important for them to realize that in a given situation dispute is entirely possible, even among those who subscribe to the same first principles. As Isaiah Berlin reminds us:

In life as normally lived, the ideals of one society and culture clash with those of another, and at times come into conflict within the same society and, often enough, within the moral experience of a single individual; . . .⁶

This point seems to have been missed by those writers on moral education who exhort us to present prevailing norms and values to children as though we were teaching the multiplication tables, as though moral principles, like the rules of mathematics, never conflict with one another. Apart from the indoctrination issue, it is worth noting in this connection that even if we decided to heed this advice and ignore the problem of validation, we would still fall short of the mark from a practical standpoint. We would fall short because our students would be unprepared to cope with situations involving conflict between values. That such conflict is not only possible but rather commonplace needs to be clearly understood.

More than that, it is important, I believe, to emphasize that considerable disagreement exists with regard to the very nature of ethical propositions. Consider, for instance, the claim that a given act is right, wrong, or obligatory; or that a certain character trait or motive is morally good or bad; or that an experience or a material object is valuable (in a nonmoral sense). Can such claims be said to be true or false? Are they even meaningful? Are they empirically verifiable or logically demonstrable? Are they self-evident, that is,

⁴ S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters. *Social Principles and the Democratic State*. London: George Allen Unwin Ltd., 1959.

⁵ R. F. Atkinson, "Instruction and Indoctrination," in Reginald D. Archambault, Ed. *Philosophical Analysis and Education*. New York: The Humanities Press, 1965.

⁶ Isaiah Berlin, "Equality," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. 61, 1955-56, p. 319.

can their validity be seen intuitively? Or are such judgments merely matters of personal taste or opinion? Can they be described as purely subjective, emotional utterances? Or, finally, do they function neither as descriptive propositions nor as arbitrary assertions of personal preference, but rather as prescriptions which can be defended on rational grounds, though not verified to the degree possible with empirical or logical propositions? Turning to moral philosophers for guidance, we find, alas, that most if not all of these questions have been answered both affirmatively and negatively by competent thinkers.

From Acceptance to Criticism To grasp this characteristic open-endedness, to understand that there are no absolute, invulnerable guidelines to the "virtuous life," that no moral theory has preempted the field, is to begin to discern something about the structure of morality; and assuming that such discernment is helpful when one engages in moral discourse, I should think that it ought to rank high on our list of priorities. I am not suggesting, however, that we can dispense entirely with the inculcation of norms. The fact of the matter is that we cannot wait until the child has reached the point at which he is capable of abstract reasoning before we begin to introduce him to the norms and values that are part of his cultural legacy. The school could "officially" disclaim all responsibility for providing moral instruction in the lower grades, of course, but teachers would continue to impart norms in one way or another simply by virtue of their roles as authority figures in the lives of younger children. Thus it is unrealistic to argue that we can avoid confronting the inculcation bugbear merely by postponing moral education until the child is old enough to benefit from a more sophisticated treatment of the subject. The real issue is not whether, but how moral instruction should be provided in the elementary grades; and since the research of Piaget and his colleagues⁷ indicates that youngsters at that age are incapable of grasping the rationale for moral principles, or even perceiving the appropriateness of demands for justifying reasons, it would appear that we are left with little choice at this stage but to present the rules as though they were part of the natural order of things. I am not overlooking, in this context, the heuristic educational value, particularly in the "factual" areas of the curriculum, of Bruner's interesting claim that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."⁸ Given Piaget's findings, however, it is not at all obvious that this principle can be applied to the moral education of the very young without placing

⁷ Jean Piaget, et. al. *The Moral Judgment of the Child*. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

⁸ Jerome S. Bruner. *The Process of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

undue strain on the term "intellectually honest." The problem, then, is to avoid destroying the child's capacity for later critical evaluation of the norms he has been led to accept uncritically during his most formative years. Referring to this situation as "the paradox of moral education," Peters has described it as follows:

Given that it is desirable to develop people who conduct themselves rationally, intelligently, and with a fair degree of spontaneity, the brute facts of child development reveal that at the most formative years of a child's development he is incapable of this form of life and impervious of the proper manner of passing it on.⁹

It is necessary, in short, to instill norms and habits of behavior before children are capable of thoughtful appraisal of what they are absorbing. Now it is very difficult for us to admit this necessity because the admission is so much at variance with our popular ideology. Indeed, a good deal of our educational rhetoric is utilized to deny this very assertion. The danger here, it seems to me, is that we can get so caught up in our own rhetoric that we fail to perceive the extent of, and the reasons for, our involvement in the practice of inculcation. Consequently, we tend to obscure the difficult problem of how norms may be implanted in children and yet not so firmly rooted that they will be permanently immovable under any contingency whatsoever. If, as Piaget and Peters seem to suggest, some inculcation is inevitable in the lower grades, then the question is, how much of it can we tolerate, and how can we avert its potential adverse effects? Hopefully, we may turn to the educational psychologist for assistance here, but such help is not likely to be forthcoming unless we ask the right questions. And in order to do that we must first face up to the problem.

The Socialization Phase What I am suggesting, then, is that it might prove fruitful to conceive of moral education as including two fairly well-defined levels or phases. At the first level our chief concern should be to contribute to the socialization of the child by inducing him to accept (in the active sense) the values, attitudes, and standards of behavior that prevail in his social environment. (There will be some conflict here, of course, but even in a society as pluralistic as ours, there are basic values that transcend group differences.) As I have already indicated, a certain amount of imposition is unavoidable at this level, there being no other way to initiate

⁹ R. S. Peters, "Reason and Habit: The Paradox of Moral Education," in W. R. Niblett, Ed. *Moral Education in a Changing Society*. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1963.

the young into their culture at the time such initiation must begin. By "imposition" or "inculcation" I do not mean what Sidney Hook calls "irrational" means of persuasion such as the systematic use of spurious arguments, for example, or the suppression of pertinent facts in order to support a debatable point of view.¹⁰ This sort of approach is to be avoided at all levels. On the other hand, what Hook refers to as "conditioning" or "nonrational methods of inducing belief," presenting norms straight-out, that is, without benefit of elaborate supporting statements or possible counter arguments, seems to me to be an acceptable method of instructing younger children who are not yet proficient in dealing with abstractions. Even at this early stage, however, we need, as Hook cautions, to be alert to opportunities for cultivating the child's critical abilities, and we should present to him on a nonrational basis only those norms that we are convinced will stand the test of reflective evaluation later on.

Towards Reflectiveness

In the second phase of moral education, our objective is, of course, to advance the child beyond the level of relatively passive acceptance of norms, merely because they are prevalent in his surroundings, to a point at which he is capable of critical, independent judgment in these matters. In a word, we are interested at this level in developing reflective moral agents, people capable of furnishing a reasoned justification for the principles that guide their behavior. For as Frankena comments,

Morality fosters or even calls for the use of reason and for a kind of autonomy on the part of the individual, asking him, when mature and normal, to make his own decisions, though possibly with someone's advice, and even stimulating him to think out the principles or goals in the light of which he is to make his decisions.¹¹

A good deal of the literature on moral education centers on the problem of how best to carry out what I prefer to think of as the preliminary part of the task. There is much debate about what means are most effective, whether, for instance, time should be set aside for direct instruction in moral precepts, or whether the so-called indirect methods—teacher example, illustrations drawn from the study of literature and the social sciences, inspirational school assemblies, object lessons arising out of classroom or extracurricular activities, etc.—will yield better results.

10 Sidney Hook. *Education for Modern Man: A New Perspective*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

11 William K. Frankena. *Ethics*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

These are questions worthy of serious consideration, certainly, but a more important issue in my view, as I have already intimated, and one that does not usually receive the attention it deserves, is the problem of how to facilitate the child's transition from the first to the second phase of moral education. For surely we cannot rest content with simply furnishing instruction in whatever moral principles happen to prevail at present. Surely a second phase is needed if we take seriously the goal of producing autonomous moral agents. To continue on indefinitely with the techniques appropriate at the first level, I should say, is to fail to advance from moral "training" to "teaching," both of which have their place in an overall program of moral education. An adequate analysis of this distinction would take us far afield, but roughly, "teaching" is more restrictive than "training" in terms of acceptable methodology, and it demands more of a cognitive emphasis on the part of both teacher and learner. "To teach, in the standard sense," Scheffler remarks,

is at some points at least to submit oneself to the understanding and independent judgment of the pupil, to his demand for reasons, to his sense of what constitutes an adequate explanation... Teaching, in this way, requires us to reveal our reasons to the student and, by so doing, to submit them to his evaluation and criticism.¹²

"Training" on the other hand, connotes processes of drill, rote-learning, habit-formation, and the like. It is more permissive, less scrupulous about the means used to bring about a change in behavior or in attitude. It fails, in sum, to engage the child's rational capacities to the extent that "teaching" does, and is therefore unequal to the assignment once moral education has advanced beyond the introductory stage.

Teaching Principles Much more could, and no doubt should, be said by way of clarification here, but perhaps the point regarding the difference in emphasis between the first and second levels is evident at least in outline form. I have already commented on the need for further research to inform our efforts with respect to the preliminary phase. Assuming that this additional information will be provided, and that we can guide the child through his early moral training without placing too great a strain on his incipient critical capacities, we can sketch in some of the characteristics of moral education at the second level. Most of these characteristics, e.g., the emphasis on reasons and justification, the awareness that moral principles frequently conflict with one another, the realization that there is con-

¹² Scheffler, *op. cit.*

siderable disagreement even among moral philosophers concerning the meaning and cognitive status of moral propositions, have already been mentioned. In addition, we need to convey something about the nature of moral discourse, I should think, and perhaps some understanding of how it differs from the "language" of other disciplines. This, I suggest, is partly what we are groping for when we talk about providing children with the intellectual tools that are a prerequisite for clear thinking. Further, we need to confront our students with moral issues that force them to re-examine and re-evaluate their own moral principles. "What we do, if we are sensible," Hare writes,

is to give him [the learner] a solid base of principles, but at the same time ample opportunity of making the decisions upon which these principles are based, and by which they are modified, improved, adapted to changed circumstances, or even abandoned if they become entirely unsuited to a new environment.¹³

Admittedly, it is somewhat unsettling to subject one's basic moral beliefs to the kind of challenge implied here; but, as Peirce and Dewey taught, the irritation of doubt frequently serves as a prod to genuine inquiry. It may be argued, however, that youngsters of high school age are not sufficiently experienced or psychologically stable enough to engage in this sort of thing, that such considerations should be taken up only on the college level.¹⁴ Personally, I feel that this view grossly underestimates the maturity of contemporary 16-, 17-, and 18-year olds, who have practically been weaned on moral controversy as a result of their constant exposure to the mass media. And though it may be true that adolescence is not the most psychologically tranquil period in one's life, it is also true that it is the time when one is most likely to seriously question and demand justification for the moral rules and standards one is expected to honor. Under these circumstances, we do the adolescent no favor in attempting to shield him from difficult moral issues at a time when he is searching for a personal philosophy of life. What he needs at this point is guidance on a journey that he is very likely determined to undertake, whether we approve or not.

Most of the procedures suggested above are rather familiar, to be sure, yet with possible rare exceptions, one does not find them being implemented in our schools. Their absence is partly attributable, in my opinion, to the misconception that once the notion of moral absolutes is discarded, any attempt to provide moral education becomes an exercise in indoctrination. And while

13. R. M. Hare, *The Language of Morals*. London: Clarendon Press, 1952.

14. View expressed in George Herbert Palmer and Alice Freeman Palmer, *The Teacher*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1908.

we might be willing to concede that a limited amount of indoctrination in Hook's "nonrational" sense may be unavoidable in the lower grades, most of us rightfully have serious misgivings about extending its application to older students. Thus we simply neglect to provide a coherent program for this age group. In my view this is a classic example of throwing out the baby with the bath water. The perceived danger can easily be averted by recognizing that at the second level our primary emphasis must shift from the transmittal of moral propositions to their application, justification, meaning, and genre. I am inclined to believe that such a shift in emphasis is mandatory if moral education is to reflect the essential character of moral philosophy, and that some such reflection is necessary to ensure the integrity of moral education.

In concluding, I should acknowledge the many practical problems that I have neglected to consider in this brief essay, problems relating, for example, to implications for teacher education, to the possible introduction of new courses, and to the relationship of moral education to the "factual areas" of the curriculum (for obviously factual information is a necessary condition for the intelligent application of moral principles). I realize, too, that some of the concepts and terms employed in this discussion would benefit from further explication and analysis. But each of these tasks would require extended treatment, and my purpose here was merely to suggest a concept of moral education which might contain enough initial plausibility to be taken up for further discussion. In attempting to do so, I have drawn freely from the writings of a number of philosophers who have made significant contributions to our understanding of the ways in which moral philosophy is relevant to the problems of moral education. If drawing together some of the more promising and provocative features of their work contributes anything worthwhile toward the development of an adequate conception of moral education, I am confident that the practical problems can be worked out by specialists in the areas of learning theory and curriculum development.



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THE SIGN OF
EXCELLENCE

Educational Enlightenment Out of Texas: Toward Bilingualism

Francesco Cordasco
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It has long been an ethnocentric illusion in the United States that, for a child born in this country, English is not a foreign language and virtually all instruction in the schools must be through the medium of English. Some of our states (New York included) have mandated this ethnocentrism in a plethora of statutes which expressly forbid instruction in any language but English. Of course this is not difficult to understand. Despite the ideals of a democratic society in which the schools were to serve as a basic vehicle of cohesion, the schools instead became the agencies of social disaffection, cultural assault, and enforced assimilation. How could it have been otherwise, since the schools had to minister to children who brought with them myriad cultures and a multiplicity of tongues? More often than not (almost always in the urban immigrant citadels) the American schools found their children in poverty and neglect. If there is a common denominator which must be sought in the millions of American children who presented themselves to a society's schools, it is poverty. And its ingredients (within the parameters of this poverty) were cultural differences, language handicaps, social alienation, and disaffection. In this sense, the Negro huddled in the urban ghettos, the Puerto Rican poor in search of economic opportunity on the mainland, and the Mexican-American poor, largely an urban minority, are not newcomers to the American schools, nor do they present American educators with new problems. The American poor, traditionally, are the ingredients out of which our social institutions have fashioned the sinews of greatness.

In its efforts to "assimilate" all of its charges, the American school assimilated (and in consequence very often destroyed) the cultural identity of the child; it forced him to leave his ancestral language at the schoolhouse door; it developed in the child a haunting ambivalence of language, of culture, of ethnicity, and of self-affirmation. It held up to its children mirrors in which

Professor Cordasco, educational sociologist and author of many works on the minority child, is an educational consultant to the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Very knowledgeable about and much concerned with the plight of the Spanish-speaking child, he has given testimony on Senate Bill 428 and H.R. 9840. These are the bills which sought to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and allocate funds to provide special programs for Spanish-speaking children. He credits Texas for this because the "sleeper" amendment was introduced by Senator Fariborough, understandably interested in the problems of his Mexican-American constituents.

they saw not themselves, but the stereotyped middle-class, white, English-speaking child who embodied the essences of what the American child was (or ought) to be. For the minority child, the images which the school fashioned were cruel deceptions. In the enforced acculturation there were bitterness and confusion; but tragically, too, there was the rejection of the wellsprings of identity, and more often than not, the failure of achievement. The ghettoization of the European immigrant is, in substance, exactly analogous to the ghettoization of the Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American poor. Louis Wirth, a long time ago, called attention to the vitality of the ghetto in its maintenance of the life-styles, languages, and cultures of a minority people assaulted by the main institutions of a dominant society.

When the Congress discovered poverty in the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and fashioned the cornucopia out of which the schools have plucked endless "goodies," the schools largely fashioned programs born out of this new federal largesse which reflected their continuing pursuit of the stereotyped middle-class, white, English-speaking child in whose image all of our children were to be cast. And so Head Start taught its children middle-class table manners; the Neighborhood Youth Corps took its social adventurers to museums and opera houses whenever they could be found; Upward Bound, too, became preoccupied with the cultural refurbishing of its charges and took for granted miraculous cognitive blossoming; and Title I Programs of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act did a whole host of things which were designed to elevate "culturally deprived" children to levels of middle-class conformism, *de rigueur*.

The Non-English Speaking Child Those of us who have been concerned with Puerto Rican children in our major cities have for some time struggled with what was actually a very old problem. If all children presented themselves to the American schools with many differences, how graphic was the immediate difference epitomized in the non-English speaking child. The history of the American school has not been the evangelical triumph which the New England sage and historian Ellwood Cubberley sketched in such bold relief; rather, the non-English speaking child (almost inevitably in a context of poverty) was the easy victim of cultural assault, and his ancestral language was at once a target against which the school mounted relentless resources.

Against this tragic background and quixotic effort, largely unnoticed, has been a "sleeper" amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which in essence would propose that we wash away the haunting ghosts of ethnocentrism and cultural affectation, and turn to the meaningful cultiva-

tion of individual differences which better reflect the pluralistic base out of which the children of an open society truly come.

The Sleeper Amendment The history of this "sleeper" amendment is a good illustration of what Kenneth Clark has characterized as "the dilemmas of power." Where would one have sought the power in the Congress to recognize the particular needs of Puerto Rican children, if previous Congresses had chosen largely to ignore those millions of children who were non-English speaking who had passed through the portals of the school? The tactic here was obviously to relate the Puerto Rican child to the needs of another group long indigenous in our society but equally long disfranchised, and for whom English was not the native language. In the five state area of the Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California) there are at least 1.75 million school children with Spanish surnames, whose linguistic, cultural and psychological handicaps cause them to experience, in general, academic failure in our schools, or at best limit them to only mediocre success. The Mexican-American child classically demonstrated that an almost inevitable concomitant of poverty was low educational achievement. Thus, it was out of unlikely Texas that an extraordinary amendment to the ESEA was proposed: an unlikely provenance, since one would have expected that the provisions of this liberal and enlightened amendment would have been born in the great egalitarian citadels of the North.

On January 17, 1967 Ralph Yarborough (D.-Texas) introduced in the Senate of the United States S.428, which proposed "To amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to provide assistance to local educational agencies in establishing bilingual American education programs and to provide certain other assistance to promote such programs." At long last the Congress had before it legislation which would legitimize the cultivation of individual differences in our schools. Understandably, Senator Yarborough was concerned with the problems of his Mexican-American constituents, but his bill explicitly noted that "For the purpose of this Title, Spanish-speaking elementary and secondary students means elementary and secondary school students born in, or one or both of whose parents were born in, Mexico or Puerto Rico, and, in states for which such information is available, other students with Spanish surnames." The very proposal of the bill was tantamount to the recognition that Mexican-American children had been neglected by American schools. But Senator Yarborough's legislation went far beyond this elemental recognition. It proposed (1) bilingual educational programs, (2) the teaching of Spanish as the native language, (3) the teaching of Eng-

lish as a second language; (4) programs designed to impart to Spanish-speaking students a knowledge of and pride in their ancestral culture and language; (5) efforts to attract and retain as teachers promising individuals of Mexican or Puerto Rican descent; and (6) efforts to establish closer cooperation between the school and the home. What extraordinary proposals! Those millions of children who had been denied what a mature society was now proposing might well have served as a Greek chorus intoning social amens.

As was to be expected, Senator Yarborough's bill (which had as co-sponsors both Mr. Javits and Mr. Kennedy of New York) created a flurry of activity in the House (though largely unnoticed outside the Congress) and a veritable spate of companion House bills were proposed, chief amongst which was H.R. 9840 mounted by James H. Scheuer (D.-New York). Congressman Scheuer would have everything that Senator Yarborough had proposed, but he chose not to accept the Yarborough bill's limitation of its provisions to Spanish-speaking students. For Congressman Scheuer the school would respond in much the fashion that Yarborough proposed, no matter what the student's native language might be, and Congressman Scheuer simply chose to increase five-fold the allocations which Senator Yarborough had proposed (\$25,000,000 as against \$5,000,000 for fiscal 1967-68), and further to allow participation by full-time nonpublic school students (children in parish schools).

Towards Bilingualism There are of course some objections which have been raised against the legislation. Some linguists have objected to the pegging of the bill to the poverty context, and have been adamant in proposing that the bill be unrestricted in its provisions and allow the cultivation of a vast bilingual resource. But this is truly another problem. What the legislation has really proposed (no matter how awkwardly, and with full cognizance of all the programming intricacies which will have to be worked out) is that the social institution which is the school and which serves the children of an open society must build on the cultural strengths which the child brings to the classroom: to cultivate in this child ancestral pride; to reinforce (not destroy) the language he natively speaks; to cultivate his inherent strengths; and to give this child the sense of personal identification so essential to his social maturation. We can only lament the lost opportunities of other eras. The legislation proposes that there is no excuse for failure at this juncture in our society. Senator Yarborough's "sleeper" legislation will have thrust greatness upon him, and Texas will have become in educational history as illustrious as Massachusetts. In August, 1967 his Senate Bill 428 was unanimously reported out of the Senate Sub-Committee on Education, and in the closing sessions of the 90th Congress became law. In the long

interim which followed, a reluctant Congress finally authorized \$7.5 million for fiscal 1969.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert H. Finch said on February 12, 1969, that he considered prompt, massive upgrading of bilingual education one of the major imperatives confronting HEW. He announced at the same time that he was establishing a new post, Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education for Bilingual Education, as a first step in meeting this challenge. Proposals requesting some \$47 million were received prior to the December 20, 1968, deadline from local agencies in 40 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Following review of the proposals by a panel of outside experts, selected applicants were asked by the Office of Education to submit formal proposals by May 5, 1969, for final evaluation. From a \$7.5 million budget for the program for fiscal 1969, direct grants are to be made to those agencies that propose programs and activities which present innovative solutions to bilingual education problems. Projects must focus on schools that have a high concentration of children of limited English-speaking ability and who come from families earning less than \$3,000 per year. Emphasis may be on planning and developing research projects; conducting pilot projects to test the effectiveness of plans; developing special instructional materials; and providing training for teachers, teacher aides, and counselors. Bilingual educational activities may be designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture related to their languages; establish closer cooperation between the school and the home; and provide preschool and adult educational programs related to bilingual education.

Seventy-seven public school agencies in 27 states have been invited by the U.S. Office of Education to prepare formal proposals for grants under the authority of the \$7.5 million Bilingual Education Program, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended. These education agencies were selected from 312 which submitted preliminary proposals to the U.S. Office of Education by the December 20, 1968 deadline. Approved projects will be operating during the 1969-70 school year.

Black African Educational Needs and the Soviet Response

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The involvement of the Soviet Union in educational assistance programs to Africa has been widely and sensationaly covered in the United States mass media, especially in times of conflict between Africans and Soviet citizens.¹ Crucial questions in any objective analysis of educational relations between Africa and the Soviet Union would be as follows: 1) What are some of the pressing African educational needs? 2) Has the Soviet Union been involved—both inside and outside the U.S.S.R.—in helping to alleviate these needs? If so, in what ways? This paper attempts to respond to those two basic questions, with data collected up through 1964.

African Educational Needs Several reasons explain the need for Africans to study overseas and thus rely heavily on educational systems and training programs of countries outside of Africa. One is a shortage of high-level manpower.² Defining the high-level manpower as "strategic human capital,"³ two serious observers of the African scene agree

- 1 Hundreds of articles read in the American, Western European, African, and West Indian periodicals between 1960 and 1964 have been almost unanimously critical and have often tended to distort in Cold War terms. Wishful thinking has been the rule, rather than the exception.
- 2 Numerous African political figures have commented upon this problem. See Emperor Haile Selassie, "An Address by the Emperor of Ethiopia at the Inauguration of Haile Selassie I University, 1961"; President Julius Nyere, "An Address by the President of the Republic of Tanganyika at the Inauguration of the University of East Africa, 1964"; President Kwame Nkrumah, "The Role of a University, 1963"; President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, "Our Students Must Participate in the Development of Their Country, 1963"; L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell, and David G. Scanlon, Eds. *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965; President Kenneth Kaunda, "Installation Address by His Excellency the President K. D. Kaunda as Chancellor of the University of Zambia, 1966" at the University of Zambia.
- 3 Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers. *Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1964.

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that most African countries lack the reserve pile of leadership for political, economic, and social activities.⁴ In fact, Harbison and Myers' study show very clearly the abominable high-level manpower vacuum existing in Black Africa. Of the fifteen Middle African countries surveyed, only one, the Republic of Ghana, escaped the lowest of the four levels assigned to countries throughout the world. There is no reason to doubt that these fourteen countries—Niger, Ethiopia, Nyasaland, Somalia, Tanganyika, Ivory Coast, Zambia, Congo, Liberia, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, and Sudan—are unrepresentative of the whole of Middle Africa.

The authors generalize (1) that education and government employ a minimum of one-third of the high-level manpower; (2) that over half of the personnel filling high-level positions are non-Africans; and 3) that expatriates from Western Europe hold most key posts in the public services, in education, and in commerce and industry. With foreigners not necessarily sympathetic to national objectives holding key positions in hospitals, universities, and secondary and primary schools, banks, factories, plantations, mines, oil refineries, and giant commercial establishments, it is clear that "Africanization" is merely an objective and not an implemented reality. According to three major Africanists—two political scientists and one educationalist—manpower shortages in Africa can be noted in the following specific areas:

- 1) Highly educated professional personnel, such as doctors, engineers, and agronomists;
- 2) Technicians, nurses, and other trained individuals who serve as assistants to the professional personnel;
- 3) Managers and administrators who can assume responsibility for high-level positions;
- 4) Teachers, particularly at the secondary level; and
- 5) Craftsmen, entrepreneurs, bookkeepers, and secretaries.⁵

A second important reason for Africans' studying overseas in large numbers is directly related to Africa's inherited educational systems, often merely carbon copies of their European ex-rulers. The curricula do not meet the needs of a developing society: the emphasis is on humanism, rather than on science and technology.⁶

⁴ For a critique of Harbison and Myers, see E. R. Rado and A. R. Jolly, "The Demand for Manpower: An East African Case Study," *Journal of Development Studies*, April 1965, pp. 226-250.

⁵ Cowan, O'Connell, and Scanlon, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶ Interview with Philip H. Coombs, Director, Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, April 1964.

Colonial Survivals Certain generalizations can be made about education during the colonial era which tended to be present at the time of independence. First, there was a tradition of humanistic studies, and hence, education provided little or no work incentive for the needs of those indigenous to economically underdeveloped Africa.⁷ Second, it appears that the creation of moral defeatism among the people was one of the purposes of colonial education. As Kwame Nkrumah spoke to the world-wide gathering of Africans meeting in Ghana in 1962:

This [colonial] system of education prepared us for a subservient role to Europe and things European. It was directed at estranging us from our own cultures in order to more effectively serve a new and alien interest.⁸

The textbooks used in the schools, including those run by missionaries, tended to belittle the indigenous cultures and to build up the virtues of foreign rule, as well as praise the benefits of Western and European culture.⁹ Third, classes under the colonial administration were conducted in the European tongues—whether it be English in Ghana and Nigeria, or French in Guinea and Upper Volta—immediately closing the door to that overwhelming majority of Africans who spoke no European tongues. Fourth, an excessively high rate of illiteracy existed. And fifth, there were few university graduates to man administrative posts.

A well-known British critic of African education said the following about West African education and its relevance to the African self-image which could apply to all of Africa:

An African can graduate with a B.A. knowing practically nothing about the intricate political and social structure of his own race—the fascinating and complex network of organization among the Kede tribe along the Niger, which includes even a sliding-scale income tax figured according to the number of canoes a man owns; the reverence for the earth among the Talensi and the ingenious checks and balances which protect them from autocracy and which contribute to good government; the economics of Yoruba trading; the laws of ownership and inheritance of land among the Ibo; the dignified and sophisticated pattern of judicial procedure among the Bemba; the elaborate and subtle system of education among the Mende. And this is

7 Philip Foster. *Education and Social Change in Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

8 Address of President Kwame Nkrumah to the First International Congress of Africanists, University of Ghana, Legon, December 12, 1962, quoted in R. Emerson and M. Kilson, Eds. *The Political Awakening of Africa*. Englewood-Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

9 M. Panikkar. *The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*. New York: John Day, 1959.

not just interesting antiquarian knowledge; it is essential knowledge for the African intellectual who will become a civil servant or a teacher and who has the challenging responsibility of leading the common people from the old Africa to the new.¹⁰

The well-known political sociologist Edward Shils pin-points the blame as being within the secondary school system:

The secondary school system of Black African countries cannot produce enough students with qualifications that enable them to gain admission [to universities].¹¹

Another prominent student of the subject, Frank Bowles, would not limit it merely to inadequate secondary educational facilities:

Considering the [African] region as a whole, the small primary and secondary school enrollments in these countries have produced few qualified applicants for higher education. In consequence, the established institutions have expanded slowly, and there has been no surplus of university candidates to supply students for either higher teacher-training or higher technical institutions.¹²

Major weaknesses of the higher education facilities inherited from the colonial powers tend to be related to the characteristics of African education generally. In the first place, there tends to be a liberal arts concentration.¹³ Africa's major manpower needs in the scientific and technical fields are being inversely matched by enrollment in the liberal arts. Students often tend to concentrate in the high prestige field of law, as well as the practically useless fields of political science or sociology.¹⁴ Second, education of women is given inadequate attention.¹⁵ Primary and secondary education throughout the continent,

10 Sir Eric Ashby, "Wind of Change in African Higher Education," *Africa Report*, Vol. 7, No. 3, March, 1962, p. 23.

11 Edward Shils, "Modernization and Higher Education," in Myron Weiner, Ed. *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

12 Frank Bowles, *Access to Higher Education*, Volume I, Paris: UNESCO, 1963.

13 Martin L. Kilson, Jr., "Trends in Higher Education," *Africa and the United States: Images and Realities*, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Washington, 1961.

14 A look at the statistics of East African students formerly in the USSR, and now in the U.S., indicates a heavy concentration in the social sciences and humanities. Is this due to low natural science aptitude or to inadequate secondary school preparation in the natural sciences?

15 Kilson, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Kilson, p. 71, indicates that of those studying at Afric in universities, the following are the statistics regarding female percentages: U. of Sierra Leone 11%, U. of Ethiopia 8%, Univ. College of Ghana 6%, Indian 2%.

to say nothing of higher education, has been relatively inaccessible to females.¹⁶ The continent-wide percentage of secondary education enrollment is only 22% female; average at the primary level is 30%, with the figure dipping as low as 10% in some areas. Third, African studies are neglected. Studies about Africa, until the actual implementation of political independence, were sorely neglected.¹⁷ The curriculum was clearly oriented to the colonial ruler. In fact, it was not until after World War II that the University College of Ibadan and University College of Ghana, both significantly "attached" to London University, offered the first courses on African history to be given in Middle Africa.¹⁸ Only in the case of Nigeria did an African offer the course.¹⁹ This was a part of the post-war break-through in African studies, not only in Africa, but also in the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe.

A third major reason why African students are abroad is that there is a shortage of higher educational facilities in Africa.²⁰ African educational specialists, meeting at a UNESCO conference in Addis Ababa in 1961, pin-pointed the absence of an appropriate number of secondary schools, feeders for institutions of higher learning, as deserving high priority.²¹ Limited secondary education facilities have become a double-edged sword: limited outlet for primary school graduates, on the one hand, and limited producer for the under-enrolled colleges and universities, on the other hand.

Even with the shortage, there is an under-utilization of existing equipment and resources. African universities have been characterized by an absence of part-time students; universities have insisted on full-time residential students. Coupled with this is the failure of secondary schools to produce qualified candidates. In addition, there is an unusually low faculty-student ratio, 1/4 at both

- 16 One could partially explain this by the role of little girls in many traditional societies. To see what occurs when young people attempt to disregard the role and status that their parents and elders have ascribed to them, see Kenyan Ngugi, *The River Between*. London: Heineman, 1961.
- 17 As Kwame Nkrumah said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom. . ." Political independence was a pre-requisite for any kind of significant change in social, educational, and economic matters.
- 18 Philip Curtin, *African History*. Washington: American Historical Association, 1964.
- 19 Professor O. Dike, prominent Nigerian historian, gave the course in Nigeria, whereas an Englishman, Professor John Fage, offered the course in Ghana.
- 20 Kilson, *op. cit.*, The problem of staffing is admirably covered in A. M. Carr-Sanders, *Staffing African Universities*. London: The Overseas Development Institute, 1963.
- 21 *The Development of Higher Education in Africa*. Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, September 1962. The only Soviet educator presenting a paper at this conference was Professor A. F. Shebanov, Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Law, Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, Moscow.

Ibadan University (Nigeria)²² and the University of Ghana,²³ 1/5 for the University of East Africa, and 1/3 for the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Present is a vicious cycle, involving limited facilities, both secondary and primary, as well as a shortage of trained teachers at the pre-university level. Regarding teachers, Frank Bowles concluded the following:

The problems of teacher shortage are in a sense the key to the entire problem of educational development in [Middle] Africa, for, unless the primary schools function as effective educational instruments—certainly difficult when they must rely heavily upon under-prepared teachers and when they are unable to reach the goal of universal primary education—their expansion cannot support effective expansion of secondary and ultimately higher education. This may well mean, for the foreseeable future, a continuation of the present situation in which the supply of qualified candidates for admission to higher education can hardly be expanded rapidly enough to meet the manpower targets set up within the educational plans or even to take up all the places available within higher education. This is a problem which has been explicitly recognized in Ghana with a proposal for cutting two years from the required preparation for university admission.²⁴

Soviet Educational Aid Soviet educational assistance to Africa takes many forms and has many geographic locations. Outside the U.S.S.R., scholarship pledges are made through the UN's Committees on Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories, as well as in the Trusteeship Council, Soviet scholars participate in UNFSCO sponsored conferences and surveys. In Africa, the U.S.S.R. has been building and staffing institutes.²⁵

In the Trusteeship Council the Soviet Union has played the role of *agent provocateur* toward the British, French, and Belgian administrators for their policies and practices in their respective territories: Tanganyika, British

22 The example of the dormitories at the University College of Ibadan clearly demonstrates the elite role intended for the university educated. All students had single rooms with terraces. A student revolt occurred over the introduction of self service into the cafeteria, formerly serviced by waiters.

23 Justification for one-third of total education budget for higher education in Ghana.

24 Bowles, *op. cit.*

25 Seymour Rosen, U.S. Office of Education, specialist on Soviet education, lists the following as the scope of Soviet programs in international education: 1) higher education, 2) industrial training, 3) exchanges with the United States, 4) international summer schools, 5) intourist programs, 6) book distribution abroad, 7) Soviet technicians abroad, 8) research on education abroad and 9) establishing technical institutes abroad and training foreign nationals in Soviet technical institutes. Seymour M. Rosen, *The People's Friendship University in the USSR*, Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1962.

Togoland, British Cameroons, British Somaliland, French Togoland, French Cameroons; and Rwanda—Burundi. The European trustees came under Soviet criticism at all levels of education 1) for providing inadequate educational facilities and 2) for practicing racial discrimination against the Africans. In addition, in the absence of adequate higher education facilities, the European rulers were admonished by the Soviet delegate for their refusal to allow Africans to accept Soviet scholarships to study in Moscow:

Why cannot passports be provided to Africans from Tanganyika to study in Moscow? Why can an Englishman study in Moscow [referring to the British-Soviet student-exchange program] but an African in Tanganyika cannot?²⁶

Regarding racial discrimination, the Soviets argued that by charging even minimal fees for primary and secondary education, the European ruler discriminates against the African. Because of the low wages received by the African involved in the money economy and because of the absence of money of Africans involved in the subsistence economy, few Africans can afford the luxury of even a primary education.²⁷ Even those few parents who are able to pay find that facilities at schools provided for Africans are inferior to those schools in the same colonial territories for Europeans.²⁸ Limited school facilities at all levels result in a negligible number of Africans attending any school whatsoever.²⁹

Referring to the Cameroons, the Soviet representative on the Trusteeship Council, Mr. V. I. Oberemko, had this to say about forty years of British administration:

The result of this 'trusteeship' is that the territory has almost no industry, agriculture remains very backward, there are no railways, and the standards of education and the public health services are very low. In the Cameroons, there are only thirty doctors for a population of 774,000.³⁰

The trustee authorities were accused of using this policy intentionally to impede the movement towards independence. The Soviets recommended a significant extension of facilities as a necessary precondition for the economic, social, and political advancement prerequisite to political independence.³¹

26 *United Nations Document T/PV. 1100*, June 3, 1960.

27 *United Nations Document T/PV. 1109*, June 10, 1960.

28 *United Nations Document T/PV. 1108*, June 10, 1960.

29 *Report of the Trusteeship Council, General Assembly Official Records: 13th Session*, New York, 1956.

30 *Soviet News No. 4279*, London, May 31, 1960.

31 *Report of the Trusteeship Council, General Assembly Official Records: Ninth Session*, New York, 1954,

To remedy the situation, the Soviet delegates firmly and strongly recommended to the Trusteeship Council that it ask the authorities administering the territories to increase considerably their education budgets so that the schools—primary, secondary, and colleges—may be improved.³² The Soviet government considered this step necessary to increase the limited number of educational facilities and to lessen the blatant social discrimination against the Africans. Otherwise, the administering authorities would not be fulfilling the sacred trust given them by the United Nations Charter.³³ Furthermore, a plea was made for allowing African students to take advantage of Soviet educational facilities, especially in higher education.³⁴

The Soviet delegate could have easily pointed to the following:

When UNESCO launched its major campaign five years ago, it estimated that, in tropical Africa alone, about 17,000,000 children were without classroom space, and that, even so, fewer than 5% of the children who did attend primary school could go on to secondary school; while fewer than one per cent of all those attending school could enroll in vocational institutes. At the same time, between 80 and 85 per cent of the adult population was illiterate.³⁵

Soviet assistance to Africa outside the U.S.S.R. also takes place within the framework of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). One such involvement was membership on the UNESCO Advisory Commission for the Establishment of the University of Lagos by Professor K. I. Lvanov, Pro-Rector of Moscow University. Basing its report on inadequacies noted in the Ashby Report,³⁶ and a subsequent government White Paper, the Commission made key recommendations regarding admission policies, curriculum content, year-round and full-time utilization of facilities, pre-University testing and counseling, financial support based on need, and a pre-University curriculum (especially in the natural sciences).³⁷ A key

³² *United Nations Document T/PV. 1109*, June 10, 1960.

³³ Source in the United Nations Charter. Articles 75-91 cover the "International Trusteeship System" and "The Trusteeship Council."

³⁴ *United Nations Document T/PV. 1100*, June 3, 1960.

³⁵ James Avery Joyce, "Priorities in African Education," *Education in the Developing Nations*, a reprint from *Saturday Review*, August 15, 1964, pp not numbered.

³⁶ The Ashby Report refers to a thorough, international study by the Commission on Post School Certificate and Higher Education, *Investment in Education Report*, Lagos Federal Ministry of Education, 1960. The study was commissioned by the Nigerian government. The results paved the way for an expansion from one university at the time of independence (October 1, 1960) to five within five years.

³⁷ See Report of the UNESCO Advisory Commission for the Establishment of the University of Lagos, WS/0961.78.

proposal included the provision for the appointment of a National Universities Commission to be responsible for the over-all coordination . . . of higher education in the Federation.³⁸

Another Soviet participant in an international study group on African education was Professor N. S. Torocheshnikov of the Moscow Mendeleev Institute of Chemical Technology, who participated in a study sponsored jointly by UNESCO and the International Association of Universities dealing with *The International Study of University Admissions: Access to Higher Education*. Professor Torocheshnikov, skeptical of the South African government's white-washing of the educational opportunities open to blacks, was the sole dissenter of the Commission's decision to publicize the report on the Republic of South Africa.³⁹

Among the African countries benefiting from Soviet assistance in establishing technical institutes abroad are Guinea, Ghana, and Ethiopia.⁴⁰ According to a Soviet-Guinean cultural agreement drawn up in the summer of 1959, the U.S.S.R. was to design and build a polytechnical institute for 2,500 students in Conakry.⁴¹ In the beginning, the entire staff was to be Soviet. Three of the four buildings planned contain laboratories. There is also a stadium, a library, and playing fields. Academically, there are four faculties: geology, agriculture, construction, and engineering. The result is that Guinea now has persons trained in subjects of which she had few or none until recently: industrial and civil engineering, machine building and metal-cutting, geology, water conservation, and agronomy. Likewise, in Ethiopia, just outside the town of Bahar Dar, the Soviet Union is to build a technical school for one thousand students. Technicians are being trained here for Ethiopia's woodworking,

38 This Commission was headed by Akoi Aripo, until his appointment in 1967 as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs.

39 Other members of the prominent Commission included the late Professor Gaston Berger, former Director of Higher Instruction in the Ministry of National Education of France; Dr. Juan Gomez Millas, Rector, Universidad of Chile, Santiago de Chile, Chile; Dr. Joseph A. Ouwewerys, Professor of Comparative Education, Institute of Education, University of London, London, England; Dr. Tasuto Morito, President, Hiroshima University, Hiroshima City, Japan; Dr. K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Advisor to Kashmir Government, Srinagar, Kashmir, India; Dr. Anisio S. Teixeira, Companha Nacional de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; M. Jean Thomas, Inspecteur Général, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, France (former assistant Director-General of UNESCO); Dr. Dael Wolfe, Executive Office, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C.; Dr. C. K. Zurayk (Chairman), Distinguished Professor of History, American University of Beirut, Lebanon. From Bowles, *op. cit.*

40 Seymour Rosen, *op. cit.*

41 *Moscow News*, February 20, 1960, and *Soviet News*, March 1, 1960.

textile, and chemical industries, and for a mechanized farming.⁴² The Ethiopian institute was scheduled for a September 1, 1963 opening.⁴³

Inside the U.S.S.R. African students in the U.S.S.R. may be put into three categories: 1) Students visiting for short periods as members of specifically invited *youth delegations* on tour, 2) Students in the U.S.S.R. for *special events*—forums, conferences, festivals (Examples of this are the various Soviet-supported youth festivals such as the one occurring in Moscow in 1957, in Vienna in 1959, and in Helsinki in 1962. Forums included the World Youth Forum in 1962. An African Students' Conference, bringing together Africans from throughout Europe, took place in Moscow in 1964); and 3) Students actually enrolled in academic and other institutions.

When traveling African youth delegations visit the U.S.S.R., they usually stay from ten days to one month. They are invited by their Soviet hosts for various reasons. One example will suffice. For the fourth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, students were brought to Moscow from Algeria, Iraq, Cameroons, Madagascar, and West Africa for one month in order to symbolize with the Soviet students "the international solidarity of youth against colonialism."⁴⁴ The International Union of Students footed the entire bill.

One of the most dramatic special events sponsored by the U.S.S.R. has been the Youth Festival—the first six held in capitals of the Eastern European countries, the one in the summer of 1959 in Vienna, and a 1962 festival in Helsinki. Thousands of young people from all over the world, including Madagascar, Algeria, South Africa, Guinea, Kenya, Uganda, Niger, Nigeria, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic came together, according to the Communist press, as a demonstration of the international desire for peace and friendship.⁴⁵

In addition to attending seminars, the students were entertained by some of the leading musical ensembles of the U.S.S.R., China and other countries. They themselves performed dances and songs peculiar to their indigenous cultures, and participated in sports competition, regional meetings, and such events as "The Demonstration of Friendship and Solidarity with the Youth of Colonial and Newly Independent Countries."⁴⁶

Of those interviewed, the non-Communists were unanimous that even though they knew the Festival to be Soviet-sponsored, they came primarily to have fun and to share informally their experiences with citizens of other

42 *Soviet News*, March 3, 1960.

43 Interview with First Secretary, Ethiopian Embassy, Moscow, August 13, 1963.

44 *Moscow News*, April 15, 1959.

45 *Moscow News*, August 9, 1962.

46 *Youth and Communism*, II, No. 3, November, 1959.

party of the world who had recently emerged from long division, we were in the process of doing so.⁴⁷

Communists claimed that ours was the only true and truly motivated African people, and we were the only ones who could not be swayed by the imperialists. They were also the only ones who were so obviously stacked against the West. At the same time, they were irritated by those African delegations (U.S., Canada, etc.) which had come to the festival who had gone for the purpose of attacking the USSR.⁴⁸

After the Festival, the participants were taken to a tour of European countries, including the USSR, or Communist countries. The first insights visited were much the same as those received at the festival: my country would be taken. The heavy emphasis was always placed on the economic and cultural advancement that had occurred under Communist Party rule.

The abridged statement of a German with his I.I.B. (House of German Books) from London University, sums up the impressions of Africans and Asians with whom I spoke:

Our reception at the Vienna railway station was exceptionally warm. We were greeted with shouts of "Peace and Friendship," and we responded by playing this greeting on talking drums. We enjoyed every moment of our stay in Vienna. What struck us most was that despite the fact that many of the participants had come from "color bar" countries there was no sign whatsoever of racial discrimination. The black skin, which is looked upon in some countries with indignity, appeared to be most inviting at the Festival, for our delegation and those from other parts of Africa were overwhelmed with invitations from other delegations. The Russian gifts were scientific and political symbols—models of Sputnik and statues of their great men like Lenin and Stalin. Very few of us appeared to appreciate the statues as we associated them with Communist propaganda, and not well intentioned gifts.

In addition to inter-delegation meetings, our delegation took part in the cultural performances and rallies, and a few of us attended some of the seminars.

47. Interviews with members of various delegations to the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students (Vienna), in Moscow, August, 1959.

48. It later turned out in revelations by various sources, including *Ramparts*, that the Central Intelligence Agency, through various private foundations, including the Independent Research Service, had indeed financed disruptive elements at the festivals and forums. Ceylonese attending the 1961 World Youth Forum in Moscow revealed to me the Asian Foundation's willingness to subsidize them at the 1959 Vienna Youth Festival on the condition that they "walk out" and then condemn the Festival.

But all of us agreed that the Vienna Youth Festival was far from a failure. The essence of such a meeting was to enable youth of all countries to meet together, with a view to establishing understanding among all nations.

I have no doubt that everyone left the Festival with an ardent desire to organize youth of Africa and to urge them to play their part in the social, economic, and political development of their continent.

There was one great impression which we might have left on the minds of our European and American friends, namely that the African wants to be a Socialist, not a Capitalist or Communist.

After the Festival, the Ghana delegation, and I understand other African delegations as well, had many invitations to visit Russia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany... On their return, they spoke of great hospitality and were favorably impressed. Most members of our delegation had wished to visit China, but unfortunately, no invitations were extended to us.⁴⁹

Turning next to African students actually undertaking a formal course of study in the U.S.S.R., there is the impression abroad that all African students in the U.S.S.R. are segregated in Moscow at Lumumba People's Friendship University. The facts are contrary to this impression. Of the approximately 3,000 Africans reported to have been in the Soviet Union during the 1963-64 academic year, only 572 were at Lumumba Friendship University.⁵⁰ The overwhelming majority was scattered throughout several of the fifteen union republics from the Baltic to the Black Seas, and from Lvov, on the Polish border, to Tashkent, several thousand miles away in Central Asia's Uzbekistan.

Africans can undertake numerous kinds of training, from atomic energy to zoology, and from banking to youth leadership; on-the-job training in all aspects of industry, agriculture, and fishing; piloting, servicing, and navigating jet planes; military leadership; party and youth leadership. In higher education Africans were generally integrated into the regular structure: universities, technical institutes (both polytechnical and branch technical), and specialized institutes of law, physical culture, arts (including those specializing in music, cinematography, visual and plastic arts, drama), economics, pedagogy, medicine, and agriculture.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Isaac R. Aboagye, "No Regrets," *Youth and Communism*, II, No. 3, November, 1959, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁰ Professor S. V. Rumyantsev, Rector, Lumumba Friendship University, Press Conference of December 3, 1963, Moscow.

⁵¹ An excellent brief paperback on Soviet education generally is Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education* Baltimore Penguin, 1964. An excellent detailed study is to be found in Nicholas DeWitt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR* Washington U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961.

The areas of education in which Africans were known to be involved in the Soviet Union between the 1956-1957 and 1963-1964 academic years are as follows:

- 1) On-the-job training in industry
- 2) Vocational agriculture for farms
- 3) Programs in the mechanization of agriculture
- 4) Aircraft training—piloting, navigating, servicing, of Illyshin-18 aircraft
- 5) Fishing industry
- 6) Military
- 7) Higher education
- 8) Teacher-training institutes
- 9) Trade-Union institutes
- 10) Party institutes (both Communist Party and Komsomol)⁵²

Some indication of the diversity of higher educational institutions involved could be taken from a small sample of thirty-three African students involved in Kenneth L. Baer's study commissioned by the Intelligence and Research Division of the U.S. State Department. Seven countries (Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa, Tanzania, Morocco, and Cameroons) were represented at institutions in Moscow: Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, Moscow Institute of Automotive and Road Construction, and Lomonosov State University; in Leningrad: Leningrad State University; in Kharkov: Kharkov University; in Kiev, Ukraine: Kiev University; and in Baku, Azerbaijan: Baku Chemical and Oil Institute.

Africans are able to take advantage of the fact that the applied sciences—especially agronomy, industrial chemistry, and engineering—receive much greater attention in the U.S.S.R. than in other countries, both industrial and non-industrial. In Africa, the American-trained Nigerian educator Dr. A. Babs Fafunwa estimated at the world-wide meeting of educators and scientists attending the UN sponsored Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (Geneva, Switzerland, February 4-20, 1963) that in 1959 his own Nigeria had only five of its more than 350 teacher-training colleges offering the proper facilities for teaching science or, for that matter, offering any science courses whatsoever.⁵³ As Professor Nigel Grant of Scotland indicates:

In accordance both with the needs of the national economy and the importance laid by Marxism on the unity of theory and practice, the weight

⁵² Interviews with students studying in all these categories: Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, U.S.S.R.; between 1959 and 1964.

⁵³ *Science and Technology for Development Report, News Feature*, Vol. IV, No. 3.

of numbers is strongly in favour of the practical and applied studies. Soviet sources⁶³ gave the proportion of students at technical colleges as 39.4% of the whole, while agricultural and medical colleges account for 10.8% and 8.5% respectively. The remaining 41.3% are classified under the 'humanities.' This is a little misleading, however, as this term is used to include all university students, science and arts alike, together with those in colleges of art, music, law, economics, and teacher-training institutes.⁶⁴

The Soviets were late in starting higher educational exchange programs involving Africa, although a University of the Toiling Masses, with a political curriculum had been set up shortly after the 1917 Revolution. A yearly summary of African students studying in the U.S.S.R. would begin in 1956, when the 1956 edition of *Study Abroad* indicated that the Soviet Government, for the first time, was offering ten scholarships to students from non-self-governing and trust territories under General Assembly resolution 845 (IX). The International Union of Students, previously offering scholarships to Rumania, Poland, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic, made an additional ten scholarships available to persons from colonial and other developing territories to study in the U.S.S.R.

The fields of study covering five-to-six years, plus a year for Russian language study, were to be medicine, agriculture, technical, and general University subjects. The Soviet government guaranteed round-trip transportation between the home country and the host country, plus travel to a rest home or sanatorium during holidays. Maintenance was to be a sum sufficient to cover the cost of board and material and cultural needs, with accommodations and free medical care. There was to be a lump sum for books, supplies and equipment.⁶⁵ Advertisements in later years were to spell out more specifically the amounts.

The Permanent Mission of the U.S.S.R. informed the Secretary-General, in a note dated August 4, 1959,⁶⁶ that the following African students had been awarded scholarships to study at Soviet institutions of higher learning for the 1958-59 academic year: Albert Bwalia Mambwe (Northern Rhodesia), Moscow Institute of Medicine; S. Omar Okullo (Uganda), Moscow Institute of Civil Engineering; and J. Theuri (Kenya), Moscow State University. Of the three, only one, Mr. Okullo,⁶⁷ was actually in the U.S.S.R.; one of the others

⁶⁴ Prokofiev, Chilikin, and Tulpanov, in *Higher Education in the USSR*. Paris: UNESCO, 1961.

⁶⁵ General Assembly Document A/4196, Sept. 8, 1959, p. 3 (Annex).

⁶⁶ General Assembly Document A/4196, Nov. 3, 1959.

⁶⁷ Mr. Okullo later left the U.S.S.R. in a highly publicized manner covered by European and American publications, including S. Omar Okullo, "A Negro's Life in Russia—Beatings, Insults, Segregation," *U.S. News and World Report*, Vol. 49, August 1, 1960, pp. 59-60.

(Mr. Theuri) had been refused a visa by the British administration; the third (Mr. Mambwe) had accepted a scholarship to continue studying in India. The note indicated that all scholarships under Resolution 845 (IX) had been allocated.⁵⁸

The number of Africans studying in the Soviet Union has grown by leaps and bounds since 1956. From the fourteen Africans in the U.S.S.R. during the 1956-57 academic year,⁵⁹ none of whom were from sub-Saharan Africa, the number had increased to over three thousand from thirty-seven countries by the 1963-64 academic year.⁶⁰ This coincides with the massive over-all increase in foreign students in the U.S.S.R. during that same period from 12,565⁶¹ to 23,000.⁶² Accurate statistics on Soviet training of foreign students are hard to come by, both in the U.S.S.R. and at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, where one would expect to find them. Approximate figures for the period under study are contained in the following chart.

In 1961, only two Middle African countries—Guinea and Sudan—were sending students to the U.S.S.R. under official inter-governmental scientific, technical, and cultural agreements. Students from both independent and dependent countries were being recruited through the five sponsors of Lumumba University for study at the University: The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship with Foreign Countries, the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations.⁶³ In addition, those from trust and non-self governing territories were eligible under UN resolutions 557 (VI), 753 (VIII), and 845 (IX). In all cases, students were asked to apply directly to the "Ministry of Education and Culture in [the] candidate's own country."

A special two-year post-graduate project involved Ghanians, two of whom had American undergraduate degrees in chemistry, and several of whom had advanced degrees in the sciences from the United Kingdom, in the field of nuclear physics to prepare for manning the atomic reactor of the Volta River Project. The participants were given lectures in English in Radio Chemistry and Physics for six months. Then, they began the practical work in their

58 General Assembly Document A/14196, Nov. 3, 1959.

59 Interview with Dr. Snyder, U.S. State Dept. official, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Washington, D.C., September, 1963.

60 Tass, October 25, 1963.

61 According to Webalink, *African Students*, p. 3, this compared to 40,666 foreign students in the United States.

62 *Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, October 25, 1963, as reported in *Mizan*, Vol. 5, No. 11, December, 1963, p. 35.

63 UNESCO, *Fellowships for Africans*. Paris: UNESCO, 1961, p. 33.

*Estimated Enrollment of African Students in the Soviet Union, 1956-1964,
by Selected Years.*

Academic year	Sub-Saharan (No. of Africa countries)	North (No. of Africa countries)	African total
1956-57 ^b	0	14 (1)	14 (1)
1959-60 ^c	136 (10)	240 (5)	376 (15)
1961-62			2739 ^d
1962-63			2313 ^e
1963-64	572 at Friendship University alone		3000 (37) ^f

a The futility of using specific statistics is shown by the differences, on the one hand, in the "Appendix-Free World Students in Communist Block Countries," *Free World Students in the Soviet Bloc*, SEATO document No. 1-451-(12), p. 11, as reported in Webbink, *African Students*, p. 5, and, on the other hand, in a U.S. State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research report, "The Current Status of Communist-Bloc-Free World Student Exchanges," *Intelligence Report*, No. 8182, December 21, 1959, p. 4. The most extreme contrast occurs when the former lists the number of Guinean students as "3," while the latter gives the number of 100.

b Confidential State Department printed matter.

c "Appendix-Free World Students," p. 11, as reported in Webbink, *African Students*, p. 5.

d A USIA report included students from preparatory schools and universities, as well as those receiving on-the-job-vocational training, including banking in Kiev, mentioned the following figures: independent Ghana, 425; Guinea, 600; Somalia, 240; Nigeria, 250; Mali, 160; Congo (Kinshasa), Togo, and Sudan, 150 each; while colonial Algeria and Kenya had 225 and 150, respectively.

e Letter from the Permanent Delegate of the U.S.S.R. to UNESCO, dated 24 September, 1963, signed by A. Pavlov.

f Tass, October 25, 1963.

specialties for the next eighteen months. Courses in the Russian language, the history of the U.S.S.R. and the philosophical aspects of dialectical materialism were also part of their training.

In summary, Africans study abroad for the following reasons: (1) a middle-and high-level manpower shortage, (2) an inherited educational system [general and higher] not totally relevant and adequate to African needs, and (3) a shortage of higher educational facilities. Soviet educational assistance in helping solve these deficiencies takes place outside the U.S.S.R. through the United Nations and UNESCO, as well as in the building and staffing of institutes in Africa. In the U.S.S.R. itself, Africans are brought for various types of on-the-job, specialized, and higher educational training.

The Educators Speak: I

Hono(u)r the Corn

Brenda Lansdown
Harvard University

Cross-cultural confrontations produce tensions. The wider the gap between cultures, the greater the tension. The greater the overlap between culture, mores, values, the less the tension.

When a white teacher interacts with a black child in school, there is cultural confrontation, hence tension. If the teacher is white, middle class and the child low socioeconomic and black, there is likely to be maximum tension. With a middle-class black child there is social class overlap and therefore less tension. In a parochial school there is religious overlap with the teacher and this again reduces the tension between a black child and white teacher. Each of us is nurtured in a particular set of values, mores, assumptions about the kind of behavior and thoughts which are acceptable. Such nurturing eases our interaction with other people of like culture. It's the "birds of a feather" principle.

Each person's cultural background is compounded of several sub-sets: his social class structure, his religious beliefs, his national loyalties, his ethnic mores, his family tradition, his own personal experiences. I like to think of any one person's view of the world as the logical summation of the various interlocking cultures which have nurtured him; I think of this summation as a person's axiom-postulate system, of his axiomatics for short. A person can interact with another per-

son the more comfortably, the more the two axiomatics overlap, or the larger the area of intersection of the two sets. The less the overlap, the greater in general is the tension produced by the confrontation.

What each person does about this tension depends partly on the relative hierarchy of the two people and partly on the purpose the confrontation is to serve. We might classify the relationships this way:

Dominant-subjected. Missionaries set out to convert the heathen. This always led to conflict, sometimes to war, although the wars were fought by the merchants who followed the missionaries.

Fusion. The Romans and their ideas became absorbed by the people they conquered. Primary bel-

Professor Lansdown here takes a distinctly individual approach to the teaching of black children in the urban schools. Originally from England, she has had her own experiences with culture-shock; and this may have helped her learn how to be empathic, how to "listen," how to confront what she calls the "axiomatics" of children from another world. There are specific proposals here of value for many teachers trying to overcome their own feelings of alienation from the children in their schools.

ligerence gave way to peaceful compromise.

Empathy. Anthropologists try to perceive, through identification and understanding, the axiomatics of the people they study. The purpose is sometimes pure research, sometimes a base for helping the people develop through extension of their native axiomatics.

Which of these relative hierarchies and purposes apply to the cross-cultural confrontation of a low socio-economic black child and a middle-class white teacher?

Dominant-subjected? This would hold where the teacher perceived his role as converting the child to white middle-class standards and mores.

Fusion? This would apply where the teacher expected to be as much influenced by the child's culture as the child was by the teacher's.

Empathy? This would be the case where the teacher tried first to view the world from the child's axiomatics and then used educational procedures which extended these axiomatics to serve the child's culture in its widest dimensions.

The reason I favor the third approach, the empathic, may be clarified by the analogy of a personal experience.

During the Depression of the 30's I emigrated from England to teach in an experimental school in New York City. The axiomatics I brought with me included these beliefs:

- 1) By virtue of my English birth, I embodied some kind of innate superiority.
- 2) My middle-class white upbringing set the best possible standards for child rearing: well modulated voice, correct use of syntax, respect for adults, high scholastic aspirations and bedtime for ten-year-olds at 7 p.m. (The fact that I was completely ignorant of the fields of politics and economics, did not know what had happened to the "colonies" after they ungratefully seceded from the Mother Country in 1776, had not intruded itself upon me as a disadvantage.)
- 3) Moreover, I was equipped with a complete set of discriminatory prejudices...against the Irish!
- 4) I assumed that Longfellow was English, merely because he was considered a "good" poet.

These axiomatics produced a major culture-shock when I confronted a group of ten-year-olds in an experimental John Dewey type school. The children's voices competed successfully with pneumatic drills which were tearing down the neighboring "El"; if a child arrived at the door when I did, he pushed me out of the way; in a presidential election year he held strong opinions bolstered by many facts about the politics involved; he had read books in the field of American literature about which I knew nothing; when he wrote compositions they were creative, imaginative, full of what I thought was slang, and the words were spelled strangely...even when he knew how to spell which often he didn't. When he asked me to spell the word "shop" for

him I wrote on the board "sharp," which was what I heard. And, he was often not in bed by ten p.m.! To me it appeared that the parents set few limits yet they talked to him about topics which I thought should have been reserved for the late adolescent.

This confrontation between our cultures left me feeling like Ruth amid the alien corn. And I imagine this is very much the way a middle-class white teacher feels confronting a class of low socioeconomic black children.

But, there is one important difference: *I honored the corn...* and so did everyone else in the school surrounding the children.

This meant that I listened to the children's language and allowed them to write as they spoke. At times I introduced them to Wordsworth's standard speech as an extension of knowledge. I accepted the word "honor" written without a "u" and "develop" spelled without the final "e." I read poems by Carl Sandburg and Walt Whitman to the children, and when they discussed their mores and standards I offered mine as something rather quaint and "other," belonging to a different world...for information rather than for precept. The children continued to speak their way and I continued to speak mine, but we communicated. The reason was, I believe, empathy, as the starting point. Then, as an educator, while I honored the corn, I offered experiences which extended the children's axiomatics, experiences which they could bind to themselves because these were meaningful in their terms, because there was overlap between the children's existing axiomatics and that which they chose to take from each experience.

Now to a current concern: how may the college and school help our middle-class white graduates accept, work with and extend the axiomatics of black and Puerto Rican children of every social class?

I have spelled out the details of a joint college-school curriculum in an article¹ which would do just this. Briefly, the plan calls for:

1. Team teaching between a sociologist and an instructor in methods of teaching reading, while each student tutors and becomes acquainted with one child in a local school;
2. Team teaching between a psychologist and an instructor in methods of teaching modern mathematics, while each student tutors a small group of children in a local school;
3. Team teaching between an instructor in curriculum and one in methods of teaching science, while students in pairs teach a discovery-colloquium² type of unit in science to half a class in a local school;
4. Finally, the rest of the methods are studied while students in pairs teach a unit in social studies to a whole class, this unit to integrate many subject areas.

The curriculum for the school is selected jointly by the teacher, the college instructors and representatives from the community. The best possible curriculum is to be chosen from

1 Brenda Lansdown, "One Way to Change the Urban Schools," *Education-al Horizons*, Winter 1967, pp. 76-83.

2 Brenda Lansdown, "Orbiting a Science Program," *Science Education*, Vol. 46, No. 2, March 1962, pp. 180-184.

all those now available, a curriculum which is solid and enriching and geared to modern learning principles,³ not one which waters down nor gives more of that which hasn't been effective before.

By these procedures, the schools have a continuous stream of skilled tutors; the students have contact with the inner city school, child and community from the very first part of their training as participants and collectors of data for their theory

³ This is well illustrated by a film from the Nuffield Foundation of England: "I do...and I understand," obtainable from The Madison Project, Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri.

courses. The children have a chance to learn meaningfully, with self-motivation and much individualized help.

A final point. Why do I advocate not *imposing* white middle-class standards on children with other axiomatics? We move rapidly over a shrunken world, a world whose majority population is neither white nor middle class. As our children become the leaders of the twenty-first century they will need to extend their axiomatics their way, through their initiative, adapted to world, not local needs. As I envisage the next century, the dark-skinned, lower-class children of the world ARE the corn, and we are alien only if we stand amid it, looking and not learning.

Sensitivity Training: An Alternative to the T-Group Method

Lorene A. Stringer

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To suggest an alternative to the T-group method is not to impugn that method as it is used by the highly principled and disciplined staff of the National Training Laboratories. Many of that staff, however, are just as concerned as other mental health professionals about the vulnerability of the method to exploitation by professionally unqualified and irresponsible people. Bastardized T-groups are being formed in uncounted numbers all over the country, conducted by leaders without adequate training, and often with captive groups (teachers, nurses, business employees, even seventh-grade students) who are given no option about being involved, and no recourse or protection if they are unable to "take it," "it" being not the emotional impact of the group process itself, but rather the unleashing of hostilities that all too often initiates and contaminates the group process.

Probably no method of sensitivity training is proof against misuse; and the method to be described here has not yet undergone thorough testing or rigorous evaluation. But the mushrooming growth of illegitimate "encounter" groups, with their potential for viciousness, makes it imperative to examine any other method that might

add something to our understanding of the intensive group experience, its possible booby traps, and the possible ways of circumventing them. It seems, for example, more than mildly significant that something initially aimed only at offering mental health guidelines for the use of educators could ever sweep thirty people at a time into what Maslow might call a peak group experience. And yet under certain circumstances exactly that can happen and has happened, and with the process so consistent from one group to another as to suggest that some central principle is involved. Let me say, before going further, what should be obvious—that I can offer only my own perception of this group process, and since I am myself a part of it, I cannot be completely objective. But the stimulus material

This discussion of an innovative approach to intensive group experience for educators is an elaboration of a paper presented at the 1968 International Congress of the World Federation of Mental Health in London. Research grants from the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institutes of Health, and the St. Louis County Health Department Mental Health Division helped support Miss Stringer's preparation of her workshop material.

was developed initially to serve the needs of a research investigation; it only later appeared to be useful for teaching purposes, and was never (on any conscious level) designed to produce a peak group experience. It may be that the stimulus material is not at all salient to the group process; but by now the group process has had a shaping influence on the stimulus material, so that content and process seem to be interweaving variables.

Workshop Groups

In prototype these workshops are limited to thirty people, usually some combination of classroom teachers, principals, school nurses, and guidance counselors. Optimally they come from a number of different schools, most of them having no more than passing acquaintance, if any, with others in the group. Like T-groups, they are temporary social systems without past or future, except as friendships may develop during the workshop and be continued afterwards by deliberate choice. The group is together for six hours a day, five days a week for two weeks; the workshop leader takes all morning sessions, the afternoon sessions being led by various local professionals. It seems likely that the very knowledge that they will be spending so much time together is one of the forces motivating the participants to become a congenial group as soon as possible; but another force, I think, is their anxiety about the leader, an import, unknown and therefore unpredictable.

Unlike most T-groups, however, these people go back to their homes and families at the end of each working day. It has become quite clear from the feedback that many, perhaps most, of them go over the work-

shop sessions again in the evenings, with whomever is closest to them, discussing whatever new ideas or perceptions have occurred to them during the day. To some degree this must retard or modify the group process, but that possible disadvantage seems more than outweighed by the immediate transportation of the workshop experience into the home and family situation.

Optimally everyone in the group will be a voluntary participant; but since it is never possible to be certain of this, and since it is an ethical consideration of high priority to ensure that no one is unwillingly involved in the group process, I take responsibility for launching the workshop, leaving each participant free to choose his or her own "critical distance" and to modify those distances only when and as they choose. They are invited to interrupt at any point to question, challenge, or discuss, but no one is required to speak up who seems disinclined to do so.

There is a further implication of importance about the leadership role. Thirty school people, coming together for a workshop, move naturally into a classroom pattern and look to the leader as teacher. To accept that role invites both their dependence and their defiance: they expect to be given to, and at the same time they are set to challenge whatever is given as irrelevant or worthless. If the leader becomes thus the obvious target of choice for whatever negative feelings they may harbor, including the school-child feelings reawakened in them by the situation, they are the freer to relate positively to each other. It is essential, of course, for the leader to recognize that this also marks the beginning of transference and counter-

transference phenomena in the leader-group relationship; but the operational strategy is not that of the diagnostician, waiting to see what kind of transference feelings will emerge; rather, it is that of the good classroom teacher, welcoming the incoming class, relating to the group as a group (which is difficult except when the leader has no prior knowledge of anyone in it), and "plugging in" positive feelings toward the group in the hope of eventually eliciting positive feelings in return. This calls for no more than accoring the group the respect due to intelligent adults, while also accepting the child in each of them whenever the child appears (and in most of them the child appears quite early).

Initial Giving

The first fifteen minutes move toward informality. By way of initial giving, I run through a brief description of my professional experience and my personal living arrangements. Then I ask the group, knowing in advance that most of them will "forget" the request, to keep their name-cards in clear view on their desks, so that we can learn early to link names and faces. Finally, we discuss, and put on the blackboard, the tentative schedule for coffee-breaks, specifying that they can be shifted to coincide with natural breaks in discussion.

The informality thus introduced is fostered by informality of speech and manner, even though the first part of the stimulus material is largely intellectual. The conceptual framework is based on the double proposition that mental health is achieved through a series of successful engagements with stress, and that the outcomes of our engagements with stress depend upon

the ratio of our available energy, at the time, to the energy needed for dealing effectively with the particular stressor. It includes consideration of the different kinds of stress, and the different reactions that they evoke in us and in others. It considers the three broad alternatives to effective coping with stress: regression (or perhaps passive adaptation), recourse to psychosomatic illness, or projection onto someone else as scapegoat. It is then hypothesized that the energy necessary for effective coping with stress can be drawn from any of four postulated psychosocial resources, the development of each of them to be subsequently elaborated in detail. The focus is more on health than on pathology. There are numerous references to negative feelings, as normal and everyday reactions, but these are couched in casual and mildly amusing terms, inviting smiles and self-recognition. Allusions here and there to personal experience convey the leader's continuing willingness to share with the group.

Milling Around

The group listens attentively to this presentation, and it elicits some questions and discussion, but the participants' central concern shows clearly during coffee-breaks, when there is much of that "milling around" that Rogers describes as characterizing the first phase of a T-group. Most of the participants work actively at getting to know each other and forming alliances, with the evident (though largely unconscious) aim of becoming a group collectively strong enough to defend itself against the leader if defense should be needed. And they test the leader by delays in reassembling after coffee-breaks. Most of them

know, although they pretend not to, exactly when I move back into work-position at the end of fifteen minutes; but they dawdle, often for five to ten minutes, before they get into their seats and stop talking. Their ambivalence is almost palpable: as a group they have to see if they can "bait teacher" into becoming authoritative; at the same time most of them, as individuals, feel a real need to relate to the leader as they would like to have their students relate to them—in short, to be attentive, receptive, and responsive. To make an issue here of their ambivalence would be premature, and is unnecessary, because the ambivalence fades out in the next part of the stimulus material, which deals with interpersonal relationships.

With normal dependency needs as the central theme, the multiple variations on the theme are developed by following a hypothetical protagonist (male) from birth and total dependency, through childhood and adolescence, with their extended network of interdependencies, into adulthood where the demand is for dependability, and on to old age, with its need to be released from the demand for dependability. The focus now is on feelings, very personal and often painful feelings, even though they are in the context of an optimal life-history. Once in a while someone offers a relevant personal experience or shares a new insight; but the further we go in this material, the quieter the group becomes, listening intently, but everyone self-absorbed. They stop asking questions. At two predictable times one or more of the group will be in tears, sometimes with accompanying verbalization, oftener without. Both times relate to the same issue: first, the dismay and resentment felt by an

adult when his aging parent begins to look toward him as toward a parent; and then a little later when the same change in the parent-child relationship is considered from the viewpoint of the aging parent.

Silence and Intimacy

Behavior during coffee-breaks changes visibly. Some take their coffee back to their seats and talk with no one. Some of the small groups are subdued but intimate; others are random, restlessly shifting, loud with laughter. Now and again someone approaches the leader to confide a personal experience that could not yet be shared with the group. And yet they are steadily becoming a closer group, and gradually including the leader in it; and from this point on, any outsider entering the room, for any purpose whatsoever, is an intruder. That sensitivity to intrusion is the only documentation that I can offer for the feeling of intimacy in the group, because the conclusion of this material is received with total silence. People simply wait to be dismissed, and then gather up their belongings and go their ways. Whatever feelings have been evoked in them are taken home unexpressed until they can be shared with the people closest to them.

The second psychosocial resource, by hypothesis deriving from the first, is a healthy, reality-based self-esteem. Again the hypothetical protagonist is used to trace an optimal life-history, this time focusing on how the various components of the self-system may emerge, take shape, and serve their several functions. The feelings involved here can be dealt with more humorously, but recognition and self-awareness seem to grow by leaps and bounds as the participants follow the

protagonist through all the uncertainties and conflicts involved in developing and establishing his selfhood. Group discussion and sharing of personal experience take up increasingly large amounts of workshop time, with the *there-and-then* of each individual entering, though in varying degrees, into the *here-and-now* of the group process. Anxiety is still very high, the group not knowing that the hardest work is now behind them, but by the fifth day they are secure enough that they can declare loudly how much they look forward to the weekend and the relief that it will bring from the workshop stress.

Relationships

They return on the second Monday obviously refreshed; but if I comment on that, they shout me down with assurances that they will grow anxious again in an hour. And they are partly right, and yet (unless this is my own projection) their anxiety has a different quality now, an awareness of moving toward the end, and perhaps an intuitive sense that as a group they are also moving toward a peak experience. There is no need for a hypothetical protagonist in discussing the third psychosocial resource, which is called (for lack of a simpler term) competence-productivity-and-responsibility, and concerns the relationship of each individual to the society he lives in. Since it is focused chiefly on the educational process, the group is on home ground, and arguments are frequent and lively among the more secure people who can give and take direct confrontations good-humoredly. They are not allowed to dispense with remembering, however; the ostensibly less secure people in the group keep bringing in vivid recollections of their own experi-

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ence as children in the classroom, and this is in effect a gentling infiltration, allowing the group to combine recognition of professional problems with remembered childhood feelings, as they work at developing ideas for more effective teaching.

At the close of that discussion the only homework assignment is made, the participants being asked to come prepared to share with the group the next day any three instances of pure enjoyment that they are willing to share. They take this assignment light-heartedly—what could be easier? But when they come in the next morning, their faces suggest that something unexpected has happened to most of them in the intervening hours. There is little or none of the usual vivacious talk; there are some searching looks and some fleeting smiles, but the group assembles promptly, in a pregnant silence.

Enjoyments

With the very first volunteered contribution the peak experience begins, and perhaps it has to be experienced to be believed. However tentative the beginning, it always includes something that comes quietly straight from the heart; and so finely are the participants attuned to each other that feeling elicits responsive feeling, and the session quickly becomes an astonishing aeration of deeply moving personal experiences. On the surface the contributions seem to be a pot-pourri, coming out in a crazy mixture, now with tears, now with gales of laughter, often with both together. They may talk of hearing a meadow lark singing in the hot sunshine of the noon before; of standing alone on a cliff at Carmel and seeing the Pacific for the first time; of fishing trips and

family picnics, or of driving out to see the river in flood and spotting a doe and two fawns marooned on a little knoll, while night came down and the water continued to rise. They exult over making a grand slam at bridge, or a hole-in-one at golf, or of being first in the family to get a college degree. They speak of the joy of delivering a strong healthy child, after the grief of a first child being stillborn; of the chance encounter that led to marriage; of what it means to a man to be able to show his first son to his father just days before the old man died; of the immeasurable thoughtfulness of friends when one is bereaved. Now and then someone pays personal tribute to someone else in the group, and is seconded by group applause. Even the shyest and most reticent among them, people who have made not a single comment up to this time, speak out now, sometimes evoking open exclamations of delight. There are many references to events of the weekend before, when clearly they had used themselves differently, more freely and fully, and sometimes these high moments are specifically related to earlier workshop learnings. They touch each other off, so that one round is never enough. They interpret for each other and for themselves. One woman described the evening before like this: "I just couldn't keep my mind on what I'd have thought of as 'enjoyments'—I kept thinking of all the things that had meant most to me, and so help me, I spent most of the evening in tears. The only real belly-laugh I got was when my husband got upset enough to ask what was upsetting me, and when I said, 'My enjoyments!'—you should have seen his face! But when I began to tell him the kinds of things

I had been thinking about, he cried, too."

The term *enjoyment* is a poor rubric for what most participants bring into these sessions, and I continue to use it chiefly because it offers an easy out to anyone who needs or wants an out, as a few do, who will settle for telling jokes. But most of them seize the opportunity to lend themselves unwithholdingly to the time, the place, the people,—to these particular hours of living. When one young woman, sensitive but shy and unsure of herself, suddenly exclaimed, "We've been freed!" she was speaking for the group. They were giving freely of themselves, they were fearlessly letting go of feelings that had been piling up within them for a week and a half—or for twenty or thirty or forty years. They learn about the fourth psychosocial resource through experiencing it.

Further Learning

How they use the remaining workshop time has been, so far, largely group-determined and necessarily affected by the peak experience. It is always some kind of further, eager exploring, and a continuing and very open sharing that brings perceptible change, the more aggressive people growing gentler, and the more timorous ones speaking up oftener, finding it easier to say what they have to say.

There is a potential for further learning in that "remaining workshop time" that has not been recognized and used, but it is not germane to our central question here, which is, by what process, exactly, do these workshops reach that peak group experience? I can make a somewhat more educated guess about this now, I think, since I have recently led

a workshop in which the group process did not culminate in a peak experience, even though its members talked about the same kinds of things in the Enjoyments session as other groups have talked about. The only other obvious difference between that workshop and other workshops conducted in the same way was that it was of one week's duration instead of two; as a consequence, while I had the same total number of hours with the group as usual, the group had only half as much time with each other—and there was no intervening weekend. Using this fact as clue, the group process can be logically analyzed in the following way.

From Stress to Growth

To begin with, there is no need to sensitize the kind of people who have been involved in these workshops. The sensitivity is already there, either right on the surface or just underneath it; but they do need to learn that it can work for them instead of against them, can enrich instead of depleting. From the outset they are under the stress of anxiety. They have committed themselves for two weeks, without knowing to what and to whom they have committed themselves. Their anxiety is heightened by their early acting-out against the leader-as-teacher, and is further heightened by the day-after-day exposure to very personal feelings that are usually and far more comfortably repressed, but that also enhance awareness and sentience. But as day follows day and they find that they are not expected to expose themselves and their feelings, they develop more confidence in each other and in the leader, and there is that blessed weekend to look forward to, as relief from

stress. So many of them use themselves more freely and fully than usual during that weekend that it carries over into noticeably freer interactions with each other in the second week. You can literally see them coming to care more about each other and about the group as a group, while their warmer and readier responsiveness adds significantly to everyone's sense of his or her own individual worth. The continuing focus on work keeps these positive feelings mostly unverbalized until the Enjoyments session begins. Then the way is open to their giving as much of themselves to the group as by then they want to give. When thirty people, one after another, transmute stress into growth through sharing whatever they choose to speak of as their "enjoyments," and do it because they want to give to each other and be given to in return, a peak group experience would have to occur.

If it is objected that the method here described precludes the learning that can come out of direct confrontations, the objection is well founded. The central task of these workshops,

however, is to impart some understanding of basic mental health principles, insofar as we think we understand them now, in the hope that the participants can thereby become more skillful in their dealings with children. This requires, as I see it, two kinds of learning: first, of freer and more flexible uses of the self in relating to others; and second, of recognizing that direct confrontation is not the only method, and should not always be the method of choice, of resolving conflicts. Particularly when a power-inequality is involved, as is usually the case between teacher and children, both the ethics and the efficacy of direct confrontations are open to challenge. So, of course, is this alternative and any other kind of experimentation in human relations. We cannot choose not to experiment in this field about which we still know so little; but we should be quite clear about the fact that the intensive group experience is a tremendously exciting thing, and as responsible professionals we had better make sure that we are not going into it "just for kicks."

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Sketch of an Innovative Approach to Higher Education

Alfred R. Oxenfeldt
Columbia University

The proposal outlined here represents a potentially revolutionary approach to education from approximately grade 11 through graduate school. It combines relatively familiar elements to promise an unparalleled result. This approach could substantially deepen the educational experience of students, drastically reduce costs, increase student choice, place greater responsibility upon students to educate themselves, and permit far greater flexibility for student and school alike. Hopefully, it offers a remedy for the worsening shortage of skilled and dedicated teachers and for the soaring costs of higher education; it would almost certainly result in greater relevance and challenge of course content. Mainly, it would shift higher education from outmoded dependence on "individual practice" to group practice calling for the cooperative efforts of skilled specialists.

The proposed program involves the following elements:

1. Students would, much as now, determine the courses in which they would enroll. At registration, students would receive several (2-4) sets of broad essay-type questions (somewhere between 60 and 150 in number) from which their final examination and mid-terms would be drawn. Each set of questions would represent a particular emphasis or focus—assuming that specialists in the field advanced several alternative "approaches" to the subject matter.

Together with these prospective examination questions, the students

Professor Oxenfeldt teaches Marketing Management at Columbia's School of Business; and he is much concerned about the "shortage of skilled and dedicated teachers." His proposal verges on the revolutionary, since it focuses on student determination of the courses in which they enroll, student management of discussion groups, and the use of faculty as "content and methods experts." Dr. Oxenfeldt, apart from his regular professional assignments, has been involved in designing innovative courses and taping specific lessons to be used by newcomers in his instructional field.

would receive a statement setting forth the rationale behind each approach to assist him in selecting among them. The student's first assignment would be to select the particular set of questions he will prepare himself to answer to gain "credit" for the course.

The examination questions would be broad, calling for evaluation, integration, and the application of the concepts, models, behaviors, etc., developed in the course—and not simply for retrieval of factual content.

2. When students have selected one version of the course, they will be given the following items:
 - a. An extensive syllabus that aims to provide structure to the subject matter, specific reading assignments, guidance as to the issues of central importance related to each topic, and the like.
 - b. An annotated bibliography and references that tie the readings to the issues raised in the syllabus and to the examination questions.
 - c. Special educational materials. Many materials beyond texts can be provided. It is proposed that audio tapes or scripts be prepared specially for each version of the course, including such items as discussions, debates, interviews, dialogues, etc., with outstanding specialists; reports on the most relevant and pertinent research findings and methods; discussions of the key unresolved issues in the field; visual materials—including films—that might be viewed in special corrals; etc.
 - d. Written exercises, projects, miscellaneous assignments.
3. When students have selected a particular version of the course, they would be assigned to discussion groups, composed of four to six persons. (Occasionally, they might be forced to await the formation of a new group or join an on-going group.)
 - a. These groups would be given guidance as to how they might function; they would not have a teacher present. Some audio tapes would be prepared to suggest alternative formats for such group discussions. (The tapes would present model discussions.)
 - b. The groups would enjoy great discretion and would decide how they will function, subject to such constraints as the following: responsibility for individual meetings would be rotated, the group must meet at prescribed intervals, the leader would be free to select the topic for discussion, though he would be advised to obtain permission from his group if he departed from recommended topics. (Emphasis would be placed on having the group select topics other than those suggested and to indulge their own interests.)

- c. Membership of these discussion groups would be subject to change upon request—with reason. Moreover, the administrators of the program would shift individuals among the individual groups to expose students to diverse viewpoints and personalities.
4. Students would be advised and assisted to form “working-pairs.” Pairs of students would be given special assignments related to the course. Each student would either serve as a “doer” or as a critic of a partner who is “doing.” The working-pairs would be equipped with audio tapes or scripts of sample pairs that would represent idealized performances. They would also be given suggested topics, procedures, and assignments.
5. Students would be given access to tutorial assistance. They would be required to see their tutors at least once per month; they would be able to purchase additional tutorial time as desired.
6. Students could submit assignments and exercises when and as they chose and would receive detailed feedback; again, this right would involve a special fee.
7. Students would be allowed to take “mid-term” examinations on specified segments of the course. As indicated, the questions given on these examinations would be selected from those included on the set selected after registration. All examinations other than the first “final” examination would require a special fee, for which the student would receive detailed “feedback.”
8. At a time essentially of their own choosing, students could elect to take a final examination. If they failed the first time, they could repeat it for a fee. (A limit might be placed on the number of times the exam could be taken.) Grading of examinations would be carried out by two independent persons with student identity concealed. Examinations might take 3-6 hours; oral examinations might be given.

Rationale Underlying This Proposal The logic of this set of arrangements is more or less manifest. It should be clear that its key elements relate to: 1) Motivation; 2) Use of the services of substantial numbers of content and methods experts; 3) Opportunity for students to proceed at their own pace; 4) Opportunity and pressure on students to make vital decisions that determine the quality and emphasis of their education; 5) Activation of students, placing them in the position occupied by a teacher; 6) Pressure on those who prepare and administer such courses to make their objectives explicit and operational.

A. Motivation.

In part, an increase in motivation for students to extend themselves to master the materials offered them will come from their direct involvement in the selection of what they will study. In part, it will be generated by their working as mature individuals in discussion groups where, from time to time, they will assume the functions of a teacher. Mainly, student motivation is likely to be generated by knowledge of what specifically they are expected to "learn." Knowledge of the final examination questions gives direction to students and assurance that their study-time will not be wasted. Elimination of the risk of wholly unexpected questions tends to change student reaction to examinations. Observe that students will have selected the set of questions on which they are to be examined.

Of course, one can only conjecture about the degree of motivation that would be engendered by this proposal; almost certainly, it will be greater for some individuals than for others. The distribution of a set of questions in advance from which the final examination was to be selected has proved surprisingly motivating for almost all students in a traditional course setting. Whether the same would hold in a different setting and when the questions are distributed at the beginning of the course cannot be forecast with confidence.

Perhaps the most important unclear point related to motivation involved in this proposal is whether the transfer of major responsibility to the individual for deciding what aspects of the subject to study, to pick the pace at which he will try to master the course, etc., will foster responsibility or lead to procrastination and indolence. Prior experience with related efforts suggests that some students will make surprisingly dedicated efforts, while others will let things slide.

Since the discussion groups and working pairs involve mutual interdependence, any individual who is a slacker will injure others; group pressure might impel slackers to greater effort—if it does not create genuine interest.

B. The use of content and methods experts.

It would be possible and advisable to employ substantial resources in the preparation of syllabi, annotated bibliographies, tapes, exercises, examinations, etc., for this type of course. The use of specialists—and in considerable number—would be economically feasible because the materials could be used in many schools and used again and again, with only modest modification from term to term. The investment of massive resources—massive compared with the individual teacher trying to cope with fields that are growing, a spawning literature in which useful materials tend to be lost, and the com-

munications problems and opportunities that a teacher must resolve in making a presentation—should improve the quality of course substance and form. Major improvements of many kinds should result from bringing together specialists to prepare the kinds of courses that have been outlined.

C. Opportunity to proceed at one's pace.

The value of allowing students to vary the time they take to complete a course is widely recognized and need not be discussed at length. It is particularly great when students vary widely in prior preparation and in interest in the subject. One option open to students that may not be obvious is to develop a substantial mastery of particular fields before taking the final examination. Mastery would be recorded in the student's grade and, perhaps, in a personal letter from the grading committee. Indeed, this option might be formalized and students might be permitted to apply for "High Honors." Those who do would be well-advised to spend a longer time in preparing those courses than when they simply want an "ordinary grade."

D. Opportunity for and pressure on students to make vital educational decisions.

As indicated, students would be required to select the focus of the course they would take; they would decide when to take examinations, when to purchase special tutorial sessions, special assignments and special examinations. They would have great choice in the topics they elected to discuss in their groups and in the way they used their working-pair sessions. The responsibility of students for the success or failure of their educational experience would be quite clear under the prescribed arrangements. Such arrangements are likely to yield beneficial maturing effects. Beyond this direct effect, the prescribed arrangements are likely to create a constructive attitude toward the entire educational process. The program outlined makes it very difficult for students to perceive the educational system as a series of obstacles in their path constructed by their teachers and an administration.

E. Activizing students.

Students can remain almost totally passive, except for the taking of examinations, under the present arrangements. The program proposed makes such passivity almost impossible. The working pair is, almost by definition, an active device. Individuals might remain relatively inactive in discussion group meetings, but would be required to conduct some meetings themselves. Moreover, their classmates are likely to make a concerted effort to involve them in discussion—and will regard it as a challenge to involve them. The selection of the time to stand for examination, the choice of a desired "approach" to the material also involve activization and responsibility by students in ways that are likely to be constructive.

F. Pressure on those preparing courses and administering them to make their objectives explicit and operational.

Very few teachers today can state their course objectives explicitly and in detail; moreover, those who do state their goals rarely do so in operational terms. Ordinarily their aim is to "cover" and "transmit" information; some state that they "teach their students how to think," but apparently do so by "covering material."

The need to summarize the entire body of course material in the form of examination questions and to have the value of a course assessed by students after analyzing the questions that might be asked on exams puts very strong pressure on those preparing courses to make their objectives explicit and operational. Beyond this extra pressure, this arrangement presumably would provide the resources and the opportunity to define goals carefully and validly. The statement of educational goals and their implementation is an extremely demanding task and some people are far better equipped to do it than are others. Specialists in framing educational objectives would hopefully be consulted in the preparation of materials—including examination questions—for every course.

Some Conclusions Until the foregoing arrangements are tested, one can only conjecture about their likely effects. They obviously are better suited to some subjects than others, for certain kinds of students than others, and in certain school environments rather than others. What is not required is the development and testing of several pilot courses in diverse situations. Hopefully such tests of this proposal will be conducted on a scale—both in the effort devoted to the preparation of the course materials and in the number of students exposed—that will provide a reliable basis of evaluation. It would be a pity if this proposal were discredited by being tried with poor course materials. It would be an even greater pity if the proposal failed to receive a test.

The Teachers Union Chapter in the Elementary School

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The recent increase in teacher militancy has led to speculation by some educators that resort to the picket line to achieve better school conditions and higher salaries compromises the professional status of the teacher as an educator. Many administrators are apprehensive that the teachers' newly found assertiveness will have a harmful impact on educational programs within their schools.

With the growing power of the teacher unions, the union chapters (also called school building committees), with their elected chapter chairmen, are becoming the channel through which the principal is most likely to experience the "teacher power" won in negotiation by the union central office. The chapters are becoming an important influence on decisions made within the school, so much so that one administrator has expressed the fear that "the internal administration of the school by the principal is hampered by the activities of the union 'chapter chairman' or 'shop steward' and by the filing of imaginary grievances."¹

Such fears rest on the assumption that the chairman's increased power must inevitably lead to nonproductive conflict with the principal. This, however, assumes that when the chairman gains in influence, the principal must necessarily lose, overlooking the possibility that the chairman's new influence could help eliminate a twilight zone in school administration where no one has exercised effective authority.

¹ Maurice D. Hopkins, "Development of a Collective Bargaining Relationship," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, Vol. 52, No. 328, May 1968, p. 103.

This article, the outcome of a study sponsored by the Center for Urban Education, has to do with the potentially cooperative part to be played by union chapter chairmen in the elementary school. It is based on a questionnaire study of such chairmen and presents the findings with respect to several facets of the chairman-principal relationship in the elementary school.

In the past, many principals, whether because of their heavy work loads or the difficulty of obtaining necessary teacher cooperation, may have had trouble developing new educational programs or increasing the effectiveness of existing procedures. The active participation and influence of the chairman can aid in eliciting the support of the teaching staff for school improvement. In a recent article, Thomas C. Wood directs attention to these possibilities by noting that teachers are on the threshold of taking active responsibility for the direction of educational change, and suggests that "this trend offers administrators a new role in responsibility to provide leadership for the terribly exciting potential residing in this teacher force."²

The data reported here suggest a number of areas in which administrators can work with unionized teachers to improve education in their schools. The findings are based on fieldwork, diaries, and a systematic survey conducted during the school year 1967-68. A questionnaire was sent to all 642 chapter chairmen in the elementary schools of New York City. Sixty-two percent completed the lengthy form and returned it to the study.

Reports From Chairmen In 1960, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), Local 2 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), became the sole bargaining agent for teachers in the New York City public school system. Presently claiming some 46,000 of the City's 55,000 teachers as members, the UFT is the largest, and one of the more powerful and militant of the AFT locals. It is organized into school chapters which are present in virtually all the elementary schools of New York City; only 4 percent had no operating union chapter during the 1966-67 school year.

Although the chapters vary widely in size, a median of 83 percent of the teachers in the unionized elementary school belong to the UFT. In 90 percent of all the city's elementary schools, more than half the teachers in the school are UFT members. Of these, a median percent of 75 attend the regular chapter meetings. This high membership rate often makes the chairman, by his election to office, in effect the key spokesman for the teachers in the school, while the relatively large number of active members indicated by the attendance figures adds to his authority.

Among our respondents, the largest single bloc of elementary school chairmen reported teaching some specialty such as Art, Physical Education, CRMD, or Reading; 33 percent fell into this category. Nevertheless, there are representatives from all the grades, with no grade showing less than 6 percent of the total.

² Thomas C. Wood, "The Changing Role of the Teacher: How Does it Affect the Role of the Principal?," *The National Elementary Principal*, Vol. 47, No. 5, April 1968, p. 35.

Most of the elementary school chapter chairmen appear to be well qualified by experience and education to play a leadership and decision-making role in the school structure. They have spent a median of eight years teaching, a figure which compares favorably to 1965-66 data indicating that 48 percent of the city's elementary school teachers had been teaching five years or less.³ By contrast, only 28 percent of the chairmen reported having five or fewer years experience.

Most of the chairmen have pursued their education beyond the B.A.; 49 percent indicated they held a Master's degree, and 73 percent reported taking 30 or more graduate credits. While no figures are available for New York City, a national survey in 1966-67 found that only 16 percent of all elementary school teachers had a Master's degree or higher.⁴ The majority of the chapter chairmen also report that they try to keep up with their fields, with 66 percent reporting that they read professional journals or periodicals regularly.

The chairmen tend to be oriented toward their schools and very much concerned and involved with school problems. As listed in the union constitution, the chairman's duties include the collection of monies for the central office, distribution of literature, solicitation of new members, presentation of recommendations to the central office, and cooperation with the duly constituted authorities of the union, responsibilities which, in effect, define him as an agent for the central office.⁵ Yet 80 percent of the respondents indicated that they viewed their role as representative of the teachers in their schools as equal to or of greater importance than their role as UFT agent. Their school-centered orientation is further shown by the 87 percent who reported that guidance and constructive criticism from their principals was "very" or "somewhat" important to them.

The potential for cooperation suggested by this response is emphasized by the 36 percent of the chairmen who indicated a desire to become assistant principals. Once again, this invites contrast with a national sample of teachers in large cities in 1961 in which some 20 percent indicated an interest in becoming assistant principals.⁶ The interest of the chairmen in entering administration, while representing only a third of the total, nevertheless raises

3 See Madeline M. Morrisey, *School Experience Index: School Year 1955-56*, Educational Program Research and Statistics, Publication No. 265, New York: Board of Education, January 1966, p. 2.

4 See *The American Public School Teacher, 1965-1966*. NEA Research Report, 1967, R4, p. 71.

5 *Constitution of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2*. American Federation of Teachers, Article IX, Section 4.

6 See Robert E. Herriot and Nancy Hoyt St. John. *Social Class and the Urban School*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966, p. 88.

the possibility that within the next twenty years a large proportion of supervisory positions may be held by former chapter chairmen. In line with this, 8 percent of the respondents reported that their predecessors in the post had gone on to supervisory positions. Union officials and school supervisors may well have a good many interests in common.

Viability and Grievance. Considering these attitudes and orientations, administrators may not be surprised to discover that the majority of chapter chairmen feel they have viable working relationships with their principals. Ninety-one percent of the respondents agreed that "the administration is trying to work within the contract." Sixty-seven percent felt that their principal's performance in working with the union chapter was "good," "excellent," or "outstanding," while 22 percent rated it as "fair." Only 11 percent considered their principal's efforts in this area to be "poor" or "very poor."

The principal-chairman relationship has both formal and informal aspects. Bringing formal grievances is potentially the most visible activity chapter leaders perform, yet fully 71 percent of the respondents reported none during the past year. For the relatively few cases in which informal methods within the school fail to achieve resolution of a teacher complaint, the contract outlines a formal three-step grievance procedure. The union central office provides the chairmen with aid and support in representing individual teachers seeking to challenge administrative assignments or decisions. If agreement cannot be reached at step one within the school, the contract provides for a second-step appeal to the district headquarters, and, if necessary, for a final step to the city superintendent's office.

The grievances likely to occur are specified in the contract, and usually involve issues of teachers' rights. Examples mentioned by the respondents include the following:

The cluster teachers filed a grievance because the principal refused to rotate the assignment of duties before and after school.

The duty schedule was inequitable. Not all teachers were included.

On the first-grade level, the class registers were above the maximum, 33. A new class was formed as a result.

Substitute teacher given an IGC class.

The chairmen's responses indicate that the grievances are usually settled amicably and to the teachers' satisfaction, suggesting the extent to which mutual adjustments are possible within the school framework.

Another formal aspect of the principal-chapter relationship is the monthly consultation session mandated by the contract. These meetings provide an adjunct to informal communication channels, and may be used to discuss virtually all school problems that are of concern to the teachers. Replies taken from the questionnaire indicate that the formal consultation session has become a regular monthly aspect of the chapter-administration relationship in more than one half (57 percent) of the city's elementary schools. Seventy-nine percent of the chairmen report that some form of consultation with the administration occurs "about once a month" or more frequently. Only 18 percent report that consultations with principals take place "several times a year" or less. These figures indicate that both formal and informal consultation arrangements operate to keep a viable channel open between chapter and administration through which either can initiate action and discussion on a large variety of school problems.

The format of the meetings allows faculty members to suggest new programs for the school, to request information, and to seek changes in rules affecting them. As representatives of the teachers in these sessions, the members of the consultation committee are more likely to get a hearing on ideas and proposals than is an individual teacher making recommendations. Examples of the agendas for the consultation meetings taken from the diaries suggest the topics likely to be covered:

Discussed problem of parking near the school, problems in the first grade program (what are the responsibilities of the program coordinator), discussed disruptive child problems and what might be done.

The assignments of quota teachers; more information about record-keeping; speeding up rexographing; the quicker distribution of supplies; an inventory of current textbooks; making clearer the job of teacher aide.

Possibility of book fair; school assignments made more equal; new coffee machine; dress regulations; number and system for observation of teachers.

Informal contacts and meetings also appear to play an important role in the principal-chairman relationship. The chapter leaders' answers to the question, "Do you ever meet with the principal for lunch or have informal conversations with him after school hours?" indicate extensive informal contact, with 19 percent saying "often," 33 percent "sometimes," 20 percent "a few times," and only 27 percent "never." Such informal talks provide an opportunity for the principal and chairman to explore areas in which they might be of aid to each other, as well as a setting for the informal resolution of teacher grievances.

The 50 percent of the respondents who replied affirmatively to the question, "Has the principal ever asked you, as chapter chairman, to take over a school problem that called for teacher support?" indicate the extent to which principals may use these informal contacts with the chairmen as a means of securing teacher cooperation and support. Some of the answers to this question indicate the range and type of problems the principal may bring to the chairman's attention:

The union committee was asked to make a decision as to what type of OTP position we needed most. The committee was also asked to select the teacher for said position. We decided science should be the subject. The selection of the teacher was left to the principal.

We are desperately short of space, and the principal asked me to see if the faculty, in cooperation with the parents, could convince the powers-that-be to provide either portable classrooms or other suitable facilities. As chapter chairman, I began to apprise all of what was needed, and put pressure on the district office. As a result, 200 children will be transferred to a new school, slated to open this fall.

Professionalism in appearance, manner, and attitudes was requested, and specific breaches were resolved.

Planning of programs using federal money. Discussed with principal and had open meeting for teachers and parents to submit ideas.

Formation of a school-community committee. Committee was formed.

In effect, the principal may seek the chairman's advice and cooperation in dealing with any of the numerous problems likely to develop in a school. Table I indicates the issues on which principals most frequently approach their chapter chairmen.

As indicated in Table I, the principal is most likely to approach the chairman on questions of school assignments. Teacher resentment develops easily in this area if it is felt that a particular teacher does not deserve a rewarding assignment, or that another teacher is unreasonably being asked to do an unpleasant task. In a related area, 46 percent of the chairmen report being called upon to deal with problems involving individual teachers.

Securing Cooperation The chapter chairmanship can be particularly valuable in securing faculty cooperation for the effective implementation of new programs. As the teachers' elected representative, the chapter leader is in a good position to secure their interest and participation in efforts to upgrade education in the school. In this area, 45 percent of

TABLE I.

Does the Principal Ever Ask You, as Chapter Chairman, How You Feel About:
 (N = 398)

	% saying "often" or "sometimes"
1. School assignments	52
2. Meeting with parents	51
3. New curriculum materials	45
4. Problems with particular teachers	46
5. New clerical work for teachers	39
6. Problems with particular students	31
7. The retention of a new teacher or substitute	27
8. Performance of the assistant principals	7

the chairmen reported that their principals "often" or "sometimes" sought their feelings on new curriculum materials, while in a different vein, 51 percent noted that their principals consulted them in regard to meeting with parents.

There are several areas which most principals apparently feel are chiefly their responsibility. The assignment of new clerical work for teachers, for example, is a sensitive issue which might create strife within the school, yet it appears to be one in which the administration feels it should have the final say. The fact that as many as 39 percent of the chairmen report being consulted on this issue probably reflects a desire on the principal's part to reduce the chances of tensions and problems developing later. Other areas, such as problems with particular students, retention of a new teacher or substitute, and performance of the assistant principals, in which 31 percent, 27 percent, and 7 percent, respectively, of the chairmen reported being consulted, fall into this category in which principals feel they should have full responsibility.

Due to his heavy work schedule, the average principal may be unable to turn adequate attention to the development of new school practices and programs. Chapter initiation on these issues can make a valuable contribution to their solution. Such initiation is clearly an area in which activities of chapter and administration complement each other, while leading to educational improvement within the school. Some chapter-initiated programs listed by respondents to the questionnaire include the following:

We have given new teachers a "workshop" during the first 8-10 weeks of the

year during lunch hour. This workshop included class routines, discipline, daily scheduling, plan books and planning, school routines, roll book and other clerical tasks, and reviewing child's cumulative record.

We have improved the method of obtaining and ordering class supplies. Each teacher of the grade meets with grade leader to call items from G-1 supply book. We order and send to supervisor.

The teachers have discussed with the administration certain problems relating to the disruptive child. In the majority of instances, our recommendations have been followed.

In general, programs dealing with parent-teacher communication, the disruptive child problem, and with helping new teachers get adjusted to the school seem to be most common. Many are carried out with administration encouragement and cooperation, and suggest the wide range of possibilities for joint action to solve school problems.

The emerging pattern suggested by these data seems to be one of productive cooperation between chairman and principal stemming from a mutual interest in improving school functioning. Far from some administrators' fears that the chairman does not identify with his school, the chairman tends to consider himself a representative of the teachers in his school, to have a positive orientation toward his principal, and is more likely than other teachers to aspire to an administrative position. The frequency of actual conflict within the elementary schools is shown to be low by the relatively few schools reporting formal grievances. Many chairmen report that their principals seek their advice, while the chapters often help in the development of programs to deal with different educational problems. Teacher activism within the chapter format may well prove to be a viable instrument for improvement in the schools.

Spaces and Transitions

We began our five years in this editorial chair with talk of helping to create a "public space... where freedom could appear." We found in that notion (adapted from Hannah Arendt) an analogy to public education, which had only recently become a matter of central concern to the nation as a whole. We also found in it an analogy to our particular project, which was to edit a journal that would somehow widen the sphere of rational discourse with regard to education and at once make possible the kind of confrontations that occur when people speak authentically to one another about significant things.

That was in 1965, the very middle of what Richard Rovere was to call "this slum of a decade." It was two years after John F. Kennedy's assassination, almost a year after the revolt on the Berkeley campus, almost a year after the drastic escalation of the Vietnamese war. The Watts riots had taken place just a few months earlier; and people were still contemplating the slogan, "Burn, baby, burn!" Talk of separatism and Black Power was already in the air, although Martin Luther King was attempting to carry his particular mode of non-violent militancy into the North. The S.D.S. was still moderately hopeful about its poverty projects in the cities; and the humanist prose of the Port Huron statement, with its focus on "personal independence" and the search for meaning, was still dominant

in the rhetoric of student rebels. The first Vietnam Teach-In had taken place during the preceding spring; a responsible peace movement seemed to be organizing at universities throughout the country, the kind of movement that gave some people considerable hope. The War on Poverty had begun; the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts had been passed. More funds were being appropriated for compensatory and remedial work with the children of the poor than ever in history before. Attention, for the first time, was being directed to the arts and humanities by the Federal Government; discussions were launched, not only about the "culture of poverty," but about the "arts of poverty" too. The so-called "rock revolution" was only beginning; "flower children" still wandered the San Francisco streets, and the public had just about discovered LSD. Lionel Trilling (in *Beyond Culture*) was already pointing to the rise of an "adversary culture"; but the foundations of what Theodore Roszak was later to call the "counter-culture"—with its accompaniments of drug-taking, mysticism, pastoralism, subjectivism, and anti-materialism—were first being laid.

Perhaps strangely, for all the ambiguities and difficulties in view, for all our lurking doubts about the promised "Great Society," for all our growing outrage at the draft and the Vietnamese war, we thought there was a tonic sense around us—a sense of possibility. We were not frightened by

the disorder on the Berkeley campus; we were not overly depressed by the spectacle of Watts. On every front people seemed to be stirring. Of course there were "rising expectations" and more and more frequent disillusionments. Of course there were incidents of violence; but oftentimes, it seemed to us, the violence (as in Watts) was warranted, and it resulted (so it appeared) in attention for the first time being paid. We were impressed by what we perceived as a burgeoning of idealism, of a "new morality" centered on the existing individual. Although we had some disagreements with the "new romantic" critics of education (Goodman, Holt, then Kozol and Kohl), we felt that they, too, were directing our attention to (using Goodman's language) "people" rather than "personnel." We recalled something Thomas Jefferson once said about the "tree of liberty"; and, rightly or wrongly, we believed that that tree was being "watered" by the dissent we saw around us, the protests, the great refusals of all kinds.

Then came what several have called "the year of obscenities"—1968. That was the year Robert Kennedy was killed, and Martin Luther King. It was the year of the Chicago Convention; it was the year of the frustrated McCarthy campaign. Since then (and we think for good reason) we have lost the tonic sense of possibility. We are not, in any traditional mode, pessimistic, since we believe that a pessimistic educator is almost a contradiction in terms. (Why choose to work in education, if there is nothing valuable to communicate, nothing worthwhile to do?) We think, in fact, as we have so often done, of Camus. In an essay called "The Almond Trees" (in *Lyrical and Critical Essays*,

says), he wrote: "Let us not listen too much to those who proclaim that the world is at an end. Civilizations do not die so easily, and even if our world were to collapse, it would not have been the first. It is indeed true that we live in tragic times. But too many people confuse tragedy with despair. 'Tragedy,' Lawrence said, 'ought to be a great kick at misery.' This is a healthy and immediately applicable thought. There are many things today deserving such a kick."

We are in the mood for kicking, and we hope other people are as well. We hope that large numbers of educators—in classrooms, in administrative offices, in university lecture halls, in mini-schools—will become willing (faced with so much "misery") to sacrifice whatever complacency they enjoy and confront the "tragedy" of the times. This is no time for complacency, or automatism, or indifference, or piety. There are thousands upon thousands of poor children unable to learn how to read. There are high school students sickening in boredom or desperation; there are others taking violent action against those they consider "authority." On the one hand, as community leaders in the slums question the legitimacy of their schools, a stern demand for more "cognitive learning" is raised. On the other hand, as middle-class students suspect manipulation by the establishment, the disciplines of the social sciences are mocked and undermined. The intellectual young want to "turn on," to "encounter" one another, to create autonomous identities. Those who suffer deficits want to receive academic diplomas, to enroll in the colleges, to join the mainstream.

Against the expressed desire of the Federal government, the Southern

schools have been ordered to desegregate immediately; but before the first cries of Maddoxian agony are stilled, the problem of *de facto* segregation in the North has been raised. There is talk of requiring desegregation there as well; and Southerners are rejoicing in the correct belief that the pressure upon them would be less. In the meanwhile, to complicate the matter even more, CORE leaders are traveling about the South objecting to desegregation, demanding separatism in the school districts, talking about Black identity.

These are but a few examples of the problematic situations confronting the concerned educator today. Most of them involve moral tension as well as methodological uncertainty; and there are few guidelines any longer for the individual to consult. Yet the individual teacher or the individual administrator is likely to be evaluated, assessed, held (as President Nixon and Dr. Kenneth Clark both say) "accountable" for what his students achieve. As never before, he is going to be thrown back upon his own resources, his own strength, his own commitment. If he is to survive, he must—as never before—choose himself with respect to his own life-world.

No single person can deal with all the uncertainties plaguing education today, although he probably ought to be aware of the general shape of things. His main focus must be on his own situation, in its immediacy and concreteness, with its specific possibilities and its specific lacks. If he is a classroom teacher, this means that he must attend, as a full person, to the diverse children with whom he works. He must be able to heed them, to listen to them, to act in the several ways required for enabling different ones

of them to learn to learn. Abstract directives will be of little help. Sweeping statements about the "structure" of his subject matter or about the "level of conceptual development" he can expect will not really solve the problem of relating to Juan or Sally or George. Nor will they solve the problem of how to deal with, how to present his particular subject matter, since there are always alternative ways. If he is an empirical researcher or a school psychologist or an administrator, the situation to which he must relate is hugely different from the one confronting the classroom teacher. Hopefully, each one can see well enough to note how his own situation shades off into the distances, meets the horizon, sometimes meets or merges with other human situations. But the lacks, the unfulfilled needs of his own particular context are the ones that should involve and preoccupy each individual, making his own personal, intentional contribution to the larger social enterprise.

We have tried, in the course of our editorship, to address ourself repeatedly to the individual, the "single one." We have hoped to perform a significant function for that "single one" eager to look towards the horizons, to widen his own world. And we believe that this may be one of the contributions to be made by an educational journal, one of many educational journals in this country. THE RECORD is somewhat unique in its vastly diversified reading audience. Our readers are so diversified, in fact, that we can never subsume them under any single rubric, even the rubric "educationist." We have tried, therefore, to make it possible for many voices to speak from our pages—the voices of mathematicians, community

leaders, professors of literature, social studies teachers, restless students, verse-writing children, and professional poets. And we have made an effort, through most of these five years, to imagine an individual on the other side, an individual committed to engaging in some specific educational action, opening our pages with the weariness and excitement of his work still inside him, evoking questions, making him care.

We hand over our editorial torch to our successor with a sense of confidence that *he* cares—and that he knows as well as we do how many things there are "deserving such a kick." He will be concerned, we are sure, with inequities and deficiencies, and also with potentialities. He will pay heed to the difficulties and the wonders of pluralism, to restive communities and to competing schools and to the stubbornly vital common school. He will deal with legitimacy too, and accountability, and with the way people say things and make things, and with the way they search for meaning. But he will express his concern in his own way; since, at **THE RECORD**, editors are free to choose themselves. With trust in him, with regard for him, we are proud to present the new writer of this column—Frank G. Jennings, FGJ.

MG

Torch-catching is a dangerous game in which the first act is almost always a lie. The sequel is both better and worse than the opening. Education is such a disorderly undertaking, riven by justified fears, preening itself for imagined achievements and harried by its putative betters in academia and on Main Street. Education is such a gallant quest, seeking the holy spark in

everyman, the touch of genius in the favored few, finding excellence in the ordinary and splendid possibilities even in society's shadows. Of all of the helping professions, of all of the people-changing institutions none are quite so willing as teachers and schools to attempt Promethean acts. None are so willing to provide that "difference that makes a difference." None have the capacity to suffer and survive those local tragedies that measure the distance between reach and grasp.

It is the uniquely American kind of brashness to act as if ordered schooling can provide absolute compensation to the child for the deficiencies of his birthplace and time and can remove all the mean restraints that hamper growth of mind and spirit.

Education lives amid contending myths of rationality and feeling, of openness and certainty, convinced without warrant that *doing* is the light and the way toward productive understanding, as though purpose were an emergent quality of any act. This may be true for poets and the fools of God, but it leads to fakery in the classroom. It leads to innovation as an act of social contrition. It leaves the student a castaway on a morally barren island in the midst of our social seas.

Despite the weariness of some of education's critics with questions of goals and values, we must enunciate purposes, we must define provisional goals, we must declare what we intend to do—and then act with a kind of renewable courage to attain those partial and incomplete victories in social endeavors that are all that is available within the human condition.

The American people are possessed of appropriate and precise instincts in

these matters. Education is not and can never be an afterthought in our social processes. It was not so for our Founding Fathers. It was not so for our colonial ancestors. It cannot be for us.

If the past decades of anxiety, turmoil, and achievement bespeak anything beyond chaos, they are indicators of our clarifying awareness that we must now re-order the social and political institutions of education so that they will function effectively for each citizen, for every community, and for the national commonwealth.

This should be—must be our specific emphasis: Every child, whatever his condition of birth, must find in the schools unconditioned support for his acquisition of the essential social and learning skills. No child should ever fail in these achievements; too many of them do today. Every child, as he progresses through childhood into youth, must come to know and to use the formal knowledge and the informal procedures that are fundamental to an effective and satisfying life as a citizen of this nation. An intolerable number of our children are still being prevented from gaining this goal.

There is no need here to elaborate this point; it is a cherished democratic cliché. It is mentioned in order to focus upon our inescapable need to have in the highest councils of governments informed and impassioned advocates of the centrality of education, *viewed as a social institution*, to all of our affairs as a people.

There is ancient and incontestable wisdom in the observation that "Philosophy is no good unless it bakes bread." And there is a nagging pertinence to the affairs of schools in the newly enunciated wisdom of the ecologists who remind us that "You can

never merely do one thing. . . ." For education must be conceived and carried on as a *meddler institution*—the one that is—as once the church was—the unabashed conscience of the people. No teacher, no administrator of any school, and most certainly no Commissioner of Education can afford the destructive luxury of pretending to moral neutrality. There are some things that enhance the human condition. There are many things that are brutalizing to it. The differences must be measured and declared.

Education is a vocation in the antique meaning of that misused word. We must hold to the unqualified conviction that the teaching of children and youth takes precedence over every other organized social act that man is capable of—and our conduct of the schools must celebrate that recognition.

FGJ

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Relevant and Recommended

Tamagawa-Gakuen: A Vision of the "New Education" in Japan

Robert Osborn
University of Rochester

"Tamagawa-Gakuen is certainly *one* of the best schools in the world, and perhaps *is* the best." So Professor Theodore Brameld of Boston University remarked to me a while back as I discussed with him the probability that I would visit Tamagawa-Gakuen on a forthcoming trip to Japan.¹ Indeed, my chief purpose in going to Japan was to observe this unique school and to meet Dr. Kuniyoshi Obara, its founder and still president at the age of eighty-two. During the past three years, as I pursued a growing interest in unique schools, increasingly the names Obara and Tamagawa caught my attention. While few in number, these references were invariably and impressively favorable. So I became convinced that Tamagawa-Gakuen represented a school that I should see first-hand. Now having returned from Japan, while I'm uncertain about Brameld's proposition that Tamagawa-Gakuen may be the best school in the world, I am very certain that it is one of the most exciting and interesting to observe and, as such, merits the closest attention of American educators.²

By express from Tokyo's Shinjuku station, which requires a transfer to a local train, it is about a forty-minute ride to Tamagawa station. In this time, the train moves from the welter of buildings and streets that make up one of the world's largest cities across the Tama River into the low green hills that lie to the southwest. Here in the countryside, yet now within commuting distance of millions of youth, Dr. Obara built his school. The station, well marked and not easily missed by a foreign visitor, stands only a short walk from

¹ Theodore Brameld. *Education as Power*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, paperback. Brameld writes more extensively and as favorably about Tamagawa-Gakuen, particularly praising the school as one "where the quest for social self-realization is already flowering to a magnificent degree," (p. 60).

² It is not the purpose of this article to test Brameld's claim about Tamagawa. To do so would require skills I did not take to Japan, and data I did not return with. The purpose of this article is limited to calling attention to an excitingly unique school and the educational beliefs and life of an impressive man.

the center of the campus. Walking is not required, however, when one is expected. Dr. Obara's hospitality is generous, and a car awaits the arrival of a guest.

A steep, curving tree-covered drive leads to the Tamagawa administration building. On my first visit, as the car entered the campus grounds, I was alert to every sign that would say something to me about the school, particularly so because I surmised the language barrier would limit if not distort what I saw. I expected the trees, ponds, shrubs, paths, and flowers that abound on the campus, for Tamagawa has been praised for these. But I was surprised by the large number of students I saw and the number and size of the buildings. I had seen many photographs of the campus before I arrived, but for some reason or other had imagined a much smaller school. Later, when Dr. Obara explained that his school enrolled 6500 students in classes from kindergarten through college, I came to realize fully the basis for my surprise. Clearly Tamagawa-Gakuen is a sizable educational enterprise.

A personal representative of Dr. Obara's met me at the administration building and directed me into a large comfortable reception room. Shortly after I had wiped my face and hands with the ever-present and appreciated Japanese hand towel and sipped some tea, Dr. Obara, looking good-humored and energetic, entered the room. I was put immediately at ease by the gentleness and warmth of his greeting. Seating himself, he wiped his hands and face, and we began the first of many hours of talk.

Dr. Obara, short and somewhat stocky, wore easily his many years. His face is rather round and framed by long white hair which falls behind his ears to the nape of the neck. As he spoke, I sensed in him something akin to the "harmony of opposites" concept which forms a part of his educational thought. He is in turn gentle yet strong, submissive but commanding, relaxed yet vigorous. Indeed, I was soon to discover how vigorous, for he personally conducted me on a several hours' tour of the Tamagawa campus. Then, at 4:30 in the afternoon, looking only slightly tired, he excused himself to depart for an important meeting in Tokyo which he expected to last the evening.

A Satsuma Man Faculty members at Tamagawa admiringly refer to Dr. Obara as a Satsuma man; for, like the young Samurai who in the middle of the nineteenth century overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate and thrust feudal Japan into the modern world, he was born in Satsuma prefecture. Like them, too, "Satsuma man" seems to imply he had the power to dream great dreams and the energy and wit to make his dreams reality. And so I remember with particular pleasure sitting in the tea house at Tamagawa with Dr. Obara and listening to him speak of old dreams accomplished and new dreams yet

to be fulfilled. By no means, I thought as I listened, is the Satsuma spirit ready to retire nor Tamagawa finished with its growth.

Satsuma peninsula juts out from the southern coast of Kyushu at a point where the Pacific and China Sea meet; and there in the village of Kushi in 1887, Dr. Obara was born. By that time, misadventures had reduced the once prosperous Samurai family to destitution. The father had in vain sought to mine gold in Japan. Heavy investments in this fruitless enterprise put the family deeply into debt. The mother held the family together through these early years of poverty as best she could, but soon death took both the father and mother and left the children orphaned. Dr. Obara was then adopted into a Shinto family. As he and his brothers grew to maturity, they assumed the burden of paying off their father's debts.

In spite of these difficulties, Dr. Obara pursued his schooling. Upon graduation from secondary school, he enrolled at Hiroshima Normal College to prepare to teach, graduating in 1913. He had caught early in his life a vision of himself teaching, perhaps in part from his grandfather who was also a teacher. After Hiroshima, he went up to Kyoto Imperial University where he completed his doctorate in 1918. There he came under the influence of Dr. Masataro Sawayanagi, a scholar who was well acquainted with developments in Western education and who was calling for school reforms in Japan somewhat along the line of progressive educators in the United States. In 1916 Dr. Sawayanagi, with other sympathetic educators, led in the founding of Seijo Gakuen. This school, according to Dr. Obara, became the mecca for thousands of Japanese educational reformers during the 1920's. In 1919, Dr. Obara joined Seijo as vice president, and later became its president.

Seijo Gakuen was created around educational principles which I refer to in this article as "new education."³ There Dr. Obara became immersed in the process of creating and implementing the design for a new approach to schooling in Japan. But through the course of several years, disagreements developed among the faculty over the policy and practice of the "new education." These were sufficiently serious and disruptive to make Dr. Obara resign his position at Seijo. For him, Seijo seems to have been a first step into the "new education," but in certain respects an unsatisfactory one. So he left, and in 1929

³ Specifically, "new education" refers to Dr. Obara's beliefs about education. He also refers to his position as "whole man education" or "character education." In general, "new education" describes a reform movement in Japanese education which loosely parallels the progressive education movement in the United States. According to Dr. Obara, "new education" reached its zenith during the late 20's, almost died out between 1930 and the end of World War II, and presently enjoys a very modest revival. In the "new education" movement Dr. Obara played a leading, albeit controversial role.

founded Tamagawa, a school more closely fitting the demands of his educational ideals.

New Education Ideals What were the ideals of the "new education" as developed by Dr. Obara? Perhaps twelve in number, they read, in some respects, rather like the language of progressive educators in the United States during the 1920's and 1930's. Although he acknowledges his debt to American and European educational thought, Dr. Obara contends that a substantial part of the "new education" grew out of his own life experiences and his study of Japanese and Chinese thought.

As Dr. Obara explained it, the purpose of the "new education" should be to produce a "whole man" who is capable of self-direction and who is intellectually, spiritually, morally, aesthetically, and physically fully and harmoniously developed. This goal can be reached through a range of activities centering in study, worship, art, work, and exercise, and taking place both in the classroom and outdoors close to nature. The process should be a group-oriented one in which the self is disciplined by an ideal of humanitarian service which ultimately includes within its compass the brotherhood of all mankind. It depends on a teacher-pupil relationship which is characterized by a harmony between the unique interests and powers of each, thereby permitting pupils to assume the greatest responsibility for directing their own activities, but allowing for teacher guidance at crucial points.

Religious Dimensions As conceived by Dr. Obara, the "new education" at Tamagawa requires a broad religious foundation; indeed education generally, and ethical education specifically, divested of religion becomes spiritually empty and morally sterile. Each day the boarding students attend an early morning service, often outdoors, conducted by Dr. Obara. Joined together in a great circle, the youth sing religious songs and listen to Dr. Obara read from the holy books of many religions and comment on what he has read. The worship seems non-denominational and humanitarian. That is, Dr. Obara honors the strong points of all religions, and he encourages students and faculty from many religions to come to Tamagawa.

Personally, Dr. Obara is a Christian, but it is a Christianity without the sectarianism and exclusiveness that characterize much of Christianity in the West. Japanese typically seem to come from a variety of religious backgrounds, honoring each as the occasion demands, and this sometimes even when they have apparently adopted a non-religious posture. Indeed, what religion you belong to is a perplexing if not meaningless question to most Japanese. A better phrasing for the Japanese might be, what *religions* do you belong to?

Dr. Obara's religious situation would be typical in most respects of the Japanese pattern, but also atypical. Unlike most Japanese, he answers the first question by stating that he is a Christian. Somewhat comparable to the multi-religious backgrounds of most Japanese, however, he was born a Buddhist, adopted into a Shinto family, studied Confucianism, and later embraced Christianity.

Attempts, if any, at Tamagawa to use education to promote Christianity seem minimal. My contacts with the faculty revealed a wide range of philosophic and religious points of view. All assured me that there was no pressure on them to make their teaching Christian. Moreover, few out of a student body largely non-Christian accept Christianity. This might be explained, for example, by the power of the culture to resist Christian beliefs. But it may also be that what affects policy and practice at Tamagawa Gakuen is not so much commitment to Christianity as a commitment to a concept of the place of religions or the religious in education and life; consequently, non-Christian religious views receive adequate support.

In Dr. Obara's view, just as religion should permeate every aspect of life, so should it infuse all of education. In the literature class, teacher and student come to grips with profound moral questions. On the stage, music and drama become ways of expressing religious feeling and awe. Hard work in the rice paddies strengthens the student's character and disciplines his will. But, in addition, to be fully religious requires a student to engage in charitable and socially useful acts. Service to others as a religious responsibility receives great emphasis at Tamagawa. Students, therefore, organize to raise money to contribute to worthy causes, and volunteer to work in hospitals or labor to build or repair nearby village playgrounds.

The Shape of Tamagawa Tamagawa began as a kindergarten and elementary school. On borrowed money and faith in the power of the "new education" to attract pupils, Dr. Obara acquired 300 acres and began building his dream. At that time, the surrounding land was mostly in farms. No railroad passed near Tamagawa, and Tokyo was a difficult journey away. Notwithstanding, buildings were erected, faculty were acquired, and pupils enrolled. But the course once set out on was by no means an easy one to follow. For years the school struggled to grow. Money was constantly a problem. While the payroll seems always to have been met, on occasions only extreme measures made this possible. For nearly thirty years, land sales and borrowing represented major sources of funds required for the expansion of Tamagawa. Not until the late 1950's did income rise to the point that steps could be taken to liquidate the school's debts. Today, Tamagawa seems finan-

cially healthy; but, though somewhat abated, the struggle between income and costs continues. Indeed, the issue might be resolved in favor of income were it not for the pressing demands placed on the school's finances by educational vision and ever larger numbers of students seeking admission.

Today the capital value of Tamagawa is over thirty million dollars. Only 175 acres of the original campus remain, but 225 acres were acquired near Hakone National Park for forestry experimentation and investment. In addition, two subunits of the school exist in other parts of Japan, and a third in Brazil which includes sizable land holdings. Dr. Obara uses land acquisition as a way of obtaining funds for future expansion, and certainly land has so functioned in the past.

Sixty-five hundred students attended Tamagawa last year, and their number increases about five percent each year. Of these, 800 board at the school; the remainder commute. The college now enrolls 4000 students in departments of literature, agriculture, technology, and a women's junior college. The secondary and junior high schools contain another 1800 pupils, and the elementary school and kindergarten, 700.

In addition, Tamagawa includes a correspondence education department which brings several thousand teachers to the campus each summer to round out special correspondence programs, and which, according to Dr. Obara, has led to certification to teach for almost 150,000 of Japan's 600,000 teachers. An educational research institute functions to provide a research basis for the "new education." Tamagawa University Press not only publishes books and journals carrying the message of the "new education," but publishes six encyclopedias including the Tamagawa Children's and Students' Encyclopedias which are among the largest selling in Japan. Tamagawa University Press seems a very profitable enterprise and, as such, another source of funds with which to meet the financial needs of the school.⁴

Influence and Response

With growth and financial security has come a degree of acceptance of Tamagawa and the "new education." Although my sample may well have been biased, the Japanese students, teachers, and administrators from other schools that I questioned seemed to react favorably to Tamagawa, and certainly did not act unfavorably. They thought it was a good school, that its graduates made effective teachers. They believed that faculty there were freer to teach as their professional judgment directed. They thought students at Tamagawa were freer and under

⁴ Japanese seem divided over whether to praise or criticize Dr. Obara for being an excellent businessman. But were it not for his business skill, it is doubtful that Tamagawa could have become the educational enterprise it now is.

less pressure than was typically the case in Japan. Implicitly, they seemed to say that it would be desirable if their situation were in certain respects more like that at Tamagawa.

Dr. Obara reports that the "new education" is growing in acceptance in Japan, although he cautions that Japan is a long way from a "new education" revival. Nonetheless, he assured me that the Ministry of Education takes a more sympathetic stance toward his beliefs about education than it once did. Far more students now apply to Tamagawa than the school can absorb. Graduates of the University and Correspondence School divisions find teaching positions readily available. In fact, Dr. Obara states that several key prefectures, Tokyo among them, waive teacher exam requirements for Tamagawa graduates to assure hiring them. Furthermore, he adds that the job market in general has improved for Tamagawa graduates, that increasingly companies such as Toshiba Electric and Honda look to other schools than Tokyo and Waseda Universities for employees who are in Dr. Obara's words "vital and creative."

Resistance Whatever the level of acceptance Tamagawa and the "new education" now enjoy in Japan, it was not gained without a struggle. Resistance was widespread and seems to have centered in the Ministry of Education and the Army. Clearly, principles and practices adopted at Tamagawa violated then existing Japanese educational values and practices, and seemed to run counter to other traditions held valuable by the nation. Classes at Tamagawa were coeducational at a time when parents were fearful of the personal and social results of such intimate association between boys and girls. Students were not required to wear uniforms, an uncommon practice in Japan even today. Art, music, dance, and drama from Japan and around the world played an important part in the "new education." Dr. Obara, in the early 1920's, had called for the incorporation of student plays and drama into the activities of Japanese schools, an idea that many traditional Japanese parents and educators found upsetting until the late 1930's. The school took a relaxed and informal approach to discipline, this in contrast to the severer semimilitary discipline which prevailed in many schools. It updated the curriculum and related teaching to the interests and needs of the pupils; moreover, Tamagawa broadened the curriculum to include individual and group work and study activities. Such curricular revision ran contrary to the Japanese university entrance exam system and the practice of employment based on company exams and, more importantly, the university attended. These factors even today exercise such decisive control over what the lower schools teach that public school teachers complained to me that they

had to teach outdated material because university exams contained out-of-date items. In fact, Dr. Obara founded the University Division to free the lower schools at Tamagawa from the control of the university exam system.

Additional complications grew out of the growth, during the early years of Tamagawa's development, of nationalism and militarism in Japan. The school's commitment to internationalism and the brotherhood of all men ran counter to the nation's course. In 1931, Dr. Obara brought Niels Bukh and the national gymnastics team of Denmark to Tamagawa and Japan, thus introducing Danish gymnastics to the country.⁵ While segments of Japanese society readily accepted this new and graceful gymnastics, the Ministry of Education and the Army viewed it as unmanly and unmilitary. Such critical reaction to Tamagawa and the "new education" by the Ministry of Education and the Japanese Army culminated in Dr. Obara's imprisonment during the last months of World War II. He explains that his arrest was not the product of any specific act on his part, but rather was the result of enmities acquired over a lifetime and exaggerated by the pressures of war and impending defeat.

After the war Tamagawa entered a period of rapid growth in size and expansion of its activities. In part, this stemmed from Tamagawa's good fortune in pulling through World War II undamaged. But, in addition, the defeat of Japan seemed to vindicate the "new education" in the eyes of many Japanese. In an interesting but nonetheless significant way, the defeat of Japan conferred upon Tamagawa a stamp of approval which has worked very much to the school's advantage.

Clearly, Tamagawa-Gakuen today represents a viable educational enterprise. The school is financially secure, its faculty is able and dedicated, the student body continues to grow in size, and increasingly Japanese society accepts Tamagawa graduates and the idea of the "new education." But what is schooling at Tamagawa like, what does the "new education" in practice look like to a foreign observer?

Observing the School

In answering this question, the temptation is strong to compare Tamagawa with other Japanese schools or with American, a temptation I shall for the most part resist. Such contacts as I had with other Japanese schools were limited by time and the language barrier; consequently, my impressions are highly subjective and based on limited data. The Japanese are characteristically cautious about generalizing from particulars, a trait I came to respect, and shall follow here. On the other hand, certain features of schooling at Tamagawa stand out, and do

⁵ In 1930, Dr. Obara had invited the Austrian skier Hannes Schneider to Japan, an event that revolutionized Japanese skiing.

so in sharp contrast to the few Japanese schools I visited, and to most contemporary American schools. Such being the case, an implicit kind of comparison is probably unavoidable.⁸

Tamagawa stresses independent activity, whether as individuals or groups. This may be study in the library or digging a ditch; notwithstanding, pupils are engaged in all kinds of activities, seemingly with a minimum of direction from teachers. They seem to organize an activity and carry it to completion, and any teacher influence on the process seems to be remote or, at least, subtle. Never have I observed a school where so many children of all ages carried on so many activities inside and outside the classroom with so little disruption and with so little direction from their teachers.

Almost everywhere about the campus abounds evidence of the great emphasis Tamagawa places on aesthetics and work. For Dr. Obara believes that it is through the sweat and toil of working, performing, experimenting, and creating that students acquire a personal sense of service, as well as an appreciation for work and beauty. Murals, mosaics, and paintings created by students decorate the walls of Tamagawa buildings. Gardens designed, built, and tended by students with appropriate statuary, pools, and plants dot the campus. In many of these projects the aesthetic and practical work combine, as do large numbers of pupils to produce them. It is a common sight to see a group of elementary pupils designing a large mural, or junior high school students constructing a small building.

Whether completing a mosaic or designing and building a tea house, the pupils at Tamagawa engage in work, and much of it is hard and perhaps unpleasant. Indeed, a significant amount of the work required to build and maintain the campus seems to be done by students. The pupils keep the gardens tidy, the floors swept and clean. They help build roads, fences, and barns. In the shops, pupils make furniture, even violins and pianos, and out in the fields they plant, cultivate, and harvest. After a tour of the school, one wonders what there is in the world of art or work that Tamagawa pupils don't attempt.

I was not at Tamagawa at a time when I could attend student dramatic, dance, and musical performances, although both faculty and students say that great value is placed on these. The students at all levels produce and perform the plays, dances, and music of the world. From Brecht to Beethoven to ballet seems the regular arts fare of Tamagawa students. I did observe an elementary music class, perhaps third graders, perform impressive musical feats. Two thirds of a class of thirty or forty eagerly volunteered to identify chords played

⁸ The following comments are based primarily on observations of elementary, middle, and secondary classes at Tamagawa.

on a piano by the teacher or repeat with perfect pitch a long run of single notes, and many demonstrated that they could do just this when called upon by their teacher. At Tamagawa, this is called auditory training.⁷ In addition, the children sang and played tonettes with gusto. When older, they may perform in the school's many orchestras, bands, and choruses.

Touring Tamagawa is somewhat like attending an American spectacular in which the next event is always more impressive than the preceding. No place is this more the case than in athletics. What, I thought, is more exciting them a gym filled with teenage Japanese boys and girls executing the intricate and graceful motions of Danish gymnastics, unless it is the same gym filled with the shouts and clatter of a Kendo squad working out, or perhaps viewing for the first time the solemn rituals of classic Japanese archery? In a way, classic archery may demonstrate the function of athletics at Tamagawa. The student should not play to win or lose a game or a trophy, rather he should be indifferent to these. His purpose should be to develop strength, grace, and inner calm through participation in a sport. His motivation, therefore, should derive from an appreciation of bodily strength and grace, of growing physical and spiritual powers. Incidentally, team games such as baseball, basketball, and Rugby are played at Tamagawa, but the purpose remains excellence of body and mind, not—I was told—medals, prizes, or victory over another school's team.

I went to Tamagawa wondering what I'd see; I left wondering what to make out of what I saw. Clearly, Tamagawa is an unusual and impressive experiment in education. Although I understand that Russia and Israel may contain somewhat similar schools, I have visited no other school like it. Certainly, in concept and practice, it departs substantially from typical schooling in the United States, and probably in Japan.

But whatever value an American gives Tamagawa-Gakuen, he should remember that the school's roots are planted deep in Japanese society and culture. Whatever it is, Tamagawa is both a function of one man's philosophy of education and the social and cultural context in which the school thrives.

⁷ Auditory training seems similar to the instructional approach taken by Dr. Suzuki with his world famous child violinists. Since returning to the United States, I've learned that Dr. Obara and Dr. Suzuki are friends of several years, so the similarity may be more than coincidental. Also, Dr. Masaaki Honda, director of Talent Education, Inc., in Japan an organization sponsoring Dr. Suzuki's work, and Dr. Obara have recently held discussions about the possibility of Tamagawa and Talent Education cooperating in their educational efforts. Recently, I talked to Dr. Honda in this country, and he indicates these plans are moving ahead very nicely. Tamagawa and Talent Education joined together represent an educational force that American educators might well keep in mind, for it has implications much broader than for music education alone.

Japanese kept saying to me, "Americans do not see us as we really are." Jogged by this refrain and many other reminders of the cultural barrier which stood between me and Tamagawa, I kept asking myself what this barrier might distort or screen out. While Dr. Obara and his faculty encouraged me to see everything and ask anything, how much of what I saw was biased by my own cultural lens or by data limited by time and hurry, and therefore, how much did I see incorrectly or not see at all? But, regardless of the answers to these questions, Tamagawa forces one to take a fresh look at American education.

Art, Work, and Questioning For example, take work. It struck me anew at Tamagawa that work might still have a place in American education beyond preparation for work, i.e., vocational training. Although not a new idea, why not use work in the school as a means of teaching the young something important about themselves and their relationships to each other and to society? Work with hand and mind, back and brow does not exist in American schools, not even in vocational and technical schools, in the Tamagawa sense. Moreover, increasingly urban and suburban life deprive children of significant work experiences. In so doing, our society may deprive youth of an appreciation of the value of work, both in terms of the effort and skill that work requires, as well as an understanding of the way we all depend on each other's work. But much more importantly, this neglect of work may deprive youth of the experience of participating in the organizing of the energies and talents of a group and directing these through work toward some group or community purpose. Thus, the question occurs, should we in American society look again at the role of work in the schooling of our youth; moreover, and perhaps more importantly, what in our schools, if not work, directs youth toward these goals?

This stimulus to raise questions suggests a most valuable outcome of visiting a school like Tamagawa, for it is so impressively different that a visit becomes a means to taking a new look at American education. Going there and watching and looking raise a flood of questions, most of them old and some largely dormant, about the theory and practice of education in the United States and these are raised with a renewed and heightened sense of importance. Do American schools seriously neglect the arts? Do our schools overemphasize competitive athletics and ignore the physical education needs of the great majority of pupils? Is American education in its preoccupation with individual development sacrificing the values and behaviors on which cooperation and community depend? Do we, in our schools, sufficiently attend to those concerns and engage in those activities that produce the qualities of mind, body, and

character that summed up equal a fully moral and vital man ready to serve mankind?

In 1968 Tamagawa celebrated its thirty-ninth year. These were years of struggle and accomplishment for Dr. Obara. To his friends, and perhaps his critics, they were a lesson in vision and determination. At the age of forty-two, he founded Tamagawa and directed its growth from a few small buildings and a handful of kindergarten and elementary students into a multi-million dollar education complex. In less than forty years, against formidable odds, he built a vision of education into a dynamic symbol and center of the "new education" in Japan.

Whatever the time and circumstances of my visit to Tamagawa may have done to limit or color my image of the school, that image nonetheless is that of a remarkable and vital school. Additionally, a tour of the campus in the company of Dr. Obara creates an excited confusion of educational questions and impressions which demand attention. In his 1967 Christmas greeting, Dr. Obara noted with pride that each year more and more foreign students attend Tamagawa, and that the number of foreign educators who tour the campus continues to increase. To educators from about the world who might visit Japan in the years ahead, he extended an invitation to be his guests for a day at Tamagawa. Take my word for it, it will be a most unforgettable day.

The Educational Uses of the Moon

An Essay Review

Wilton Dillon*

The Smithsonian Institution

The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis

Philip H. Coombs. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

With the world facing the Seventies, an American flag stands on the moon, President Nixon urges American leadership in supersonic transport, and U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr. calls for an attack on illiteracy in America, describing the "right to read" as "education's moon—the target for the decade ahead." The time is also ripe for supra-partisan American leadership in articulating how national self-interest can be served by taking an international approach to education.

As war jets screamed overhead and an arsonist ignited the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, I recently took part in the first major international gathering of politicians and educators since the first moon landing. At the Rehovot conference in Israel, I found no participant able to get the moon off his mind. Clearly, some of the earth's schoolmen and governments are being pulled intellectually into lunar orbit. Something akin to "reading readiness" seems to be developing in the wake of the moon landing; men and institutions stand poised to cooperate, on a planetary scale, to try to cope with the world's education crisis.

Yet, as with earlier probes into outer space, educators have pitifully few tools of analysis or guidelines for how to exploit the new lunar perspective on the education of earthlings whose ties, having touched the moon, will never be the same. The old saw about the restlessness of farm boys who have seen the lights of the city might now be replaced by references to earth boys having new perceptions of the light of the moon. It will be hard for some to stay on the "farms" of parochialism.

President Nixon and the modest team-minded astronauts have both proclaimed the landing as an achievement for all mankind,

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a dramatic convergence of ideas, men and materials in the long history of science and technology. Still, the world-wide TV and still pictures of one nation's flag on the moon is the nearly perfect symbol of the need and opportunity to approach education internationally. Beautiful and satisfying as are the stars and stripes in great moments of crisis or national pride, would not the biological sign for man ♂—even at the risk of slighting the ♀'s—have been a more appropriate abstraction of mankind's greatest achievement? It is not too late for us, with the money and ingenuity to put men on the moon, also to wave a flag for learning about the intellectual and scientific interdependence of human beings. We are notoriously innocent about our debts to others.

The Nixon administration has not yet unfurled its international educational manifesto. The fuzziness of the term, and the confusion of international education with foreign aid, i.e., "losing money down ratholes," and a new emphasis on domestic priorities, and the absence of an articulate lobby, a la ABM and opponents of gun controls, which could explain our national self-interest, are perhaps among the reasons.

Being a lawyer and not a teacher, as was Lyndon Johnson, the new president nevertheless cannot escape his educational tasks. Like everything else on his domestic plate, seemingly local matters have international implications or reflect world-wide conditions. That goes even for such hot domestic items as teachers' strikes, black studies, the mind-shrinking malnutrition of preschool children, tear gas pollution of university battlegrounds, and getting compliance with desegregation laws.

As an internationally minded lawyer, he faces a rich opportunity to argue the case for a wide public understanding of the seamless web between education at home and abroad, and achieve finally what his Vietnam-embattled predecessor (with whom he can now sympathize) wanted with a passion and could not get: Congressional appropriations for the International Education Act, and the invention of some national machinery which would pool our public and private resources to improve our intellectual traffic with the outside world (for example, designing an American approximation of the Inter-University Council in Britain).

In preparing that brief, President Nixon and his education and foreign policy advisers would be well advised to get out their yellow pads and take careful notes on a recent book by Philip H. Coombs, an American economist, once on the Paley Commission, whose interest in education grew out of trying to expose the bottlenecks to a rational use of our natural resources. Though Coombs is no Copernicus for education, his book, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis*, published in 1968, is even timelier now, thanks to the moon landing, than when it first appeared. The author until recently was Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning, a division of UNESCO in Paris.

He should appeal to a government eschewing rhetoric and interested in "the facts." An economist familiar with cost-benefit analysis of education, how to get returns on our investments, and who knows an "input" from an "output," might get a better hearing than the professional pedagogue, physicist, or philosopher. (Physicists had their day with the Manhattan project and again when the Russians did us a favor by startling us educationally with their Sputnik.) Moreover, Coombs' low-key but persuasive arguments for dealing with the crisis of both quantity and quality should speak softly to the truth of the interdependence of world educational systems, and serve as a self-evident buffer against isolationism.

While the United States has unique plural approaches to transmitting its various ethnic cultures and socializing the young, our republic shares with every other country a shortage of funds, teachers, classrooms, teaching materials—a shortage of everything except students, Coombs tells us.

"In the early 1950's," Coombs writes, "educational systems the world over began a process of expansion without precedent in human history. Student enrollments more than doubled in many places, expenditures on education rose at an even faster rate, and education emerged as the largest local industry." This crisis, though more subtle and less visible than military and food crises, is potentially dangerous.

The educational crisis marches hand-in-hand with the population explosion and the revolution of rising expectations found in rich and poor countries alike. Unless leaders find ways for societies and their educational systems to adjust to each other by taking a planner's "systems approach"—finding relevant linkages between development of individual talent and wise social uses of natural resources—things are going to fall apart. Coombs believes that rational analysis, reflection, and imagination should replace blind, dogmatic faith as tools for guiding any particular educational system. (One of the weaknesses in the conceptual equipment of many economists I know is that few have any place in their scheme of things for the inevitability of the non-rational in human affairs. And yet economists and lawyers occupy key positions in Washington institutions having to cope with the human mind.)

Coombs tells us inertia hangs heavily everywhere in educational circles. Student demands for change become more shrill. Neither the attackers nor resisters show signs of rising above their revolutionary or establishment dogmas and taking a neat, cool view of education as a whole and the interaction of its parts. But somebody has to do it, and Coombs has come the closest to letting the non-economists in the education business know how to take the long, cool if alarmed, view, and the language that goes with that view. I heard at the Rehovot conference, for example, the dean of education of the University of Lagos using comfortably the vocabulary of "inputs and outputs," and reporting how useful Coombs' analysis has been in his arguments for financing education in wartime Nigeria.

The World Educational Crisis goes beyond an economic analysis of education and argues that the curriculum should not be confined to vocational subjects, suitably, say to agricultural or industrial societies, but should provide basic intellectual tools "in order to be an educated man in the modern world and come to form an accurate image of himself and his society." What Coombs could have used to good advantage in extending his argument is testimony, not available when he wrote the book, of Professor Claude S. Phillips, Jr., of Western Michigan University at Kalamazoo, whose diagnosis of the curriculum problem was picked up July 15, 1969, by the *Congressional Record*: "Few, if any, universities in the United States or any other country that I know, have yet established truly international, universal, intercultural educational systems . . . I know of no attacks on the curriculum which have demanded it be made universal or cross-cultural . . . we have so protected students from a universal perspective that they are not even aware of what frustrates them."

We might be able to tolerate a parochial curriculum, ignoring the pleasures of self-knowledge which come from learning about other earthlings, if the U.S. were not in a position of world power. But we are constantly thrown into, or pushing ourselves into, other educational environments as teacher-donors because others admire our famous pragmatism and beg us to help, or because we have something to offer. Here comes the rub. Our educational practices and attitudes are far from making good matches with other systems. Witness the following question raised by an American educator I once knew: "What right has a school in a new nation to put on Greek plays before its roads are fixed?" He asked this after bumping and rattling down a corrugated road in Africa to watch a secondary school performance of Aristophanes' *The Birds*, in the original Greek, yet. His "American" notions of relevance and priorities in education were reinforced by that tooth-shattering experience. He gave moral support to some local politicians who, also impatient with the seeming luxury of young blacks playing Etonians, would rather have seen actor power pressed into road repair. But times change, and student notions of "relevance" today give a new emphasis to finding self-knowledge from the humanities and social sciences, and a falling off of interest in physics, engineering, and the physical sciences, unfortunate as that may be from the point of view of a many-disciplined approach to problem solving.

Margaret Mead's "Man and Nature" lectures in New York last year have already stirred spirited debate over the implications of the knowledge explosion as it affects parent-child relations, and leaves us elders awkwardly trying to learn the culture of our space age children. Recognizing the universality of the knowledge and generation gaps and the part that schools and universities have to play in closing these gaps, it behooves us to take Coombs' book seriously enough to figure out some practical next steps in linking our insti-

tutions to those overseas, even if we are a long way from creating a system of interchangeable parts.

One step would be to devise a scheme of joint appointments which would allow our teachers and professors to do as the British and French have already managed: creating a cadre of academics who keep a home base, but take their students with them to teach and study in overseas universities in subjects or in environments we cannot duplicate. Professor Gilbert White, former president of Haverford, has long been dependent on African universities as places where he can advance his own knowledge of geography, and train his own students in field work. A plan for increasing such inter-university linkages through departmental exchanges is now before the trustees of Education and World Affairs in New York. Senators as varied as Fulbright of Arkansas, Javits of New York, and Ellender of Louisiana, not to mention Congressman Brademas of Indiana, have interesting ideas along these lines. African universities are ready to train teachers in our experiments with "black studies" courses, giving us the benefit of historical perspective on the ancestral civilization of black Americans. European institutions are ready to cooperate with us as never before—if only to act on Servan-Schreiber's *American Challenge*.

Even without the impetus of the moon-landings and the analytical tools of Coombs, the United States should still have plenty of incentive in synchronizing our foreign and educational policies so that we can reap the benefit of science, technology, and ideas emerging in other societies. (The Chinese, we are told, have managed to synthesize bovine insulin.) Compared with Britain, Israel and Western European countries, we are underdeveloped in our capacity to recognize and articulate how our national security and intellectual self-interests are dependent on stepping up overseas contacts. As we think about withdrawing as a world military policeman, following Senator Aikin's admirable prescription for ending the Vietnam war, and yet not retreating from the planet we have helped to shrink, we have a chance to ask along with every other earthman, "What are we doing on this small planet?" Some of us don't want to get off, and sharing our educational resources is vital to keeping the thin web of life from extinction.

An obstacle to our intellectually exploiting other societies is buried deep into our own culture which our schools have helped to shape, our lack of a sense of history, even as we approach our 200th birthday in 1976. We forget that our supremacy in many fields is of recent vintage, and that national security can best be achieved through learning, once again, what we were historically a pupil and recipient of other nations. Our recent heroes, Armstrong, Collins and Aldrin, who have just deposited a moon rock in the Smithsonian, may have become, on their current world travels, the most hopeful evidence of the educational spin-off of moon travel—the modesty, humility, and curiosity that befit the new breed demanded by the lunar epoch.

Educational Myths and Realities

Ira S. Steinberg. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968. 240 pp.

Professor Steinberg has produced an interesting and challenging book that is both philosophical and practical. What started out as a series of essays has become a book. Contents and concerns were said to "spill over" from chapter to chapter making the work a set of "more or less intertwining essays."

A certain consistency of treatment of topics, however, runs throughout the work. The author describes it as "that of uncovering and classifying ambiguities in concepts, conceptions and misconceptions and in positions and arguments which figure in debate over educational means and ends." In a broader sense, the book is an analysis of issues and policies in education. The analysis is that common to ordinary language philosophy, and the issues are viewed as educational issues in political philosophy and philosophy of the social sciences. The analysis is not highly technical though it is cogent, and the issues are practical ones from the point of view of educators.

Educators may find Part IV, "Crisis and Ambiguity," reinforcing opinions derived from the struggle with day to day problems. After working hard to reduce ambiguity, the author finds it to be of considerable value. He calls it "the glue that holds things together" and "grounds for more amicable compromise." To appreciate, however, the meaning of crisis and ambiguity, the reader needs to follow the author's analysis of several issues.

The issues in Part I are aims, policies, and criticism in education. Education is shown to have incompatible aims and the meaning of the word "education" is shown to shed no light on the problem. Different meanings of "education" can be made to support different ends with no "true" meaning supporting or implying a specific end. For this reason, policies and practices are very difficult to justify.

Conflicting aims and ambiguities give rise to partisanship and move educational debate into the fields of practical politics and political philosophy. Ambiguities become mingled with selfish interests and educational issues become even more confusing. Under these conditions, how is progress possible? Considering partisanship and the concept of an economic market, the author examines Charles E. Lindblom's theory of decision making which is based upon partisan mutual adjustment and disjointed incrementalism. The theory is called "the science of muddling through." On this theory, the best interests of involved parties, public interests, and the mythology of democracy are important.

Education, particularly in a democracy, seems to be an object of much criticism. The author views criticism on a continuum from complaining to fault-finding to critique. Complaining may be either general or specific. Fault-finding appears to be related to either means or

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ends. Critique is called criticism in an "elevated sense." Critique is said to seek "as clear and precise understanding as is possible," involving "the elucidation of merits as well as defects."

A critique of behavior, behaviorism, and teaching is found in Part II. Although education does influence the behavior of students, behavior must be so broadly conceived as to be unhelpful in shaping educational policy. Concepts of "behavior" and "behaviorism" are examined and attention is focused upon explaining, describing, and predicting behavior. Subjective factors such as beliefs, meanings, and intentions enter the picture and attention is shifted to behaviorism as a program or behavioral influences on education. Here evaluation of teaching effectiveness becomes important. Measurement, statistics, programming, and technology generally are considered. As usual, these things are viewed as useful and desirable, but what we want to teach exceeds the limits of measurement and is not identical with the mechanism employed.

Attempts to influence behavior of students through teaching raises questions of motives, motivation, and morality, not in terms of technical effectiveness, but rather in terms of the legitimacy of the techniques used and justification of the ends. After considering the moral legitimacy of various means of motivation, the author seems to favor that of appeal to rationality. He admits, however, that one can indoctrinate for rationality. If indoctrination is rejected, then one may ask: Why be rational? A good justification for favoring rationality is admitted to be difficult to find. The difficulty leads us to fall back into indoctrination. We indoctrinate the mythology of democracy and try to get children to take on an optimistic view of human nature in a self-justifying fashion. We present democracy, and perhaps a cult or rationality as well, as a description of what is rather than as an ideal. Although daily experiences undercut our faith in reason and democracy, the author suggests that we need the faith. How to avoid indoctrination of the faith, however, is not clear. The result is crisis, ambiguity, and "muddling through."

To practical-minded educators, substantive concerns such as the issues, ambiguities, and "muddling through" may be of more interest than the analysis. To philosophers, it may be the philosophical significance of issues and the rigors of analysis which will command attention. There is something for both in this work.

Some points of interest to both in this work may be worth noting. First, no new philosophy of education is claimed. Eclecticism is disavowed, and disclaimers are made to following any philosophy of education. Readers will find, however, an ordinary language analysis prevailing throughout the work. This is a kind of philosophy of education. Second, the author calls his book "an exercise in negative thinking." Negativism may be one characteristic of analysis, but it is often overemphasized. Analysis is also what the author calls "critique." On his own definition, it does involve elucidation of merits as well as de-

feets. The merits of many ideas are admitted and the merits of ambiguity and mythology are virtually acclaimed. Perhaps this work should be viewed more as a critique than merely as "an exercise in negative thinking."

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Politics in Education

Laurence Iannaccone. New York. The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1967. 112 pp. \$3.95.

In this book, Laurence Iannaccone has set out to provide an explicit theoretical framework for explaining the major contours of power in the politics of American education. His work self-consciously draws on approaches and concepts from current social science, and he utilizes evidence from a variety of sources and from personal experience to illustrate his major points and reinforce propositions about the way the educational decision system functions. The result is an interesting book, packed with ideas, sometimes overdrawn or oversimplified, but stimulating for those who have puzzled over this complicated arena of public policy.

While the thread of Iannaccone's argument is not always easy to follow, he is concerned with the development of a rather closely articulated thesis about his subject matter. It begins with the now widely accepted premise that politics is deeply involved in education and vice versa, that is, that education, like any other sphere in which public preferences and resources are distributed, is the subject of organized pressures over the processes of their distribution. Education has been peculiarly sheltered in some respects, but it has nonetheless been deeply political in this generic sense. Chiefly because of some cultural quirks and some factors in the internal development of the educational institution itself, the political system of the schools has developed a closed character, a tendency not to receive or not to believe messages that come to it from its environment. To use Iannaccone's phrase, the "politics preferred by pedagogues" has dominated educational policy-making, and that is an involuted politics dominated by certain elements inside the educational structure. The consequence is an educational system highly resistant to change.

The thesis is not a novel one; the work of a variety of scholars and publicists has dwelt in recent years on the role of the "establishment" in educational polities. If anything, it has become a too-pat explanation of the difficulties of inducing change in the educational system. Iannaccone illustrates his point particularly through examination of three institutions, the New York City teacher certification arrangement, the development of power arrangements within the N.E.A., and the policies of local school district reorganization.

The more ambitious and original aspect of Iannaccone's work is his construction of a set of categories into which the political systems of states can be cast. This is done inductively through secondary analysis of some well-known accounts of educational policy-making in eleven states. The basic characteristic on which the typology rests is the relationship or "linkage structure" among private groups and authoritative bodies involved in making educational policy. The four types, "locally-based disparate," "state-wide monolithic," "state-wide fragmented," and "state-wide syndical" are discussed in terms both of the decision-making qualities of each and of their political and socio-economic correlates. The terminology is sometimes awkward or vague (*viz.*, the labels for types cited above and use of such terms as *gemeinschaft*, *gesellschaft*, and self-style in ambiguous ways), but the scheme is suggestive of a great deal about the subject.

Iannaccone carries his analysis beyond the static, however, by devising what he calls a "developmental construct" out of the materials described above. Thus, he argues, again inductively from the evidence of eleven states, that the structure-life style-elite form evolves through the four types mentioned in the preceding paragraph, in the order named there.

Iannaccone also takes on the question of change in local school systems. Here, drawing chiefly on California studies, he makes the case that in certain circumstances local policy-making does reflect changes in the social conditions through electoral defeat of a board member and consequent replacement of the superintendent.

The principle concern of the book, in the last analysis, is with change, with the question how the educational system can be reformed at the policy level so as to make it responsive to shifting community demands. The author declares his belief, founded on the evidence and analysis he presents, that change in education is possible, and in his final chapter he outlines the forces that he foresees will bring it about. Essentially he rests his case on the notion that educational policy-making will develop a "normal politics," a politics in which opposition and conflict are acceptable, institutionalized conditions.

Professor Iannaccone has written a topical book—one senses it is a more topical piece than he either intended or realized. He might be writing about many aspects of American politics beyond education, for the thrust for participation and change evident in the society is as jarring in other sectors as it is in this one. His discussion does leave gaps. It is not obvious, for example, that changes in political structure necessarily bring about changes in output, either at the level of policy or where policy is presumably carried out. It is sometimes oversimplified and sometimes oversophisticated. The book might have been stronger, for instance, had he omitted a needless and slightly confused treatment of "general systems theory." Some critical terms are defined in less than adequate terms for subsequent research. Nonetheless, Iannaccone is to be lauded for two contributions. He has bravely ventured

into theory further than the politics of education had previously been taken, and he has highlighted the ambiguities of a system that requires change but sometimes resists it with mindless zeal.

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*Manpower Aspects of Educational Planning:
Problems for the Future*

International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris: UNESCO, 1968. 265 pp.

Within the last 15-20 years, the literature of development economics for less developed countries (LDC's) has gone through two phases and entered a third. According to the literature of the early fifties, all an LDC needed in order to develop was more and more capital. In the early sixties this idea was losing ground due to the fairly obvious fact that a nation does not live by capital alone; rather it needs humans, and trained humans at that, to run the capital and the country. The emphasis, therefore, shifted to the creation of "high-level manpower" and the development of "human resources" through education. In the second half of the sixties the shortcomings of this approach to the problem of LDC's are being noted, and attempts are being made to deal with them. It is at this point that the substance of this volume comes in.

The volume is the report of a symposium convened in Paris in May, 1966, by the International Institute of Educational Planning. The first item in the book is an uneven, rambling, unnecessary presentation of the "highlights" of the symposium. The remainder of the book consists of papers and colloquy thereon. The papers are mostly excellent; the colloquy is of mixed, although generally high, merit. (The physical presentation is abominable: new paragraphs are not marked; they are neither indented nor is space skipped between paragraphs.)

It is now increasingly recognized that ever-enlarging education is no more a panacea than was the piling up of capital—in fact, serious new problems have been created by the massive doses of education that most LDC's have instituted. One such problem has been the increased number of educated (primary school or more) youngsters flocking to the cities in search of non-existent employment. As Guy Hunter points out in his (as usual) outstanding article, the expenditures on education are outrunning the expenditures directed towards creating economic opportunity for the people. Another problem is presented by Richard Jolly who documents the fact that the employment of workers whose pay scales are tied to educational qualifications means that fewer people can be employed for the same expenditure as educational qualifications rise. At the same time,

there are increasing disparities in living conditions between the educated employed urban elite and the uneducated rural masses. Tying all of these together in a way is the fact that in most LDC's around 4/5 of all the people make their living from agriculture, and the educational system does not help the mass of people increase their agricultural production and even fosters attitudes inimical to agricultural-rural employment.

By piecing several of these articles together, one can achieve a rather comprehensive picture of education in many LDC's today. Huge amounts are being spent on education. Often 20-25% of all government revenue is used for education. A large part of these expenditures supports primary education. Because of the limited resources which are available for education, the great majorities of the youngsters do not go on to secondary education. One of the immediate problems created by this situation is what to do with these thousands of youngsters in their early teens for whom there are few if any jobs. All of the economic signals in the LDC's tell these youngsters to find paid employment, preferably outside the rural areas, if they possibly can. Paid employment in the cities is lucrative: average paid employment wages are typically many times average income or even average wages in the rural areas. In addition, the quality of life is much higher in the urban centers, this in spite of the overcrowded shanty towns seen in most LDC's cities. The proof is that people continue to migrate from rural areas to urban areas. What good does the primary education they have received at such a great cost to the nation do them in the cities or in the rural areas? Very little. Primary education is academic and directed toward promotion into secondary school. Thus, the education is basically inappropriate for the great majority of the students. What to do?

Happily, in posing these problems and many more facing the LDC's, the articles and discussion bring out many possible avenues of attack for improvement. Some of the most creative practitioners of the arts of educational, manpower, and economic planning contributed to the conference, the report of which constitutes this book.

Probably the most important and all-inclusive recommendation is that a much greater proportion of national expenditures in LDC's be directed to improvement of the living and earning conditions in the rural areas. The primary education curriculum must include attempts to open up the students' minds to the scientific method as it applies to agriculture (see the articles and comments by René Dumont and V. J. R. V. Rao). The child must be impressed "with the power of science over the things he thinks are 'natural' and unchangeable." However, education must not be looked at in a narrow way. Rather the entire range of educational activities must be enlarged in the rural areas: adult education, vocational training, extension services, agricultural research, and extramural education. These latter

must be enlarged which could be done either in a general shift of resources away from the urban areas or as a shift away from formal education to these other parts of the overall educational system. Hunter suggests that this shift of resources be concentrated in areas most likely to make a breakthrough in development. More backward areas can follow after the methods have been validated and positive results are visible to provide incentive. This is a revolutionary suggestion which is already having impact in at least one country. (It appears that Kenya, for one, is trying this idea. However, the results will not be seen for some time.)

Running a close second in importance is the whole area of the wage structure in LDC's. The wage structures are typically a hold-over from the colonial era. The wage structure for the highest levels was designed to attract expatriates. As a consequence, the spread between the wages of the most and least skilled is many times that in the more developed nations. In addition, largely due to minimum wage legislation, the unskilled wage earnings are much higher than self-employment earnings. What is needed, Jolly suggests, is a differentiation between those wage differentials needed to attract recruits into the types of training needed by the economy, those needed to *attract* trained people into the most needed places (often rural rather than urban positions), those needed to *keep* trained people in their important positions, and those needed to attract necessary expatriates. It is pointed out that a simple cut of wages which are out of line with the needs of the country is politically difficult, but the time may soon come when unemployment among the educated will create a political climate in which this can be accomplished. In the meantime there are several tools which can be applied.

Directing education and training toward the major needs of manpower and focusing incentives to attract persons into these lines of education and training is usually cheaper and more effective than altering the relative differentials of a whole occupation group . . . Once-for-all incentives can take the form of differences in the quantity and value of scholarships awarded and indeed in the number of places made available for each type of course (p. 245).

Propaganda devices are also suggested such as awards and career guides extolling occupations of special importance to the economy.

An additional area which received considerable attention is the role and techniques of manpower planning in LDC's. Many contributed interesting insights into these questions. Both Robert Thomas (at that time and still a manpower advisor in Tanzania) and Richard Jolly (then a manpower advisor in Zambia) are particularly enlightening here.

The book is rather biased toward African experiences. Because of this and the overall high quality of the material, it is an important

contribution in African education and African economic development. However, sufficient insights are provided into conditions in other areas to make the volume worthwhile reading for anyone interested in the economic and educational development of LDC's.

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The Black College: A Strategy for Relevancy

Tilden J. Le Melle and Wilbert J. Le Melle. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.
158 pp. \$10.00.

This book brings into focus the important role black higher education can play in solving major problems, not just for black Americans, but for all Americans. The shortcomings of *The Black College* are minor compared to its overall worth.

The authors feel that higher education as it has developed in the black colleges is not relevant to the needs of the black community. This is so because the black colleges have attempted to imitate what is termed the "mainstream" of American higher education. The "mainstream" is seen as that part of higher education which emphasizes general and liberal education. The black colleges have not been able, on the whole, to offer high quality education in the humanities. The authors fail to note how many smaller white colleges do not offer high quality humanities education. Even if it were done well, however, the authors feel it would be irrelevant to the needs of the black community.

New goals for the black colleges are proposed, goals of service and leadership, directly connecting the colleges with the whole black community of the United States. In addition, the two authors discuss in detail a number of important organizational proposals. In a chapter entitled "A Design for Black Educational Renewal" are suggestions for various forms of cooperative efforts among the black colleges, regional organizations, mergers where feasible, free movement of students between colleges, exchange programs, joint projects, faculty upgrading programs, joint research and curricular programs and cooperation on financial matters.

The black colleges in their new role must become institutions which are directly involved in the analysis and solution of the problems of the black people. They can do this by emphasizing what they call the "socialization" and the "tooling" function of education. The authors feel these are the main functions of all higher education. By "socialization" they mean a "socializing and politicalizing function which is aimed at creating, maintaining and propagating the political and social values and ideals from which the society's institutions derive their legitimacy" (p. 61). The "tooling" function "is aimed at

producing trained and qualified personnel to man successfully the society's economy" (p. 61).

The "socialization" and "tooling" functions, if used correctly by the black colleges in the interests of the black community, will breathe new life into these institutions. "A black oriented system of higher education—a system that socializes from a black American point of reference and that tools black youth for political and economic competition in the context of the *realities* of the United States—would provide more than any other means a way out for the black man in the United States. Essentially a 'way out' means the wherewithal for achieving a psychologically and materially fulfilling life" (p. 128). A further important result will be the development of a black leadership, "an intellectual class capable of providing leadership to the stirred masses of black Americans unequivocally demanding their right to be free, unexploited men" (p. 128). This reconstructed black higher education will then contribute to the value systems held and/or proposed in black institutions of higher learning.

The authors critically evaluate and reject in part or in whole: (1) the "ideology of accommodation" as expressed by Booker T. Washington; (2) the "philosophy of reconciliation" which was part of W. E. B. DuBois' early position; (3) "the ideology of separation—black nationalism" enunciated in the 1920's by Marcus Garvey; and (4) "the ideology of black mobilization" as put forward by both Elijah Muhammed and by the Black Power Movement. They are also critical of what they term the "black liberal idealism" of Martin Luther King because they feel it ties the interests of the black Americans to the good will of white Americans. These various ideologies, the authors feel, have confused black higher education and prevented the adoption of goals which are both good for the black people and achievable in the context of the economic and political realities in the United States.

The authors disapprove of both separatism and assimilation as possible solutions for black Americans. They see assimilation as a part of what they call the "melting pot myth" which they feel has not really worked. They think of the United States as composed of a multitude of cultures which have not been unified into one culture but which must all be treated as equals in worth and in economic and political affairs. The black culture must develop its own movements in economic and political affairs which should be integrated into the multi-culture of the United States in such a way that it can both compete and participate as an equal with any other culture. They look upon black higher education, which still turns out over half the black college graduates in the United States, as a major instrument by which such goals can be achieved.

Essentially what the authors are saying is that the black colleges have been following a policy of trying to give their students a general liberal education in the sense that Hutchins would understand the

term. This, they say, is wrong. What black colleges should do in order to become "relevant" to the needs of the black community is to train black Americans in such a way that they will develop those attitudes and skills necessary to become successful in American society. The authors do not seem to notice that it is just these sorts of educational goals which many of the left-wing students have criticized in the so-called "mainstream" of American higher education. The authors base their critical attitude toward all of American higher education on the fact that it "is now being attacked by disillusioned students and faculty because today's typical college education lacks relevance to today's realities" (p. 2). Yet, ironically, the authors propose for the black colleges goals which they agree should be criticized as goals for "all American higher education." Training for economic and political success is just what is being criticized by the new left in American higher education—yet it is this very goal which our authors say should be a key to a new development in black higher education. What is manifest here is the psychological truism that when you've got something so securely you can't conceive of losing it, then educating to get it seems completely irrelevant. But if you do not have it, then educating your people in the ways and means to get it, seems obviously relevant. Middle- and upper-class whites can afford to reject education for success.

One might resist the temptation to analyze some of the key words and concepts used by the authors dogmatically and uncritically. Concepts involved in terms like "relevance," "legitimacy," "power," and "reality" are not used clearly. The fact that some of these terms have more than one meaning seems to be overlooked. The authors apparently subscribe to the common error that one can use a term in any way one wishes and yet expect others to understand it in just that way. But terms such as "relevance" have many meanings, and the way in which they are used must be spelled out. "Relevance," for instance, always involves a relationship. Something is always relevant or not relevant to something else. One can distinguish between "long term" and "short term" relevance and between "objective" and "subjective" relevance. These and other subtleties involved in the term are apparently not appreciated by the authors.

This book should stimulate much discussion in both theoretical and practical areas. The practical suggestions which will increase the co-operation between the black colleges and will also help gain them support from both public and private sources seem to this reviewer both creative and organizationally sound.

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Art, Artists, and Art Education

Kenneth Lansing. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1969.

The ultimate symbol of the affluent society has arrived—the educational text that can decorate a coffee table. McGraw-Hill has come out with two of these weighty, handsomely produced blockbusters¹ and if the kids can afford to buy them (and have the strength to carry them to class), elementary art methods courses may be delivered from the creeping malaise of which they are so often accused.

Despite the heft of Lansing's effort, he has come up with a statement on the nature, purposes, and methodology of public school art that is basically lean, clearly stated, and obviously the product of lengthy gestation. In this study, Lansing reflects the art educator's customary preoccupation with the elementary rather than secondary curriculum. (One can count on the fingers of one's hand the number of texts published in the last five years which concern themselves with curriculum in the visual arts in grades 7-12.) Although the book purports to deal with art from the nursery school through the 9th grade, the secondary level comes across as an appendage to the author's primary concern, which is the art program on the elementary level.

In view of the steady proliferation of elementary texts published within the past decade, one is curious as to the contribution each new publication purports to bring to teachers who are struggling to create an identity on the growing spectrum of thinking in art education. Most texts represent specialized points of view as exemplified by personalities in the field; thus when one mentions Wachowiak, one thinks of art teachers taking a stand on quality of product through design and observation; mention June King McFee and a concern for the private culture of the child comes to mind. The presence of Viktor Lowenfeld is still with many art teachers through his emphasis upon art activity as a route to personality development, while a relatively overlooked writer such as Warren Anderson sees art as providing a basis for problem solving experiences which involve the participant more in the realm of cognition and perception than in personal expression. There are writers who attempt comprehensive coverage of the total complex of elementary programming, such as Charles Gaitskell, Blanche Jefferson, George Conrad, Betty Lark-Horovitz, Hilda Present Lewis and Mark Luca, and those whose more concise efforts derive from a strongly stated, more personally felt philosophy (Natalie Cole and Chandler Montgomery come to mind). Lansing's book attempts to strike a scholarly, nonidiosyncratic tone, and he obviously wants to "do his thing" in casting fresh light on these perennial questions: "What are we teaching?", "Why are we teaching it?", and "How shall we best

¹ The other text referred to is Reid Hastie and Christian Schmidt. *Encounter with Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

go about it?" With an admirable sense of organization, Lansing sets the stage on the theoretical level, discussing the nature and value of art. He distinguishes between the roles of artist and connoisseur, relates this issue to child growth, and examines the reasons for its development. This makes up the first half of the book. For the most part, his references are impeccable; he has built his case upon some eminently reliable authorities in fields of psychology, aesthetics, and educational philosophy.

In Part II, Lansing enters the classroom, describing a curriculum that is related to the ideas previously developed, examining the problem of implementing his content descriptions. His concluding section which really deserves to be listed separately, deals with supervision in art, research in art education, and evaluation of children and their work. The chapter on supervision in art is especially useful in an area that has had limited coverage, and his views of the hazards of research in art education are rarely mentioned within the framework he has created.

Lansing seems strongest when recapitulating in simple terms the findings of others (as in Chapter 6, "Explanations for Artistic Growth in Children") and weakest in proffering fresh ideas for the classroom (Chapter 9, "A Recommended Course of Study"). Indeed one could point to the book as an example of the kind of thinking that can arise from too much in-depth study of one's immediate and adjacent fields and not enough reading of daily newspapers. Lansing devotes a great deal of thought to theory building, but the curriculum he finally presents us with is basically business as usual; that is, a curriculum which utilizes the artist, critic, and historian as models for behavior. One cannot fault this as a premise, yet if one wants to play the game of using the artist as exemplar, he must be prepared to study the ways in which today's artist is behaving. While it is true that many artists are still working in traditional contexts, a significant portion of them have long departed the studio for the laboratory, the theater, and the street. If art teachers are to connect with young people's obsession with experience, they may have to forego a degree of order and goal orientation in order to respect the need for experimentation and sensory investigation which distinguishes so much adolescent behavior.

Lansing, like so many of his university based colleagues, has presented the student teacher with a handsomely designed construct; a clearly conceived and stated rationale, presented in behavioral terms. The question is, will the new teacher be working in a milieu wherein he and his students find the content suggested to be adequate to their needs and desires? If the teacher finds himself in the suburbs or inner city, I doubt whether he will be able to live with the isolation of an art program whose content is so far removed from the ferment of the times. It is true, of course, that a skillful and enthusiastic teacher could sell finger painting to Claes Oldenberg, yet increasing numbers of young people are more interested in the relevancy of the task rather

than charisma of instruction. It should come as no surprise that youngsters will want to view art from the imperatives of their own cultures, viz., film-making, photography, video tapes—anything and everything in the gamut of communications media that will allow for expression in terms of light, time, sound, motion. (Lansing does mention photography and cinematography somewhere in his lists of activities, but for reasons known only to himself, includes his brief comments under the "crafts" section of the junior high program.)

He takes a strong stand, not only for the traditional virtues of the making of images and objects, but for the more current concerns regarding history and aesthetic education. His regard for the teaching of the history of aesthetics is laudable, but like most writers, he relies too heavily upon dialogue as the main strategy for analysis rather than upon methods which could involve an entire class in tasks which allow individuals to sort, select, order, respond to, etc. Lansing is also occasionally seduced by his own rigorous, but wrong headed standards of product excellence. This reminds one of Eugene Kaelin's comment, "Both students and commissioners of education have had their fill of a standard of performance defined in terms of the teacher's absolute preference."² How else are we to account for the writer's insistence on canons of compositions and work that are "pleasing to the senses" (whose senses?), and such comments as the one under the drawing of a first grader's horse, "The composition is irritating because it is unfinished and unbalanced" (p. 189). Does Lansing really believe that today's artists place such a premium upon "balance" and other characteristics of the "good Gestalt"? One can only assume that he feels that some sort of double standard exists, one for today's practicing artist and another for the child artist. This is not as illogical as it sounds and Lansing has stated the case for conventional art education as well as anyone around, but as Bob Dylan tells us, "The times they are a-changin'," and one thing they appear to be telling us is that youngsters seem to be resisting the manageable structures and set criteria which are so comforting to teachers and so irrelevant to the kids who are grooving at Woodstock and the Moratorium.

In growing numbers they are becoming increasingly eager to take a hand in re-shaping their environments, and in working with the tools of technology to make aesthetic statements. Art education has yet to take a stand or come up with a plan in regards to social potential of the visual arts. Art education stands in somewhat an analogous position to art itself when we allow ourselves to glance outside the studio. Hilton Kramer suggests that "to think about it at all in relation to the grim, blood-freezing political developments of this terrible decade is, perforce, to think about a cultural luxury item that has either remained untouched

² Eugene Kaelin, "Are Behavioral Objectives Consistent with Social Goals of Aesthetic Education?" in *Art Education*, Journal of the NAEA, November 1969, Vol. 21, No. 9.

by the march of events or has shown itself utterly complaisant in its social function.”³

Lansing’s strength lies in that he is sure of where he stands, but young people today are not so sure. In their search for an identity it is simplistic to assume that they will readily accept the stability offered by courses of study, however artfully planned. Of course one never knows what children consider relevant, and while some will accept the order of a system, a growing number are more interested in process than in product, in searching rather than in finding, in ambiguity rather than in closure. Even the rhetoric has changed; “encounter” means more than “experience,”⁴ and “turn-on” says more than “involvement.” If Lansing has failed to come up with a plan that can fill the need I have described, or excite today’s student teacher, then *mea culpa*—so have we all.

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Ventures in Social Interpretation

Henry Winthrop. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

This book is a “venture” in the best sense of the word. Each of its five main sections is a stimulating exploration of areas of social interpretation whose boundaries have been relatively untouched by more orthodox inquiry.*

Taking as his key motif the impact of science and technology on man and society, Winthrop engages freshly and vigorously with the problem aspects of these change agencies via an interdisciplinary approach which could, in itself, be this work’s major recommendation. Underlining the simple but often neglected fact that no human problem may be fully considered or wholly solved within the bounds of any single discipline, he emphasizes the need for the “Synoptic Vision”—for the new special skills of “the working generalist” which are patently required to cope with the present social consequences and future implications of the massive changes stressing human society.

³ Hilton Kramer, “High Art and Social Chaos,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1969.

⁴ “The 60’s. A Cultural Revolution,” *New York Times Magazine*, December 14, 1969.

* (1) Technology and Some of its Social Consequences, (2) Culture Leisure and Education, (3) The Burden of Social Complexity, (4) The Pathologies of Over Urbanization, (5) Technology, Decentralization, and the Restoration of Community, and Epilogue, ‘Social Philosophy for an Age of Technology.’

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Social interpretation through synoptic interdisciplinary studies of this nature calls for specialized ability to make meaningful correlations of data patterns, factual and theoretical relationships drawn from a number of diverse and, often, apparently unrelated fields. It is, in a sense, *trans-disciplinary* in that it creates new patterns of meaning which operate across, and alter, field boundaries rather than merely linking concepts or information between disciplines.

It is particularly noteworthy that the process of discovery and change within the sciences and technologies continually erodes the traditional divisions between specialties, and successively creates new hybrid disciplines from previously disparate field views. Apart from the more conventional "synoptic" mergings of biochemistry, bio-physics, etc., cybernetics is a most recent and unique fusion of many elements of mathematical, physical, and biological theory which has also led to new forms of technology.

In dealing with social interrelation within education, Winthrop in no way denigrates the highly specialized hard methodological approaches which have come to characterize "scientific" social studies. He questions, however, their adequacy in confronting those questions of values, ideals, and meaning which give direction to the learning process. On the other hand, he is equally critical of the types of piecemeal course offerings which are generally intended to remedy this inadequacy.

Integrative, synoptic, and holistic educational and intellectual functions can no longer be performed by either the traditional specialties in the humanities and the social sciences, by the over-arching abstractions of philosophy courses whose content is alien to the cultural, technical and social realities of the twentieth century, or by the stumbling and disoriented survey courses which mistake a series of pasting operations for intellectual and cultural perspectives.

Not content with criticism and exhortation, his entire book is, in fact, a richly varied and substantive case study in the type of approach, methodology and perspective which he advocates. In this regard it is of particular value to the student. While dealing comprehensively with the various macro-topics, both in their historical dimension and in terms of current relevance, it also introduces numerous working examples and cases which ground the discussion in practical fashion. The range of footnote comments and references constitute in themselves a stimulating guide towards future exploration.

In such a brief review, it is difficult and unfair to attempt any detailed consideration of the "content" of such a work. Ranging as it does through an overall treatment of technology and society, with specific attention to the social consequences of automation, aerospace and other aspects of critical development, any considered critical analysis would have to be on a similar scale.

The central thrust of Winthrop's concern is with the renewal and presentation of the holistic approach to man and his values. The rich-

ness and comprehensive quality of his thought as expressed in this book is, in itself, the clearest demonstration of the validity of this approach and its importance in any consideration of the future of human society.

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The Educational Writings of John Locke

Introduction by James L. Axtell. Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1968.
442 pp. \$12.50.

*He only does it to annoy,
Because he knows it teases.*

Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

We now have a copy of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* in the form in which Locke last edited it in 1705. However, for purposes of scholarship, one needs to know exactly how and where Locke made editorial or substantive changes. Axtell does provide a collation covering the editions of 1693, 1695, and 1699, but in a separate section. It teases one to have to keep bouncing back and forth trying to see which ideas Locke abandoned, altered, expanded, etc. Yet Axtell had the opportunity, the material, the means, and the time to lay bare for the interested Lockean the evolution of the great man's theories of education.

The book also includes a selection of Locke's letters on education, "Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman," Locke's advice to the Countess of Peterborough on the education of her son, and his early essay, "Of Study." Having even this much in one place is of great value, but it is by no means a complete coverage of what Locke had to say on education. That, too, teases.

An annoyance is the cryptic form of documentation, which perpetuates the need to swing like a pendulum. Axtell makes no secret of the fact that this was his dissertation. He avows his debt to his sponsor, the British scholar Peter Laslett, and one can sympathize with his following in his mentor's footsteps, for the documentation is Laslett's own. Once freed of the initiate's obligation, one ought to do something to improve so ponderous and resistant a form of notation.

Axtell's goal, clearly expressed in the introduction, is to produce a work in which he may establish himself as "an intellectual historian *qua* historian of education . . ." (Preface, x) and his desire to clear himself of the taint of educational history. He states that:

the historian who would explain how the members of the intellectual class acquire their views "must study the institutions by which thought is transmitted." He must branch out into the history of education which, thus far, he has left (and with what woeful results) to the antiquaries and professional educators." (Preface, x, citing Franklin L. Baumer, "Intellectual History and Its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 21, September 1949, pp. 191-203.)

It is a great pity that Axtell did not produce a work as useful as any of Baumer's whom he ostensibly intended to emulate. Further, he might well have learned from many of the antiquaries and some of the educational historians.

In his quest for intellectual history, he did an overview of Locke's life, a study of Locke's library, and a survey of the educational works of the era. All that is to the good. However, lacking the rigor of the antiquary and the knowledge of the educational historian, he proceeded to conjecture, almost fantasize, about the "influence" the books Locke may have read *might* have had upon Lockean educational theory. The presence of Fenelon in Locke's library does not mean that Locke borrowed from Fenelon in writing about the education of girls (p. 117). Over and over, Axtell assumes a relationship he does not support. The number of times he uses the phrase "Locke probably had in mind" is unconscionable in a book which purports to be an historical research.

A serious problem is presented by Axtell's misunderstanding of Locke's *tabula rasa*. If one has read *Some Thoughts* and the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, one knows that Locke was acutely aware of individual differences, not only in nurture, but also in nature. Far too much material in Locke's own hand was available to Axtell for him to have missed this salient point. That Locke made definite alterations in his approach to the education of Edward Clarke, Jr., for whom the letters on which *Some Thoughts* was based were originally written, because of his sensitivity to the boy's special needs has been documented. The portion of Locke's correspondence which reveals his concern with individual needs was omitted by Axtell from the book. (See Janice L. Gorn, "The Strange 'Case' of Edward Clarke, Jr., Attending Physician—John Locke, Gent," *Educational Theory*, October 1967, pp. 298-316.)

Most important, one cannot help but feel that Axtell read Locke, but did not absorb him. His tortured attempts to put the essay in intellectual context would have met with nothing but disdain from Locke. A most apt description may be found in Locke's own words:

Everyone's Natural Genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain: And what is so Plaster'd on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Constraint and Affection (No. 66, pp. 159-160).

Until such time as dissertations are more graceful products, we can turn to Locke for guidance. When he was at a loss for words about scholarly effluvia, he turned to LaBruyère:

...it is nothing but men's laziness which has encouraged pedantry to cram, rather than enrich libraries, and to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries... (No. 195, p. 309, citing LaBruyère's *Moeurs de ce siècle*.)

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Religion and Schooling: A Comparative Study

A. Stafford Clayton. Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1969. Paperback, 254 pp. \$2.95.

Religion and Education in America: A Documentary History

Herbert M. Kliebard. Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1969. Paperback, 251 pp. \$3.50.

At this writing, Michigan's House and Senate have passed the Parochial bill, which would use public funds to pay eventually as much as 75 percent of the average salaries of lay teachers of secular subjects in Catholic and other non-public schools. If the bill should clear its remaining hurdles, Michigan will become the fifth state to provide direct aid. The others are Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Ohio. Meanwhile, moves are reported underway in 33 additional states for similar measures.

Clearly we are in the midst of a trend which is likely to accelerate. The effects upon the future of the public school, and ultimately upon the social and political structure of American society itself, are likely to be profound. What form these consequences will take is not known. Change is being legislated without adequate study, prediction, or assessment of the long-range outcomes. Legislators are motivated by the realization that subsidizing parochial schools is going to strain public treasuries less than not subsidizing them, at least in the short-term. The financial crisis in the Catholic school system has been forcing enrollment down at the rate of 3 to 5 percent per year. The shift of Catholic students into public schools is estimated to have cost the public over \$400 million dollars in the course of the last three years.

Social change triggered by expediency is one thing. For it to be influenced by well-considered measures after careful study of probable

social consequences is something else. A. Stafford Clayton's *Religion and Schooling* is a significant contribution to such study. I believe it to be one of the two most important and substantial books on the church-state issue in education to be written in English in this century. The other is R. Freeman Butts', *The American Tradition in Religion and Education*, published twenty years ago. Butts gave us a thorough historical study of our own American experience as a way of understanding our present problems. But there still was needed an equally thorough study of other democratic nations wrestling with similar problems and an assessment of what we have to learn from their experience. This is what Clayton has provided.

Clayton studied three nations: England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In the case of each, he examined laws and directives, studied reports of investigations and research, and visited schools. His concerns were to identify the framework of national policy, to locate the main historical and social conditions which influenced it, to study the efforts and motives of those who have sought to change it, to understand the ways in which policy has been formed, to observe how policy has or has not been implemented in the actual running of the schools, and to evaluate policy in respect to its educational and social effects, particularly with a view to the fate of religious freedom.

Although England has an established church, English policy is remarkable for the flexibility with which arrangements have been worked out for the existence and support of different types of schools. The freedom of parents to send their children to the school of their choice is supported by public subsidy. This has been achieved by painstaking, persistent negotiation and search for accommodation among various groups over long periods of time. Clayton concludes that we can learn something from the British about the art of compromise.

Nevertheless, "Non-belief or belief which falls outside . . . the main-line English churches does not have the same standing in English life or education." This is seen, for example, in the common syllabi which have been worked out for the required teaching of religion in the county (equivalent to U.S. public) schools. Although these syllabi are remarkable achievements at the point of compromise among differing groups, still their intention is to produce a commitment to Christian orthodoxy before the child reaches an age when the school system feels ready to introduce him to other points of view and more critical ways of thinking. "It is not clear that the freedom of the learner to come critically to grips with his own determination of his beliefs and values is effectively provided for." Furthermore, English self-criticism brings to light another weakness in such attempts to work out a "common beliefs" approach to the teaching of sectarian religion. There is evidence that syllabic compromise has produced an innocuous product which has bored the children and, if anything, damped rather than inspired their religious spirit.

The Swedish accomplishment in respect to religious instruction is more positive. Here too there is an established church, and a commitment by society to Christian religious tradition. Nevertheless, the Swedes have worked diligently and successfully to work out programs to instruct children about religion without indoctrinating them. An enormous amount of discussion and thought has been devoted to developing concepts and standards of objectivity which apparently are understood and practiced by teachers. Differing religious points of view, including non-Christian religions and non-belief, are studied side by side. Teacher education has given due attention to the problems of producing a corps of teachers able to do this. This is suggestive to a society such as our own, where religious illiteracy, except for one's own confession and often even there, is the prevalent condition.

Although Clayton is right in saying that here is an accomplishment which we might well emulate, he perhaps does not call sufficient attention to the difficulties. Ninety-nine percent of the Swedish people belong to the Church of Sweden, although many have dual memberships involving other churches. In calling attention to High Church, Low Church, Old Church, and Young Church distinctions within the Church, Clayton warns against thinking of Sweden as religiously homogeneous. Still the divisions are not nearly as sharp as in this country. Even though historically we have improved, there are enough inter-denominational tensions in this country to make it more difficult than in Sweden to achieve religious objectivity.

Finally, the Netherlands case. Here is a sharp warning about what *not* to do. Clayton describes in some detail the "columnizing" of Dutch society—a phenomenon in which the basic social structure is organized around religious "pillars," marked essentially by distinctions between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and general, or neutral associations. Each pillar cuts through the whole range of social functioning—schooling, employment, mass media, consumer activities, political organization, and so on. The result is that the life space and history of many individuals tend to be confined within their own religious group.

At one time (1860) 79 percent of all Dutch students were enrolled in public schools. During the next 60 years there was a slow but steady flow of students to sectarian and other private schools. During this period various steps were taken to subsidize partially the non-public schools. By 1920, despite the attrition, a majority of students, 55 percent, were still in the public schools. In that year the Primary Education Act was passed. The Act climaxed and resolved a historic school struggle related to religious differences. It provided for the full and equal financial support of non-public as well as public primary schools. The decline of public school enrollment sharply accelerated. Within 30 years (by 1950) it had dropped to 27 percent, at which point it has since stabilized.

Clayton does not examine the question of whether and to what ex-

tent this columnizing of the schools contributed to the general columnizing of society, or vice-versa (probably a hopeless chicken-and-egg kind of problem), but he does document columnizing's many detrimental social and educational effects, as they have actually occurred in the Netherlands.

In the northern United States we are now confronted by increasing ghettoization of the inner cities and the simultaneous movement of the middle class remaining there toward non-public schools. At the same time, the recent Supreme Court ordering of accelerated desegregation has been followed in the South by both a movement of whites toward non-public schools, and renewed movements there to subsidize such schools. There are those, including even a few liberal scholars, who argue that the American common school has completed its historic nineteenth-century mission of uniting a diverse nation of immigrants, and that in this age of over-conformity we are ready for a more pluralistic system of schools devoted to the cultivation of alternative approaches to life. I personally believe that the single greatest educational need in the United States today, aside from the upgrading of quality, is for public schools to diversify themselves, to become individually more responsive to their respective communities, and to take on characters appropriate to their individual communities. But I believe that if we go the Dutch way, the public school will not only become poorly attended, as in the Netherlands, but also, because of social conditions that differ from the Netherlands, will become pauper schools, poorly financed, and attended primarily by the poor.

The second book under review, Herbert M. Kliebard's *Religion and Education in America*, requires little comment. It is a useful collection of historical documents. Its usefulness is somewhat curtailed by the fact that a good deal, but by no means all, of its material is readily available elsewhere. Approximately half the book is devoted to the eleven most widely cited Supreme Court cases which now virtually constitute the canon of church-state relations in the United States. I think that for most purposes Sam Duker's *The Public Schools and Religion*, which generously excerpts almost the identical list of cases, is a more valuable source, due to Duker's incisive and objective analyses of the cases, and his excellent commentary placing them in context. In Kliebard the commentary is minimal to the point of insufficiency. However, for those who want the full texts of the cases, except for the concurring opinions, the Kliebard collection is convenient. Careful study of these cases is certainly in order, if only as a corrective to the complacent textbook-fostered myth that we have ironclad constitutional prohibitions against direct aid to church-related schools.

Of the remaining four chapters, one is devoted to Horace Mann. It includes his first, eighth, and twelfth annual reports and his brief letter to E. A. Packard. Since all Mann's reports are already available in paper, this is not too useful, except that it is good to have them in one place with the other documents.

The remaining documents deal with the church-state controversy in Virginia, the Congressional debate over the First Amendment, and the Catholic position on religious education. Putting these last between paper covers is Kliebard's real contribution, and it is a real contribution indeed, for they are as fascinating, as illuminating, and as deserving of attention as are the better-known documents in the book.

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TOPIC

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